UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL, HUMAN AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES

School of Psychology

The Impact of Attributions on the Understanding and Management of Challenging Behaviour in Schools

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctorate of Educational Psychology

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

<u>ABSTRACT</u>

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THE IMPACT OF ATTRIBUTIONS ON THE UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGEMENT OF CHALLENGING BEHAVIOUR IN SCHOOLS

Emma Louise Fitz-Gerald

Although attribution theory has been well documented within the literature and applied to teaching, learning, and behaviour in the classroom, there has yet to be a systematic review of the literature pertaining to teacher attributions of challenging behaviour. This literature review set out to combine the evidence based in a systematic and critical way in order to answer the following questions: What attributions are teaching making around challenging behaviour in the classroom? In what way do these attributions impact on their management of behaviour in the classroom? Seventeen studies were included which explored causal attribution alongside controllability, types of behaviour, teacher factors, interventions, and referrals. Results indicate that teachers mainly make causal attributions which are external to themselves, which are mediated by perceptions of control, responsibility, and self-efficacy. In particular behaviour was seen as most difficult to manage when teachers attributed it to pupil or home factors, pupils were perceived to be in control of their behaviour, and the behaviour was thought to be stable over time. Limited links between attributions and referral decisions were found. Implications for EPs were discussed, in particular supporting teacher self-efficacy for classroom management.

Pupils displaying challenging behaviour are the population included in mainstream schools with the least success, with their behaviour regularly leading to fixed-term exclusions or placement in alternative provisions. Research has found the attributions teachers make about the causality of pupil behaviour can impact on subsequent behaviour management strategies in the classroom. However, attempts to understand the complexity of attribution processes has yet to be explored in a satisfactory way. In addition, the beliefs and attributions of the pupils themselves have remained largely unexplored. This study examined the perceptions of 10 secondary school staff teachers and five pupils, through semi-structured interviews. Thematic analysis yielded six major

themes within the data corpus relating to behaviour, behaviour management and the use of fixed-term exclusion. Results revealed four clear causal attributions for challenging behaviour in the classroom, which alongside mediating factors, such as self-efficacy, time and effort needed, and, remorsefulness, were related to either a helpless or hopeful discourse. Within the staff data set, conflict between static and flexible systems for managing behaviour was also seen. Implications for EPs are discussed in relation to building the resilience of teachers and schools in order to maintain the support for these pupils within mainstream settings.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Emma Louise Fitz-Gerald, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

The Impact of Attributions on the Understanding and Management of Challenging Behaviour in Schools

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission;

Signed: ....

Date: ....

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Abbreviations

CASP – Critical Appraisal Skills Programme

DfE – Department for Education

DoH – Department of Health

EBD – Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties

EP – Educational Psychologist

LA – Local Authority

PE – Physical Education

PRISMA – Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews

PRU – Pupil Referral Unit

RP – Restorative Practice

SEMH – Social, Emotional and Mental Health

SEN – Special Educational Needs

SENCo – Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator

SLT – Senior Leadership Team

Chapter 1:   Teacher Attributions and Challenging Behaviour in the Classroom

1.1   Introduction

This systematic review will explore the research in relation to teacher attributions and challenging behaviour in the classroom. An overview of attribution theory will be given alongside a brief explanation of the breadth of current literature and rationale for the current review. The process of systematic searching will be described along with key findings from the selected studies. The findings will then be interpreted and critically examined with reference to the wider literature within the discussion. Finally, the strengths and limitations of the review will be given, and implications for Educational Psychologists (EPs) explored.

1.1.1   Attribution Theory

Attribution theory developed as a theory of motivation to help explain why individuals choose to act in particular ways. Originally conceived within the field of social psychology (Heider, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley, 1971), attribution theory was later developed and expanded into the field of education by Weiner (1979, 1980, 1985, 2000). The theory predicts that individuals make attributions depending on the locus of causality (whether the problem lies internally or externally to the individual), stability (whether the problem is likely to remain the same or change over time), and controllability (whether the individual thinks they are in control of the problem or not). How individuals reason about the cause of a situation within each of these three domains influences their future behaviour in similar situations. The additional dimensions of globality (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978), whether the cause might extend to other similar situations, and intentionality (Heider, 1958), conscious awareness of choices within a given situation, were later added by Weiner (1979, 1985) to create the five dimensions of attribution theory which are recognised today.

Researchers then began to explore the possibility of attributional styles. The suggestion was that some people have a tendency to make similar attributions (Peterson & Seligman, 1984). Peterson and Seligman (1984) found that some people naturally had a pessimistic attributional style, where they tended to explain bad events by referring to personal characteristics that are stable and generalised. Others had a more optimistic attributional style and thought situations were likely to be momentary and controllable. A contemporaneous review of the literature on

attributional style in relation to academic achievement found that a pessimistic attributional style was positively related to poor grades, deficits in help-seeking, lower aspiration levels, and ineffective use of learning strategies (Peterson, 1990).

Weiner (1985) suggested that negative events are more likely to trigger causal explanations than positive events, and a later paper found that causal attributions can have a direct impact on a person's self-esteem, expectations of the future, and emotions (Weiner, 2000). Abramson et al. (1978) proposed that when people make internal, global, and stable attributions for their failures they will show the greatest loss of self-esteem, and thus are more likely to feel helpless or depressed.

1.1.2 Attributions in the Classroom

Attribution theory was initially applied to teachers in relation to their understanding of pupil success and failure (Beckmann, 1970; Johnson, Feigenbaum, & Weiby, 1964). It was discovered that teachers had a tendency to attribute failure to pupil factors, while crediting themselves for pupil success. It was proposed that this type of defensive or biased attributional style was a way of protecting teachers from the affective consequences of pupil failure (Bradley, 1978). However, Kelley (1967) argued that rather than a bias, these judgments were due to the co-variation of outcomes based on multiple observations. He stated that teachers were likely to adjust their responses following pupil failure, therefore subsequent success was logically attributed to themselves. However, when different strategies were tried with continued failure on the part of the pupil, it was reasonable to relate this to an internal pupil difficulty.

Within-child attributions in relation to achievement have been found by other researchers who explored teacher attributions in the classroom (Graham, 1991). Tollefson, Melvin, and Thippavajjala (1990) found that student characteristics, such as low motivation and poor work habits were perceived to be the primary causes of low achievement as compared to teacher or classroom factors. Similar findings have also be seen around teacher attributions to behaviour, with teachers appearing to place a great deal of importance on pupil internal traits as explanations for challenging behaviour in the classroom (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981; Guttman, 1982; Medway, 1979).

Attributions have also been found to be linked to subsequent decisions teachers make in relation to tasks, with excessive feelings of sympathy or pity leading to a reduction in task difficulty and lower expectations for these pupils (Brophy & Good, 1974). The role of teacher expectations on pupil academic performance, in particular, has been well documented elsewhere

in the literature (e.g. Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), and can have significant implications for pupil progress.

Ames (1975) made the distinction between locus of causality and locus of responsibility, identifying these as separate and often contradictory thought processes. In his study, he found teachers were more likely to attribute responsibility for failure to themselves, and responsibility for success to the pupil. This distinction is an important one to keep in mind when considering some of the potential contradictory findings within the current literature.

1.1.3   The Wider Context

A number of studies have attempted to discover differences in terms of teacher characteristics, which might help to understand attributional responses to behaviour, by comparing cultures, settings, and experience.

Cross-cultural studies have found cultural differences in relation to the perceived seriousness of certain behaviours and who teachers held responsible for supporting behavioural change (Atici, 2007; Ho, 2004; Pochtar & Del Vecchio, 2014). Ho (2004) found that Chinese teachers placed more responsibility with the pupil's family for the behaviour, whereas Australian teachers emphasised the pupil's ability.

Gibbs and Gardener (2008) attempted to compare cultures and school phases, exploring differences between English and Irish primary and secondary teacher attributions to challenging behaviour. Their study found distinct differences, with primary teachers placing more emphasis on pupil personality as causal factors, whereas secondary teachers rated adult behaviours as more important. Kulinna (2008) also found differences between elementary and high school teacher attributions, with high school teachers more likely to attribute behaviour to out-of-school factors.

Other studies have looked at teacher attributions around behaviour within specialist settings, or in populations with additional learning needs (Erbas, Turan, Aslan, & Dunlap, 2010; Lucas, Collins, & Langdon, 2009). Erbas and colleagues (2010) found that specialist teachers generally attributed behaviour to family factors, however also strongly agreed with statements such as 'escape from difficulty and/or unpreferred tasks' and 'access to preferred items' as reasons for challenging behaviour. They also found that teachers were less likely to make family attributions when they had specialist training or had been on behavioural intervention courses. A similar finding was seen in research into preservice (trainee) teachers, which found they were

more likely to make attribution to within-child factors compared to qualified colleagues (Cunningham & Sugawara, 1988).

1.1.4 Focus of this Review

The current literature on teacher attributions of behaviour is extremely broad, yet unlike the research on achievement attributions (Graham, 1991), there has been no systematic review of the literature to date. It appears that, while some comparisons and trends can be drawn from both sets of literature, a systematic review would enable key themes and contradictions within the body of research to be more fully considered.

Due to the large body of research around this topic across various fields, the scope of this study was only able to explore teacher attributions within mainstream school settings and populations. This study aims to combine the evidence base in a systematic and critical way in order to answer the following questions:

- What attributions are teachers making around challenging behaviour in the classroom?
- In what way do these attributions impact on their management of behaviour in the classroom?

1.2 Method

The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) statement outlined by Moher et al. (2015) guided the development of this systematic review, which has been registered with the International Prospective Register of Systematic Reviews (PROSPERO). No previous systematic reviews relating to teacher attributions had been registered at the time of writing. As these documents have been developed by the National Institute of Health, many of the criteria did not appear relevant to this reviews question or methodology, so additional guidance was sought around using systematic reviews in the social sciences (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006). This review follows the main stages of their systematic method, which has been summarised by Brown (2012, see Table 1).

Table 1

The main stages of Petticrew and Roberts' (2006) systematic method (Brown, 2012)

Stage	Description of process
1	Define the question
2	Carry out the literature search
3	Screen the references
4	Assess the remaining studies against the inclusion/exclusion criteria
5	Data extraction
6	Critical appraisal
7	Synthesis of primary studies
8	Consider the effects of publication bias and other internal and external biases
9	Writing the report

1.2.1   Literature Search

In order to answer the review questions, search terms were developed using key words contained within them. Three key words were identified: behaviour, attributions, and teachers. The terms 'behaviour' and 'teachers' were then exploded using the thesaurus function of PsychInfo, to identify synonyms and alternative search terms. The population was initially identified as all teachers, but this was later refined to only include teachers within pre-school, primary, and secondary age-ranges.

It was not possible to explode the term 'attributions' so the thesaurus was used to find other possible terms such as perceptions, implicit attitudes, and explicit attitudes. These terms were later dropped as they produced a high number of studies which were not relevant to the research question. The final terms are shown in Table 2.

Each of the terms relating to the key word was searched using OR and then the three searches were combined with AND. Limiters were put in place to include only papers in English and published after 1979 as this was the date of Weiner's seminal paper on the theory of motivation and its relation to classroom behaviour (Weiner, 1979). Initially theses were also included in the search to avoid publication bias, however, due to the large number, these were later excluded. Books were also excluded as they similarly had not undergone the peer review process.

Table 2

Search terms guiding the review

Initial search term	Additional search terms used
Behaviour (behav*)	Classroom behav*, aggressive behav*, behav* problems, disruptive behav*, misbehav*, misconduct
Attributions	
Teachers	Elementary school teachers, high school teachers, junior high school teachers, middle school teachers, preschool teachers, primary school teachers, secondary school teachers

The following electronic databases were searched: PsychInfo, Web of Science, Educational Resource Index and Abstracts (ERIC), Periodicals Archive Online, and Sociological Abstracts. Hand searches were also conducted using the references of key texts.

1.2.2   Screening and Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

References and abstracts were screened using developed inclusion and exclusion criteria in order to ensure the final articles were relevant to the research questions (see Table 3).

Table 3

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Population of participants includes teachers	Studies which related only to behaviour for learning rather than challenging behaviour
Causal attributions were separately measured or analysed	Papers which included interventions focussed on changing attributions
Research took place within schools or education settings	

An initial search yielded 1163 articles after duplicates were removed (see Figure 1). Titles and abstracts were then screened against the inclusion and exclusion criteria, which revealed 56 articles meeting the criteria. Full text articles were then read and further screened. Due to the high number of articles meeting the inclusion criteria, additions were made to the exclusion criteria so that papers looking at specialist populations, specific subject lessons, and cross-cultural studies were also excluded.

Records identified through database searching (n = 1380)

Additional records identified through other sources (n = 29)

Records after duplicates removed (n = 1163)

Records screened (n = 1163)

Records excluded (n = 1107)

Full-text articles assessed for eligibility (n = 56)

Full-text articles excluded, with reasons (see Appendix A) (n = 39)

Studies included in qualitative synthesis (n = 17)

Identification

Screening

Eligibility

Included

Figure 1. PRISMA flow diagram

A number of papers explored the attributions of teachers in comparison to other populations such as parents, pupils, and psychologists. A decision was made to keep these studies as long as the teacher attributions were analysed separately and enough detail given. Following these refinements, 17 studies remained which were included in the in-depth review (see Appendix A).

1.2.3   Data Extraction

These studies were then reviewed systematically and the following data were extracted: number of participants and demographics; country of study; study design; materials used; analysis; and findings (see Appendix B).

Of the final included studies, 13 were quantitative and based on survey data from teachers. Of these studies the majority used a similar methodology where teachers were given vignettes

describing a pupil with challenging behaviour and were asked to rate possible causes for that behaviour. A small minority used real examples of children identified by the teachers or asked them to discuss behaviour more generally without reference to specific pupils. Three employed a qualitative methodology where teachers were interviewed in person. The paper by Medway (1979) contained two studies, one qualitative and one quantitative, which were appraised separately.

1.2.4   Quality Assessment

The quality of the articles were analysed separately depending on the methodology of the paper. For the analysis of the quantitative data a specific checklist which applies to questionnaire methodologies was adapted from Boynton and Greenhalgh (2004). For the qualitative papers, the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) qualitative research checklist was used (CASP, 2017).

Critical appraisal of each study against these checklists, resulted in each study being given a score out of 10, in relation to how many of the factors were present within the study (see Appendix C). This identified the higher quality studies, which will be given more weight in the analysis of results. Strong quantitative studies were characterised as having piloted their research, considered bias, and having had a high response rate. Stronger qualitative studies had a thorough exploration of results. Across both methodologies, those scoring seven or more were rated as high quality, while those scoring four or less were rated as poorer quality. As such three high quality studies were identified (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981; Poulou & Norwich, 2002; Poulou & Norwich, 2000) and four poorer studies were identified (Bibou-Nakou, Kiosseoglou, & Stogiannidou, 2000; Christenson, Ysseldyke, Wang, & Algozzine, 1983; Guttman, 1982; Medway, 1979). The remaining ten studies were evaluated as medium quality.

1.3   Results

Each of the review questions will now be considered separately, with key findings from the literature discussed. A critical analysis of these findings will take place in the discussion.

1.3.1   What Attributions are Teachers Making Around Challenging Behaviour in the Classroom?

1.3.1.1   Causal attributions.

Ding, Li, Li, and Kulm (2010) found that Chinese teachers generally made attributions to pupil related factors (e.g. talking out of turn and laziness), accounting for 80% of the attributions

made. In contrast only 0.8% of the 244 teachers attributed student misbehaviour to teacher performance. This finding is replicated across a number of other cultures, including Russia (Savina, Moskovtseva, Naumenko, & Zilberg, 2014), Greece (Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000), Israel (Guttman, 1982), England (Miller, 1995), and the USA (Christenson et al., 1983; Hughes, Barker, Kemenoff, & Hart, 1993), which argues against a specific cultural bias.

In Miller's (1995) study teachers made attributions about themselves which were 10 times more favourable than those they made to parents and three times more favourable than those they made to pupils. Christenson et al. (1983) also found that 53.7% of teachers attributed the behaviour of pupils to within-child characteristics, 35.6% to home and only 2% to teacher factors. Hughes et al. (1993) found that pupil problems were attributed significantly more to pupil personality than to any other factors; however, student intelligence was rated as least likely to cause challenging behaviour.

Three studies did not find a within-child focus (Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002; W. S. Maxwell, 1987; Poulou & Norwich, 2000). In Mavropoulou & Padeliadu's (2002) study teachers rated both family and child factors equally in terms of causing challenging behaviour, with family factors and parental attitude rated as commonly as learning difficulties and self-esteem. In contrast, the teachers in Maxwell's (1987) study thought that disruptive behaviour was mainly due to lack of discipline at home or disturbances in the pupils' family relationships. One explanation for the different findings may be due to Maxwell's use of secondary teachers. Previous findings have shown that secondary school teachers have different attributions compared to primary school teachers including being more likely to attribute behaviour to out-of-school factors (Gibbs & Gardiner, 2008; Kulinna, 2008). Ding et al. (2010) was the only other study to include secondary teachers, however, despite noting differences between teachers at different grade levels, the most common attributions remained within-child.

The only study included in the review, which did not find an external attributional pattern, was Poulou and Norwich (2000). In contrast to all the other studies, teachers made significantly higher attributions to school and teacher factors as opposed to family and child factors, with teachers' inappropriate manner towards the child and teacher personality being cited as the two most likely causes for the behaviour. The authors suggests that this finding might be unique to Greek teachers, however, Bibou-Nakou et al.'s (2000) study the same year found Greek teachers were making internal pupil-related attributions and another Greek study two years later showed teachers attributing behaviour to both child and family factors (Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002), which suggests a somewhat more complex explanation.

Taken together, all of the studies bar one have found that teachers were consistently more likely to make attributions external to themselves, and relatively few teachers identified themselves as possible causes of challenging behaviour in the classroom.

1.3.1.2   Controllability.

Brophy and Rohrkemper (1981) further examined the attributions teachers made by relating them to the five attribution dimensions discussed previously (locus of causality, stability, controllability, intentionality, and globality). The impact of controllability depended on who owned the problem i.e. on whom it had the greatest impact. Pupils with pupil-owned problems (e.g. rejection by peers, low achievement, perfectionism) were perceived as being unable to control their behaviour and therefore seen as victims, whereas pupils presenting teacher-owned problems (e.g. aggression, underachievement, and defiance) were seen as able to control their behaviour and therefore blameworthy.

Three other studies focused specifically on the dimension of controllability (Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002; Miller, 1995; Thijs & Koomen, 2009). In Miller's (1995) study attributions were coded into high, medium, or low controllability. When teachers perceived that there was a high degree of control over the behaviour, they were far more likely to attribute origins and solutions to themselves and parents. However, when they perceived there was low controllability over the situation, they were more likely to attribute the origin and solution to the child.

Thijs and Koomen (2009) explored kindergarten teacher attributions in relation to the control and stability of behaviours. They found that the amount of control teachers attributed to pupil behaviour was dependent both on the type of behaviour, and on their relationship with the pupil. When pupils were thought to have a high degree of control, the perceived negative impact on the pupils' personal and social difficulties increased, and teachers' feelings of closeness to pupils reduced.

Mavropoulou and Padeliadu (2002) explored correlations between teachers' perceived control over various aspects of their life (i.e. personal efficacy, interpersonal control, and socio-political control), and the attributions they made regarding behaviour. They found that the higher control teachers thought they had over all of their interpersonal relationships, the less likely they were to attribute class size, lack of parental interest, or brain damage as causes of challenging behaviour. However, they were more likely to view parents' attitude as a cause. This is interesting as it suggests that teachers who had high personal control over their own lives were more likely to expect this of others, perhaps perceiving parents to be more responsible as a result.

These studies suggest that the perceived controllability of the behaviour is an important variable in influencing teacher attribution. Attributing more control to the pupil appears to lead to more negative perceptions by teachers, whereas attributing more control to themselves results in them taking on more responsibility for behaviour change. However, there is some suggestion that having high perceptions of interpersonal control can lead to more blame being placed with parents.

1.3.1.3   Types of behaviour.

Analysis of the 17 studies found that there were a range of terms used to describe pupil behaviour, including 'behaviour problems', 'difficult behaviour', and 'misbehaviour', and it cannot be assumed that these refer to similar classroom behaviours. Those studies which employed vignettes took behaviours which had been previously described by teachers as undesirable, either through pilot studies or interviews with teachers (e.g. Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981; Ding et al., 2010), or from previous research (e.g. Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002; Medway, 1979). There are also cultural factors to consider. For example, daydreaming was considered a behaviour which greatly concerned teachers in China (Ding et al., 2010), whereas in Greece disobedience and off-task behaviour were seen as the worst problems (Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000).

Three studies have attempted to explore how teacher attributions differ depending on the type of behaviour seen (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000; Savina et al., 2014). Bibou-Nakou et al. (2000) found slight but significant differences in teacher attributions depending on the type of behaviour. Teachers gave more external pupil-related explanations (e.g. feeling tired, in a bad mood) to off-task behaviour as opposed to 'playing the clown' and more internal pupil-related explanations (e.g. personality traits and family upbringing) to disobedience than off-task behaviours. However, it is worth drawing attention to the authors' definition of internal and external which differs from behaviours which are internalising or externalising. Internalising behaviours include withdrawal, anxiety, and depression, whereas externalising behaviours refer to disruption, aggression, and rule-breaking (Achenbach, 1978). Within Bibou-Nakou et al.'s (2000) study the use of external and internal appear to refer to the stability of the behaviours rather than the locus of causality.

Savina et al. (2014) examined how attributions differed by gender in relation to internalising and externalising behaviours. They found that teachers attributed internalising and externalising behaviour to pupil personality more often for girls than for boys, however, overall they rated family as a significantly more important cause for externalising behaviours in both groups. Arbeau & Coplan (2007) also found gender differences related to behaviour type. Overall boys were believed to be less in control over their behaviour than girls. In addition, aggressive

behaviours were most likely to be attributed to situational factors, whereas unsociable and prosocial behaviours were more likely to be perceived as internal to the child.

This suggests that there are differences in the way in which internalising and externalising behaviours are viewed by teachers, including a perception that externalising behaviours are more likely to be due to situational factors, compared to internalising behaviours which are viewed as more stable and part of pupil personality. The gender differences may be explained by the different behaviours generally associated with boys and girls (e.g. Merrett & Wheldall, 1984), as well as the social acceptance of different behaviours. For example, Arbeau and Coplan (2007) found that teachers were more likely to promote social skills in unsociable boys than girls, perhaps because it was seen as less culturally acceptable for boys to be withdrawn than girls.

1.3.1.4   Teacher factors.

Some studies have attempted to examine the teacher-related factors, which might impact on attributions e.g. experience (Andreou & Rapti, 2010), control (Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002; Miller, 1995), self-efficacy (Poulou & Norwich, 2002), tolerance (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007), emotional response (Poulou & Norwich, 2000), teacher-pupil relationships (Thijs & Koomen, 2009), and burn out (Bibou-Nakou, Stogiannidou, & Kiosseoglou, 1999). The next section will focus on the influence of experience and emotional factors, as these were most robust themes within the body of literature.

1.3.1.4.1   *Experience.*

One of the main factors which differs between teachers and which has been found to have an impact on confidence in successfully managing behaviour in the classroom, is teaching experience (e.g. Arbuckle & Little, 2004). Yet Bibou-Nakou et al. (2000) found no significant differences with regard to the age of the teachers nor their experience in relation to frequency or intensity of different types of behaviour within their classes. However, it is important to note that their sample was skewed towards younger teachers (51.1% = 23-30 years) and those with less experience (61.8% = up to 5 years). Two studies with higher mean teaching experience, did find a relationship between attribution and teaching experience (Andreou & Rapti, 2010; Mavrploulou & Padeliadu, 2002).

Mavropoulou and Padeliadu (2002) found a significant positive correlation between teaching experience and the following school-related factors: school demands; teachers' attitude; and lack of classroom rules. Teachers with less teaching experience agreed that these factors might cause challenging behaviour more often than those with more teaching experience. This relationship between teaching experience and different causal attributions was also found by

Andreou and Rapti (2010). Here teachers with the most experience (between 16-22 years) disagreed most with the belief that school factors were a cause of behaviour problems compared to all other teachers in the sample. Teachers with the most experience also seemed to disagree that family factors might cause behaviour problems, thus firmly suggesting that the behaviour was due to within-child factors. In contrast, those with the shortest teaching experience appeared to agree more that school and family factors might cause behaviour problems.

1.3.1.4.2   *Emotional factors.*

Challenging behaviour and the resulting emotional impact on the teacher were explored in five studies. Poulou & Norwich (2000) examined teacher responses to self (i.e. desire to help, responsibility, self-efficacy, negative feelings for self, and subjective norms). They found that there were significant differences between teacher responses and behaviour type, but no significant interaction, with teachers' desire to help, feelings of responsibility, and self-efficacy. They also explored teachers' emotional responses towards the child (e.g. anger, sympathy, irritation, and indifference), which again revealed significant differences for teacher responses across behaviours. They found a significant interaction between feelings of anger and indifference, with anger being rated higher for mild and severe conduct and mild mixed behaviour types, which included behaviours such as disrupting peers, offensive language, and getting up from their seat.

Arbeau and Coplan (2007) found that teacher tolerance depended on the behaviour type and perceived costs or risks to the child's social and academic development. Teachers viewed aggressive behaviour as the least tolerable, followed by shy and unsociable behaviour. They also found that tolerance for behaviours was significantly and negatively related to the behaviours' perceived academic costs, with aggressive behaviour being seen as having the greatest overall cost, due to risks of failing both academically and socially.

In a later study, Poulou and Norwich (2002) attempted to evaluate whether the attributions teachers made could predict their emotional responses to the behaviour of pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties (EBD). They found that teachers identifying themselves as a causal factor in challenging behaviour predicted feelings of responsibility. In addition, attributions relating to school factors e.g. organisational issues, predicted teachers' negative feelings towards themselves including helplessness and hurt. This may be a result of teachers having less control or influence over these systems, which means they are then seen as potential barriers to behavioural change. Attributions relating to the pupil also led to negative feelings of self-efficacy, however, paradoxically, resulted in teachers feeling more capable of managing the behaviour. The authors suggested this confidence came from the teachers' access to external agencies and additional

training to support manage these pupils, which have been shown to be crucial to teacher confidence (Kauffman, Wong, Lloyd, Hung, & Pullen, 1991).

Andreou and Rapti (2010) also explored self-efficacy in relation to attributions and found a significant correlation between school-related causal factors and teacher efficacy. They found that as teacher efficacy for classroom management increased teacher disagreement that school factors could cause the problem decreased. In other words, teachers were more likely to attribute behaviour to school-based factors when their self-efficacy was high. However, the simplicity of this explanation is challenged by Mavropoulou & Padeliadu (2002) who found that an increase in teacher self-efficacy led to an increased chance that teachers viewed behavioural problems as caused by lack of parental interest.

Bibou-Nakou et al. (1999) explored the impact of different types of attributions on teacher burnout, which they define as having three components: emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and reduced personal accomplishment. They found that external pupil attributions were associated with lower levels of depersonalisation and internal pupil attributions were related to higher scores of emotional exhaustion.

It appears that certain types of behaviours do elicit different emotional responses, for example, teachers appear to have less tolerance of and experience more anger towards disruptive and aggressive behaviour in the classroom (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Poulou & Norwich, 2000). In addition, it seems that making attributions towards school or pupil factors can result in negative feelings of self and higher levels of emotional exhaustion, while making attributions towards teachers lead to increased feelings of responsibility and a reduced risk of depersonalisation (Bibou-Nakou et al., 1999; Poulou & Norwich, 2002). It also appears that a higher degree of self-efficacy increases the likelihood that you will make school-related attributions (Andreou & Rapti, 2010). It is important to note here that 'school-related' attributions in Poulou & Norwich's (2002) paper have been separated out from 'teacher-related' attributions, whereas in Andreou & Rapti's (2010) paper they are combined within the same definition.

1.3.2 In What Way do These Attributions Impact on Teachers' Management of Behaviour in the Classroom?

The studies reviewed so far show that teachers mostly make within-child attributions and that these attributions differ slightly depending on the type of behaviour seen. However, what impact do these attributions have on the choices teachers then make in terms of managing this behaviour in the classroom?

1.3.2.1   Teachers as part of the solution.

Studies suggest that, despite teachers consistently placing the cause of disruptive behaviour externally, they still believe they are part of the solution (Ding et al., 2010; W. S. Maxwell, 1987; Miller, 1995). Teachers in Maxwell's (1987) study cited their most effective strategies as being school or teacher based ones, including in-service training, closer liaison with parents, and the development of more relevant school curricula. Miller (1995) also found that while teachers only generated 10 possible causal factors in relation to themselves, they identified 20 ways in which they could be part of the solution, including giving positive attention to the pupil and increasing the interest level of work set. Ding et al. (2010) also found that all of the behaviour management strategies teachers perceived as being the most effective were teacher-based. This is an interesting paradox as it could reasonably follow that if teachers were attributing the cause of a behaviour to within-child factors they would look at interventions that focus on changing the pupil's characteristics or thinking, whereas the solutions they have identified are mainly around changing the classroom environment or teaching strategies. This may return to the perceptions of control, as teachers are more easily able to influence their practice and classroom environment than external factors. It may also be an indicator that causal and responsibility attributions are not necessarily connected as suggested by Ames (1975).

1.3.2.2   Types of behaviour.

A number of studies also explored how the strategies teachers used were related to the types of behaviour pupils were displaying (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000; Poulou & Norwich, 2000). Poulou and Norwich (2000) found significant differences across behaviours of varying severity and type. The use of positive incentives was consistently higher than other strategies, with teachers being more likely to involve the pupil in class activities and gain the pupil's confidence. In addition, it was found that negative incentives were used significantly less in relation to emotional difficulties. Teachers also identified punishments and threats as the least effective strategies for all behaviours, and therefore were least likely to use them.

Arbeau and Coplan (2007) found a significant main effect of pupil behaviour on teacher interventions. They found that teachers were more likely to intervene in response to aggressive behaviour than in response to shy or unsociable behaviour. Teachers were also more likely to make aggressive children make amends and to monitor and report this behaviour than other behaviour types. Teachers were also significantly more likely to promote social skills and report unsociable behaviour in boys than girls. Bibou-Nakou et al. (2000) found that teachers were significantly more likely to use social-integrative practices (e.g. peer-group help, distraction, or

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moving the pupil to a different seat) as well as punishment for disruptive behaviour in comparison to off-task behaviour.

These studies suggest that there is a general preference for teachers to use positive incentives and strategies to manage disruptive behaviour, but the perceived impact of the type of behaviour on the young person, other pupils, and themselves is also a factor in how they decide to manage that behaviour.

1.3.2.3   Interventions.

A number of studies have attempted to look for relationships between teacher attributions and the types of interventions they prefer (Andreou & Rapti, 2010; Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000; Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981; Medway, 1979; Poulou & Norwich, 2002). Bibou-Nakou et al. (2000) found that teachers who made external pupil-related attributions were more likely to use social integrative actions, whereas internal pupil-related attributions were related to neutral actions (e.g. observation and interruption of behaviour). In addition, teacher-related attributions were also associated with the use of neutral practices as well as the avoidance of punitive actions. It appears that teacher and internal attributions therefore resulted in more passive and immediate responses rather than longer-term strategies.

Medway (1979) found no relationship in the attributions teachers made and the level of praise used, however, he did find a significant relationship to criticism. Specifically, teachers who attributed behaviour difficulties to student motivation were found to provide more negative feedback to that pupil in comparison to a 'non-problem' peer.

Poulou and Norwich (2002) found that there were significant correlations between teacher perceptions and coping strategies. Having an intention to help pupils predicted the use of positive incentives and teaching approaches, but it did not predict negative incentives or referral decisions. In addition, the more that teachers perceived positive incentives as being effective, the more likely they were to use teaching approaches with the pupil, such as individualised support. Thinking that negative incentives were effective was the only predictor of the use of threats and punishment.

Andreou and Rapti (2010) found that pupil-related attributions and high perception of efficacy for class management by the teacher predicted the use of rewards and positive incentives. However, family-related attributions and a low sense of efficacy for classroom management was a predictor of the use of threats. In addition, when teachers also had a low agreement that school-based factors were causing the behaviour, then they had a greater preference for punishments and keeping records of the behaviour. However, when teachers

made family-based attributions and their efficacy for class management was high, then they were more likely to use strategies such as supportive behaviour, self-education, and gaining the pupil's confidence and trust. In this study, high self-efficacy led to an increased use of positive behaviour strategies.

Brophy and Rohrkemper (1981) also found there was a complex relationship between the attributions teachers made and their preferred problem-solving strategies. They found that when teachers perceived the student as capable of self-control and intentionally misbehaving (e.g. aggressive and defiant behaviours), they were more likely to demand behaviour change and make short term goals, which as a result found them rarely using rewards and frequently relying on punishment or threat. In contrast when students were seen as victims of circumstances beyond their control (e.g. rejected by peers), teachers appeared to be more committed to help these students, despite acknowledging that change might be difficult. In these circumstances teachers were more likely to use talk and teach coping techniques, as well as work towards long term goals. Finally in problems that were perceived to be shared by teachers and pupils (e.g. hyperactivity, withdrawal), teachers tended to emphasise environmental change. These students were more likely to receive rewards and praise in addition to punishments.

Understanding how attributions influence teachers' management of behaviour, is clearly more complex than understanding their initial attributions. It appears that the attributions combine with the teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of a particular strategy as well as their own efficacy around managing behaviour in the classroom. Research suggests that if teachers think a particular strategy is ineffective, they will be less likely to employ it. On the other hand, if they believe the strategy to be effective, but do not feel competent in implementing it successfully, then they are still unlikely to use this strategy. This suggests that beliefs and level of perceived competence are both key. Another highly relevant finding is in relation to positive and negative incentives. The attributions teachers make appear to significantly influence whether they are more or less likely to use positive incentives or threats and punishments. There also seems to be a relationship between attributions and the type of intervention e.g., whether teachers chose an immediate technique focussed at stopping the behaviour in the moment or longer term strategies and solutions.

1.3.2.4   Referrals.

Christenson et al. (1983) explored teacher attributions in relation to referrals they had made for psychoeducational evaluation, an assessment process that identifies if pupils are eligible for a special school placement. They found there was a significant relationship between an emotionally manifested reason for referral (e.g. poor social adjustment, immaturity, and

withdrawal) and both student and home attributions. They also found a significant relationship between behavioural reasons for referral and home attributions, suggesting that when behaviour is attributed to home factors alone, there is an increased likelihood of referrals being made to external professionals. No significant relationship between causal attributions and the sex of the referred student was found, although overall boys were more likely to be referred than girls. It appears, however that attributions on their own were not responsible for this pattern of greater referrals for boys.

Savina et al. (2014) explored the relationship between the causal attributions teachers make, and the likelihood of subsequently seeking medication, psychiatric, and psychological help for a pupil. They found that professional help was sought when the teacher was deemed to be the cause of the problem, however, the nature of that help differed slightly. When teachers believed the cause of externalising behaviour to be due to negative relationships with teachers they were more likely to seek medication and psychiatric help. Similarly, when teachers believed internalising behaviours were associated with genetics they were more likely to seek medication, but when they thought it was associated with negative relationships with teachers they were more likely to seek psychiatric help.

Hughes et al. (1993) found that the only significant relationship between attributions and referral choice was for one behaviour type (low academic self-esteem combined with helpless behaviours). In this case, teachers who thought that pupil intelligence caused the problem were more likely to refer the pupil rather than handle it on their own or seek consultation. Referrals were also examined in relation to self-efficacy. In general, teachers who decided to handle the problem on their own reported higher self-efficacy than teachers who decided to refer the pupil or seek consultation. There was no difference however, between the self-efficacy of teachers who chose referral or consultation suggesting that it was the fact they were handing the 'problem' over that was important.

Taken together, these studies suggest that in the main, teacher attributions do not influence whether teachers make referrals for additional help or not. This is a positive finding, suggesting that despite beliefs in relation to the causes of the problem, if the behaviour is a concern then a teacher will still make a referral. However, there clearly are some situations where attributions in relation to specific types of behaviour may influence the type of help teachers seek e.g. medication, psychiatric help, or consultation. It appears that the perceived effectiveness of particular interventions as well as teacher self-efficacy for classroom management are additional mediating factors which impact on decisions teachers make. This is an area where more research is needed in order to understand these referral patterns.

1.4   Discussion

1.4.1   Summary of Findings

The results of the studies examined here show that the majority of teachers consistently make attributions around challenging behaviour that are external to themselves and internal to the pupil (e.g. Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000; Ding et al., 2010). Even when teachers do make attributions outside of the pupil, they are more likely to make attributions to parental factors as opposed to school or teacher factors (e.g. Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002). One explanation, which might help understand these findings, is the idea of a self-serving bias that is activated when someone experiences a threat to his or her self-concept (Campbell & Sedikdes, 1999). When teachers make attributions to themselves, the risk to their status is high and therefore it can be seen as a protective strategy to place the blame externally (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981).

Attribution bias can also be used to argue the contradictory results found in Poulou and Norwich's (2000) study. Counterdefensive attribution bias suggests that in some circumstances acceptance of responsibility for negative outcomes, could prevent later embarrassment should an unrealistic positive self-presentation be put forward (Bradley, 1978). It seems unlikely, however, that the results in Poulou and Norwich's study can be explained entirely by counterdefensive attributions, and there is nothing indicated in the data to suggest that the participants were particularly unique, or different from those in other studies. Instead it is perhaps a methodological difference that might help to explain their results.

Both of Poulou and Norwich's (2000, 2002) studies separated teacher and school causal factors, clearly listing these on the questionnaire, in addition to family environment, and pupil factors. They also listed seven possible teacher causes and six school causes, compared to Mavropoulou and Padeliadu (2000) who listed only one school factor and four teacher factors which were combined and called 'school-related factors'. Very few of the studies included their questionnaires, so further comparisons could not be made. This could, however, indicate that the tools used in some studies were not necessarily sensitive enough to pick out the full range of teacher beliefs. In addition, unless the researcher asked for elaboration, we cannot be certain that the questions were interpreted by respondents in the way which the researcher intended.

In many of these studies, self-efficacy was found to be closely related to attributions. Teachers with a high sense of self-efficacy were more likely to make attributions to themselves or school factors (Andreou & Rapti, 2010). However, making attributions to school factors, led to an increased sense of responsibility and consequently an increased risk of teachers feeling stressed or helpless to change the behaviour. In addition, making attributions which were within-child also

led to increased risks of emotional exhaustion (Bibou-Nakou et al., 1999) and negative feelings towards the pupil.

Teaching experience also seems to play a part in attributions teachers make, as teachers with the longest experience are less likely to attribute themselves as part of the cause for poor behaviour (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002). It may be that increased feelings of competence and successful management of other examples of challenging behaviour, lead them to seek alternative explanations for the problem. In addition, perceiving themselves as a possible cause of the problem may pose more of a risk for more experienced teachers, in terms of how they are viewed by colleagues and therefore they may seek external explanations to protect their self-efficacy.

Another possible explanation could be that more experienced teachers are experiencing higher levels of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Festinger (1957) states that when people experience an event which contradicts held beliefs this leads to a sense of discomfort, forcing the person to alter their cognitions or behaviour in order to redress this inconsistency. In this case, it may be that if teachers believe they are good at managing behaviour, yet are not able to manage the behaviour of a specific pupil, they may adjust the way they think about that pupil in order to maintain their belief that they are a good teacher.

However, these findings also need to be interpreted with caution, as other studies have found differences between explicit and implicit beliefs of teachers in relation to their experiences (e.g. Scanlon & Barnes-Holmes, 2013). Within this study, while experienced teachers gave more negative explicit responses to pupils with EBD, their implicit attitudes were more favourable, compared to preservice teachers. It therefore is important to consider that the explicit beliefs indicated by teachers, may not reveal their implicit beliefs or actual behaviour in the classroom.

Another key moderator appears to be the idea of controllability. This includes both whether the pupil is in control of his or her behaviour, and whether the teacher thinks they have the skills to manage that behaviour. It appears that initially teacher perceptions in relation to the pupil are markedly effected by whether they perceive the behaviour to be within the pupils' control, seeing pupils who cannot control their behaviour as victims, whereas those who can as blameworthy (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981). However, while this is likely to impact teachers' thinking about the pupil, their own ability to manage the behaviour also has an impact on where they appear to place the cause of the behaviour as well as what they choose to do about it.

The majority of teachers in these studies thought that they were a crucial part of the solution to managing behaviour no matter what their attributions about the cause of the

behaviour were (Ding et al., 2010; W. S. Maxwell, 1987; Miller, 1995). This is perhaps not unsurprising, given that the classroom environment is something the teacher can directly change and influence. In addition, other research has found that using more teacher-based strategies to manage behaviour appears to increase teachers' confidence in dealing with behaviour in the classroom (Soodak & Podell, 1994).

The studies explored in this review suggest there is a clear difference between strategies teachers choose to employ when they feel the pupil is in control or intentionally misbehaving. In these cases, teachers are more likely to use punitive strategies to manage the behaviour and employ shorter term targets (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981; Medway, 1979). The type of behaviour also influences perceptions of control, with disobedient, disruptive, and aggressive behaviour considered to be most within pupil control (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000).. These behaviours are perhaps being judged more harshly as they are what Brophy and Rohrkemper (1981) would describe as 'teacher-owned', i.e. they are directly impacting on the teachers needs and feelings within the classroom. In addition, these types of behaviours are also perceived to be relatively stable (Bibou-Nakou et al., 2000).

The research around reasons for referral in this review was relatively limited and inconclusive, but there did not appear to be a link between attributions and referral choice. However a high sense of self-efficacy did appear to reduce a teacher's likelihood of making a referral for external professional help (Hughes et al., 1993).

In conclusion, it appears that challenging behaviour is likely to be seen as most difficult to manage when the cause of the behaviour is attributed to the pupil or home, the pupil is perceived to be in control of the behaviour, and the behaviour is considered to be stable over time. It appears that a phenomenon comparable to 'learned helplessness' (Seligman, 1975), takes place when teachers' attributions fall into these dimensions, with the difference being the teacher places the problem externally rather than internally to themselves. Nevertheless, this process of attribution to external factors seem to lead to the same negative feelings, resulting in low self-efficacy and negative feelings towards the pupil, in addition to increased levels of emotional exhaustion, irritation and frustration, and a reduced likelihood they will want to help the pupil (Bibou-Nakou et al., 1999; Poulou & Norwich, 2000). Rather than a process of linear causality, the interaction between attributions and behavioural management strategies appears to be circular and recursive in nature.

1.4.2   Strengths

The process of identifying and quality assuring the studies was rigorous and without bias. In addition, 13 out of the 17 studies were found to have a satisfactory to good methodology and analysis of results. In addition, despite four of the studies showing poorer methodologies, their findings were also consistent with the main themes and findings discussed. The studies are also international and therefore, as far as it was possible to judge, there were no obvious cultural biases, apart from the differences in definitions of challenging behaviour which were discussed.

1.4.3   Limitations

There are a number of limitations that can be drawn from the body of synthesised research, including the fact that the majority of studies used vignettes in their methodology. As such, the researchers presented teachers with behavioural situations where limited background information was known. In addition, subtle differences in factors such as stability and globality were already accounted for as these were built into given examples (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981). While the pupil behaviours described within the vignettes were taken from previous research, they do not highlight all of the subtle factors, which may affect attributions teachers make around real life cases, such as classroom dynamics, knowledge of family, and the socioeconomic area within which they work. The use of vignettes has also been criticised in other research, as giving differing results to teachers' real life examples (Lucas et al., 2009).

In addition, many of the quantitative studies gave teachers a list of possible attributions to choose from or to rank, rather than leaving this open-ended. While theses attributions appear to be fairly consistent in themes across previous research, it is unclear whether findings would have been the same if they had options to give their own reasons. For example, only one study identified peers as a potential cause of behaviour difficulties within the classroom (Savina et al., 2014). In addition, some of the studies relied on a ranking system, which forced participants to order the causes (Guttmann, 1982), which may have not allowed teachers to identify some factors as having equal weight.

All of these studies tended to rely on teachers self-reports of their behaviours. While this is a feasible methodology, it is difficult to know whether these teachers actually implemented the strategies they said they used within the classroom. Only one study (Medway, 1979) observed teachers within the classroom, and found a correlation between teacher use of criticism and particular behaviours. Further research, which explores teacher attributions in relation to actual behaviour in the classroom, would be beneficial in order to make firmer conclusions.

Another limitation of the studies included here is the age-range of sample pupils. The majority of studies were focussed on the primary age-range, with only two exploring children in the early years (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Thijs & Koomen, 2009) and two extending into the secondary age-rage (Ding et al., 2010; W. S. Maxwell, 1987). As such, it is unlikely that the results here can be confidently applied towards secondary or early years teachers without further research in these specific settings. There have been studies that have explored differences in primary and secondary teachers (Gibbs & Gardiner, 2008; Kulinna, 2008), however, due to the specificity of the populations these were not included in the current review. These studies appear to indicate that there are differences in the attributions primary and secondary teachers make, therefore more research within the secondary age-range in mainstream populations would be key in order to establish whether attributions are related in any meaningful way to teaching stance.

While this review included four qualitative studies, the analysis and coding of these studies was statistical in nature i.e. the data gained was through interview, but was coded numerically, for example through the number of times they made a particular attribution. None of these studies explored the data in greater depth and therefore some of the richness of this data and possible subtleties, which would help explain the differences in attributions was lost.

1.5   Conclusions and Recommendations

The current review extends current literature by systematically reviewing teacher attributions in relation to behaviour. It is clear from the papers reviewed that teachers, in the main, make external attributions concerning the causes of challenging behaviour, which appear to have consequences, not only for their own perceptions of control, responsibility, and self-efficacy, but also consequences in terms of the type of help they offer that pupil. This is particularly apparent in relation to children who display aggressive, defiant, and disruptive behaviour, where teachers were more likely to regard these children as blameworthy and therefore are more likely to use punishments and to think negatively about them. This finding, if it is generalised to other mainstream settings, has significant implications when we look at how these children are managed within our classrooms and the high rates of exclusion within UK schools (Hatton, 2013). It may also go a long way to help understand why children with social, emotional and mental health difficulties (SEMH) are perceived to be the most difficult group of pupils to manage by teachers (Thomas, 2015).

1.5.1   Implications for Educational Psychologists

In light of these findings, there are a number of implications for EPs when supporting teachers who have pupils displaying challenging behaviour within their class. Part of the support is likely to be directed towards helping teachers to reframe their thinking so that they can take a less within-child view of the behaviour the pupil is displaying.

Some research has suggested that school psychologists should share information in relation to cognitive deficits of pupils as this leads to increased levels of sympathy, as the behaviour is seen as out of the pupils' control (Hart & Diperna, 2017). While this may evoke a more positive emotional response from teachers, the research here has shown that it is unlikely to promote long-term or proactive strategies. The most effective way of supporting changes in teacher attributions, to the author's knowledge, has not yet been explored within the literature, although there have been some studies using attribution retraining techniques with pupils, with some positive results (Hudley et al., 1998).

As well as attempts to alter attributions, it is important for EPs to be aware of some of the mediating factors influencing teacher thinking, as supporting these will be key to improving and maintaining behaviour. For example, high efficacy for classroom management alongside perceived effectiveness of positive behaviour strategies is likely to increase teacher use of those interventions. It is also important to consider the experience of the teacher, as this will influence how open they are to recommendations from other professionals. For example, more experienced teachers or those with a low self-efficacy may be more resistant to taking responsibility for the behaviour, as this could be damaging to their view of themselves

It appears that supporting teachers to feel empowered to manage the behaviour in the classroom, encouraging them to set longer term targets, and helping them to perceive the behaviour as being able to change given the right support, are the strategies most likely to help teachers escape a negative cycle of thinking around particular pupils.

It would also be helpful for EPs to consider ways in which pupils can protect themselves against circumstances that are influencing behaviour. Research has shown the value of teacher-student relationships in particular is a protective factor for pupils (Meehan, Hughes, & Cavell, 2003; Pillay, Dunbar-Krige, & Mostert, 2013). Encouraging teachers to see the behaviour as part of an interactive process, which all parties can influence, including the parents, pupil, and teacher, is likely to be most effective for sustained behaviour change.

1.5.2   Future research

This review has revealed a number of areas of future research that would be worth exploring. One of which would be to explore decisions taken by teachers to make behavioural referrals to professional services, in particular EPs in the UK. Research on this is limited to the three studies included here and only one of these studies had this as its main focus. These studies, taken together, did not find any consistent patterns in referrals, however, given the influence attributions can have over behaviour management techniques, it seems unlikely that these do not play a part in referral decisions. This would be a key question to answer, particularly for EPs, as it would have implications on the types of referral being prioritised.

In addition, a body of research in relation to parental attributions and behaviour also exists within the literature, but was beyond the scope of this review. A further systematic review of this literature would help understand patterns in parental attributions.

It also appears that certain behaviours, in particular aggressive, defiant, and disruptive behaviour, are viewed very differently to other common classroom behaviours explored within these studies. Understanding and exploring these behaviours in more depth would give insight into why this type of behaviour in particular results in such different attributions.

Finally and importantly, the attributions pupils themselves make about their own behaviour is largely missing. While a number of studies have explored pupil attributions in relation to their learning (e.g. Houston, 2016), very few have looked at the attributions pupils make in relation to their own behaviour. The few studies which have explored attributions of behaviour from pupil perspectives have been in relation to other pupils in the class or school rather than attributions pupils make about themselves (e.g. Lambert & Miller, 2010; Miller, Ferguson, & Byrne, 2000). How a pupil's own attributions compare to the attributions of others around them, may also shed light on how challenging behaviour is understood within schools.

Chapter 2:   An Exploration of Attributions of Challenging Behaviour and Exclusion within Secondary Schools

2.1   Introduction

Pupils displaying challenging behaviour are the least successful group to be included within mainstream schools (Thomas, 2015). When traditional behaviour management techniques become ineffectual, fixed-term exclusions or placement in alternative provisions become commonplace, thus compounding the difficulties these pupils face (Jull, 2008). Challenging classroom behaviour also has a negative impact on teachers managing this behaviour, leading to feelings of frustration and helplessness, and increasing levels of stress (Bibou-Nakou et al., 1999; Cothran, Kulinna, & Garrahy, 2009; Poulou & Norwich, 2000). Research that can develop our understanding of why teachers find this population so challenging and which can explore teacher and pupil thinking and processes around challenging behaviour in the classroom, will be important in supporting schools in their attempts to maintain mainstream settings for these pupils.

The definition of the term 'challenging behaviour' can be open to interpretation as it is dependent on individual teacher's perceptions and tolerance levels, as well as their experience and confidence in managing classroom behaviour. The following definition appears to best capture this understanding, describing challenging behaviour as, "any repeated pattern of behaviour, or perception of behaviour, that interferes with or is at risk of interfering with optimal learning or engagement in pro-social interactions with peers and adults" (Smith & Fox, 2003, p.5). For the purposes of this paper, the term behaviour will refer to 'challenging behaviour' throughout.

2.1.1   Behaviour in Schools

Many researchers have explored which behaviours teachers find most challenging in classrooms, with reviews of the literature consistently finding that low-level yet persistently disruptive behaviours are often considered by teachers as the most demanding (Beaman, Wheldall, & Kemp, 2007; Crawshaw, 2015). The endurance of behaviour, despite attempts to intervene, can lead to teachers perceiving mainstream classes as unsuitable (Schumm & Vaughn, 1992), which can lead to pupils being isolated and excluded from their peers. Interestingly, more aggressive or violent one-off behavioural incidents are thought to occur infrequently (Crawshaw, 2015), in spite of Local Authority (LA) and government data suggesting that the use of fixed-term exclusions (where a pupil is officially removed from education on school premises for a fixed

period of time, Hatton, 2013) for such behaviours remain high (Department for Education (DfE), 2015). Furthermore, the longer term outcomes for pupils experiencing exclusion are extremely poor, including increased risks of non-attendance and youth offending (Parsons, Godfrey, Howlett, Hayden, & Martin, 2001). However, exclusion continues to be used within schools as a way of managing behaviour, despite many Head Teachers recognising the ineffectiveness of these strategies at supporting behaviour change (Pavey & Visser, 2003).

Sutherland, Lewis-Palmer, Stichter, and Morgan (2008) also found that the most effective behaviour management strategies were not always the ones that were used. Although teachers recognised the value and effectiveness of behaviour management techniques, such as specific praise and positive incentives, many still failed to incorporate these into their practice. It is possible that this reflects the fact that school behavioural policies predominantly focus on disciplining inappropriate behaviour rather than supporting and encouraging positive behaviour (Fenning et al., 2012). Additionally, some studies have reported a resistance from schools to make changes to policies and practice in order to accommodate pupil behaviour, particularly in light of the continuous pressure for raised attainment within mainstream settings (e.g. Lindqvist, Nilholm, Almqvist, & Wetso, 2011).

2.1.2   Attribution Theory

Research has suggested that the attributions teachers and pupils hold impact the way they perceive the behaviour of others. Both teachers and pupils have been found to predominantly place the causality of behaviour external to themselves (Mavropoulou & Padeliadu, 2002; Miller et al., 2000). Whereas teachers appeared to perceive causes to be within the pupil (e.g. lack of effort) or due to home factors (e.g. poor parenting) (Ho, 2004), pupils identified teacher fairness as most significant (Miller et al., 2000).

Bradley (1978) suggested that attributional biases which favour the self, make teachers and pupils more likely to place the blame for behaviour externally, thus maintaining their self-efficacy. However, studies have also found that external causal attributions appear to be closely associated with a passive or 'depressed' attributional style in pupils (Eslea, 1999; Tony, 2003). Eslea (1999) found that this type of attributional style hindered pupil abilities to generalise and internalise behaviour strategies. Similar passive patterns of behaviour have been found in teachers, and have been related to the controllability and stability of behaviour. Attributing behaviour to uncontrollable and stable factors can leave teachers feeling powerless and less willing to intervene (Shapiro, Miller, Sawka, Gardill, & Handler, 1999).

The type of behaviour pupils display also appears to impact on the attributions teachers make. Externalising behaviours, such as aggression, are often considered the result of situational factors, for example family circumstances, compared to internalising behaviours which are more often thought be due to internal pupil factors (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007; Savina et al., 2014). Both of these studies also found gender differences in the attributions teachers make and the types of intervention they then chose. Teachers were more likely to attribute girls' behaviour to their personality (Savina et al., 2014) and were more likely to promote social skills for boys who were considered unsociable (Arbeau & Coplan, 2007).

Perceived controllability and teacher self-efficacy also appear to influence attributions and classroom management strategies. Identifying behaviour to be within a pupil's control and therefore intentional, can lead to teachers demanding behaviour change and relying on punishments and threats (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981). However, seeing circumstances as beyond the pupil's control can also be unhelpful, as although teachers appear more committed to helping these pupils they are also more likely to set long term and potentially less useful goals (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981).

Teacher self-efficacy in relation to classroom management also appears to mediate the relationship between attributions and the type of behaviour strategies applied. Andreou and Rapti (2010) found pupil-related attributions and a high efficacy for classroom management predicted the use of positive rewards, whereas family-related attributions and low self-efficacy predicted the use of threats.

It is clear that the relationship between attributions, the type of behaviour being displayed, the perceived controllability of the behaviour, and the self-efficacy of the teacher can all play a part in how that behaviour is then managed within the classroom. Having an increased understanding of these relationships and also identifying additional pupil factors influencing attributions would be beneficial in identifying areas where support could be put in place so that behaviour could be managed more successfully and pupils could sustain their mainstream placements.

2.1.3   Rationale for Current Research

This research builds on the current literature in order to clarify and enhance understanding of the relationship between attributions and behaviour in the classroom. It also sets out to explore the processes underpinning the use of behaviour management strategies, in particular fixed-term exclusions.

To date, many teacher attribution studies have employed techniques that have relied on researcher-designed vignettes, which already control for dimensions such as intentionality and stability, and are likely to have masked some of the complex and potentially conflicting beliefs teachers may hold. Furthermore, the processes influencing teacher decisions to continue using behaviour management techniques such as exclusion, despite it being shown to be ineffective, remain unexplored.

For pupils, there is limited research that looks at their understanding and beliefs in relation to behaviour in the classroom. Studies that have begun to explore this have mainly asked for pupil perceptions of peer behaviour, rather than their own. Given the recent emphasis within educational research and practice to listen to and give weight to the voice of the child, in particular in relation to behaviour and exclusion (Atkinson, 2012; DfE & Department of Health (DoH), 2015), this appears to be an area which demands further exploration.

Teacher attributional research has mainly been focused within primary school settings, despite indicators that secondary teachers hold different views on to their primary colleagues (Gibbs & Gardiner, 2008), which could potentially limit the generalisability of previous findings. In addition, secondary school pupils in the UK have been shown to have an increased likelihood of being excluded, compared to primary pupils (DfE, 2015), which would further justify a focus on this context.

This research aims to address these gaps in the literature by looking at the attributions of secondary school teachers' and pupils' using a qualitative approach, which will enable a greater exploration of individual attributions and beliefs in relation to behaviour.

2.1.4   Research Questions

This study addresses the following research questions:
- What attributions underpin pupil and teacher understanding of why challenging behaviour occurs?
- How do pupils and teachers understand and experience the use of behaviour management strategies, including fixed-term exclusions?

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Epistemological and Ontological Perspective

The current research was influenced by a critical realist approach (Bhaskar, 1979), which has emerged as an alternative to positivism and constructivism. This approach retains an ontological realism that there is a world that exists independently of our constructions around it (J. A. Maxwell, 2012), however endeavours to generate knowledge which captures and reflects these real world experiences (Willig, 2013). Within these 'lived experiences' are psychological or social processes which characterize or determine behaviour, even if the participants are not aware of their existence explicitly. It is perceived to be the role of the researcher to discover these 'truths' from the data (Madill, Jordan, & Shirley, 2000). It is the direct goal of critical realism to get beneath the surface level of the data in order to be able to explain social events with reference to the causal mechanisms (Fletcher, 2017). This approach also takes a critical stance, and does not assume that the data is a direct reflection of what is actually occurring, rather interpretation is needed. As such, the subjectivity of the researcher needs to be carefully considered and reflected on throughout the process (Bunge, 1993).

This approach was chosen as challenging behaviour is seen by the researcher to be a real social phenomenon which has a direct impact on pupils, staff, and parents and as such something which participants can reflect on and talk about. In addition, attributions are identified as social process which participants may not be aware of yet which the researcher is able to discover within the data.

While the researcher's critical realist epistemology drove the methodology adopted, during the analysis a more interpretative stance was taken. The key aim of an interpretivist approach is to understand motives, meanings, and reasons of subjective experiences within a specific context (Neuman, 2000). This was seen to be necessary in order to understand and draw meaning from the complex phenomenon being studied and complemented the methodology and analysis employed. As such, during the coding process and development of themes, an interpretivist stance was taken.

2.2.2 Reflexivity

As this epistemological approach requires interpretation of the data, the researcher must reflect on her own values, assumptions, and experiences which may influence or bias any data collection or analysis carried out.

The researcher was aware of her own values, beliefs, and experiences relating to challenging behaviour and exclusion having previously taught within a specialised behaviour provision. The fact that this could elicit emotional responses from the researcher in relation to the content of the interviews as well as empathy for the participants was also recognised. In addition, the researcher's current role as a trainee educational psychologist and her consultation and conciliation skills acquired through training, could lead to a desire to reframe the difficulties which were being described or attempt to problem-solve, which could influence the answers participants gave. As such, the researcher attempted to remain neutral throughout the interviews, only asking follow up questions when they related to content which could be expanded or clarified upon, rather than content which evoked an emotional response from the researcher.

Furthermore, the researcher was aware that her role as a psychologist could be a potential barrier to the engagement of participants and that power-imbalance may need to be addressed. It was felt that it would be necessary to build rapport with the pupil participants in particular, to ensure a rich description was generated, which was achieved through techniques of active listening (Rogers, 1951). Through reflecting back and summarising what the participant was saying, more of a 'narrator-listener' relationship was established (Mathieson, 1999), which encouraged participants to expand on what was said and reflect on the accuracy of the comments. This was intended to remain neutral, although for the pupils some tentative enquiries were made in relation to feelings around events, based on the content of previous responses, which could then be validated or rejected.

2.2.3   Ethical Approval

Ethical approval was granted by the University of Southampton ethics committee (ERGO ID: 19462) and was carried out in line with the British Psychological Society's ethical guidelines on conducting research and working with young people (Oates, Kwiatkovski, & Coulthard, 2010; Sasso, Stievano, González Jurado, & Rocco, 2009).

2.2.4   Design

A qualitative methodology was employed using semi-structured interviews, which allowed flexibility to explore ideas linked to current theories as well as allowing new ideas to emerge, in line with the critical realist epistemology employed. Additional tools were also used to promote reflection and discussion and to provide further opportunities to develop the richness and depth of the data. These included the completion of implicit theory questionnaires (Dweck, 2000)

alongside the opportunity for participants to discuss their answers. Life-grids were also used to support pupils in generating biographical data and reflect on changes in their behaviour over time (Wilson, Cunningham-Burley, Bancroft, & Backett-Milburn, 2007). Thematic analysis was then used to analyse all of the data collected.

2.2.4.1   Sampling.

Recruitment was driven by purposive sampling, which ensured a degree of participant homogeneity and reduced the need for a large sample size (Guest, 2006). This was particularly pertinent for pupil participants, as they were being recruited from an already reduced population within the wider school environment. Malterud, Siersma, and Guassora (2016) have argued that when deciding sample size in qualitative interview studies, an important factor to consider is the breadth of the study aim. They argue that a narrow aim can offer sufficient power with a smaller sample. They also identify the presence of an established theory as having a role in guiding sample size; a smaller sample being needed where there is a good theoretical background. In the light of the narrow aim of this study, as well as the presence of established theory in relation to the aims of the research, this alowed for a smaller sample size to be sufficient for a degree of 'information power' (Malterud, Siersma, & Guassora, 2016).

As such, a sample of between six to ten participants representing each role, was considered appropriate following these principles. Ten teacher participants were recruited, which lies within the desired sample size. However, due to extreme difficulties recruiting from a vulnerable population within the time frame of the thesis, it was only possible to recruit five pupil participants. As such, the pupil data likely has a reduced information power compared to the teacher data set.

2.2.4.2   Participants.

A total of 10 staff members and five pupil participants were recruited from five secondary schools in the South of England. All participants were White British.

2.2.4.2.1   Education staff.

The staff members included four males and six females from 29-54 years of age. Participants also had a variety of roles, including one Head teacher, three members of the senior leadership team (SLT) and four subject teachers. Two participants did not have teaching responsibilities, but were in roles relating to family support and behaviour management within school. Although not teachers, these participants remained part of the study as it was considered

their roles would offer a unique perspective and enhance the richness of the data collected. All participants had been working within secondary school settings for more than 5 years.

2.2.4.2.2   *Pupils.*

Pupils included five males from 13-15 years of age. While girls were identified by schools, parents did not consent to their participation in the research. It was expected that the sample would contain more boys than girls, as this is in line with recent exclusion data showing boys are three times more likely than girls to receive a fixed-term exclusion (DfE, 2015). All pupils had experienced over three fixed term exclusions in the last academic year.

2.2.5   Procedure

2.2.5.1   Pilot study.

A pilot study was carried out in order to trial the interview guide to assess the suitability and relevance of the questions in generating data relevant to the research questions. The study aimed to recruit a teacher and pupil from a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) in the South of England.

An interview with the Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator (SENCo) from the setting was conducted, following which it was judged the topic guide was sufficient to gain rich data without any amendments. No parental consent was received within the timescale from pupils attending the PRU, which meant the pupil topic guide could not be trialled before the main study.

2.2.5.2   Recruitment.

Schools were initially identified by the researcher as having a large number of behaviour incidents from exclusion data kept by LAs. Basing data collection in these schools increased the opportunities for recruitment within each setting. Following this an email was sent to Head Teachers and SENCos within each school detailing the project and asking if they would be willing to be involved (see Appendix D).

A minimum of three fixed-term exclusions was judged to indicate persistent behaviour over time, and pupils were recruited who met this inclusion criteria. Pupils were excluded from the study if exclusions had occurred within a discrete period i.e. one term, and no further behaviour incidents had occurred. Pupils were also excluded from this study if they had a diagnosed learning difficulty or additional needs, such as Autism or Downs Syndrome, as these populations may offer additional challenges in terms of data collection and detract from the narrow focus on behaviour in a typically developing population. Staff members were included in the study if they had regular, direct contact with behaviour management or exclusion procedures within their schools.

Information letters and consent forms were then sent to schools to be distributed to staff members and parents of pupils who met the inclusion criteria of the study (see Appendix E). At the same time, a pupil-friendly information poster was sent home to enable pupils to learn more about the project and make an informed decision about whether to participate (see Appendix F). Details of participants' right to withdraw was given in the information letters and on consent and assent forms. As pupils were a hard to reach population a small monetary incentive was given on completion of the interview.

2.2.5.3   Data collection

2.2.5.3.1   *Interviews.*

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with staff members and pupil participants using separate interview guides (see Appendix G). During the pupil interviews, the questions were cut up and pupils were able to choose the order in which they wished to answer them. They also decided the order of the tasks, in order to help address the power imbalance of researcher and participant (Oates et al., 2010). All interviews were recorded using an audio-device and files were stored securely on the University server. Interviews ranged from 20-50 minutes in length.

2.2.5.3.2   *Implicit theories questionnaire.*

In order to explore implicit theories, pupils and staff members were asked to complete an implicit theory questionnaire. Pupils completed the Implicit Theories of Personality – "others" form for children aged nine and over (Dweck, 2000) while staff members completed the 'Kind of Person' Implicit Theory - "others" form for adults (Dweck, 2000). These questionnaires were used as stimulus for discussion around perceived stability of behaviour and were used to add richness to the data collected, rather than to be quantitatively analysed.

The majority of data generated from these questionnaires, while interesting, was not as useful in answering this paper's research questions. Therefore, only a portion of this data has been included within this study. As such this study focuses solely on attribution theory rather than expanding on the links to implicit theories in greater depth, which could be explored further in another research paper at a later date.

2.2.5.3.3   *Life grids.*

Pupils were additionally asked to complete a life grid, which is a tool that allows for the construction of a visual temporal framework (Parry, Thomson, & Fowkes, 1999) (see Appendix H). Other researchers have found this to be a sensitive technique for gaining pupil voice in a similar population (O'Connor, Hodkinson, Burton, & Torstensson, 2011). Completing the life grids was

also a way to support rapport building and enabled pupils to talk about their behaviour in a flexible way.

The ethical implications of asking pupils to discuss possibly distressing or traumatic early life experiences was considered and the researcher made sure to handle any topics raised sensitively. The researcher also ensured that they were aware of school safeguarding procedures should any disclosures be made during the interviews and young people were fully informed of additional support they could seek during the debrief, which was conducted by the researcher immediately afterwards.

2.2.5.4   Debrief.

All participants were provided with a debrief statement at the end of the interview process, which outlined what to do if they had any further questions and identified appropriate people to talk to about any issues they may have raised in the interview, which was done in person with the researcher (see Appendix I).

Due to slight changes in study design and analysis, participants were also informed of any changes following their interviews. Participants also had the opportunity to review the themes and codes throughout the process. No participants responded to give any further feedback following their initial involvement.

2.3   Analysis

2.3.1   Data Preparation

All interviews were transcribed with the aid of transcription software into Microsoft Word (see Appendix J). Each participant was given a unique participant number to ensure anonymity and identifiable names and places were removed and replaced with pseudonyms. Level headings were used to identify categories of questioning and lines of text were numbered throughout, to aid with the retrieval of information during analysis.

Preliminary jottings were made during the transcription process around tone of voice or way in which statements were expressed, as well as initial thoughts and interpretations of the meaning behind some statements for later analytic consideration (see Appendix K). During the initial stage of analysis, some 'pre-coding' was carried out (Layder, 1998), where particularly provocative quote or passages were identified. These were initially coded as 'good quotes' and later became key pieces of evidence during the organisation and development of themes as well

as serving as illustrative examples throughout the final report (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006).

Transcripts, life grids, and questionnaire data were imported into NVivo qualitative data analysis Software (2017), which was used to manage the coding process.

2.3.2   Thematic Analysis

The data was analysed using the thematic analysis process as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) (see Table 4). The aim of thematic analysis is to search for themes which are relevant to the phenomenon under investigation in order to capture something important about the data and provide a rich description (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In addition it intends to describe, organise and interpret the themes in order to find meaning (Boyatzis, 1998). In line with the purpose of the analysis chosen and the researcher's epistemological stance it was necessary to employ a 'suspicious' interpretation of the data (Joffe, 2012), during the coding process.

Staff and pupil data was coded separately throughout, and it was only during the final stage of analysis that major themes across the different data sets were compared, thus allowing the opportunity for shared themes to emerge.

While thematic analysis guided the phases the researcher followed, it was considered necessary to code the data in a more in-depth way in order to answer the research questions identified, which was in line with a more interpretivist epistemology. As such, further exploration of additional approaches to coding were identified following the initial coding phase to complement this approach.

Table 4 *Phases of thematic analysis as outlined in Braun & Clarke (2006: p87)*

Phase	Description of processes
Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.

Defining and naming:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

2.3.3 Inductive vs Deductive Working

This research employed an 'adaptive' approach to analysis (Layder, 1998), which allowed for continuous engagement with the theory alongside an interest in the emergence of new and unique insights from the data. Layder (1998) argued that this approach allows future research to build on current knowledge in order to further develop a more sophisticated understanding of complex social phenomena. It was the intention that by using this approach, this researcher could develop and enhance understanding of current theory around attributions and behaviour. As such, both a deductive (theoretically informed and interpretative) and an inductive (allowing themes to emerge from the data) approach was employed.

Initially, an *a priori* template was used to organise the data and look for themes relating to the causal attributions already identified in the literature as recommended by other qualitative researchers working in this way (e.g. Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), however this was later rejected as being too broad and did not capture the subtleties of the data. Therefore, the decision was taken to code inductively. However, in order to ensure that the coding was focused and remained pertinent to the research questions only salient portions of the data corpus (total data) were coded initially (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). During the later phases, a search for identified codes was carried out over the whole data set and counter-evidence contrary to the developing themes was also looked for to minimise bias (Kvale, 1994).

2.3.4 Coding

Initially a 'holistic' approach to coding was taken where extracts from the data were 'lumped' together to represent a code, rather than a line-by-line approach. This enabled the researcher to get a grasp of basic themes at an early stage of the process (Dey, 1993). In addition, a method of simultaneous coding was employed which enabled multiple meanings to be applied to one piece of text. This approach enabled broader concepts to be identified alongside smaller parts or meaning within it (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014) and intersections and links between codes to later be analysed.

During the next cycle of coding an eclectic approach was taken which included a selection of elemental and exploratory methods (Saldaña, 2016). This initially included process coding (Charmaz, 2012), and In Vivo coding (Strauss, 1987). Through process coding it was possible to identify observable and conceptual actions. Within this coding an interpretative stance was necessary in order to identify attributional patterns within the data, where these were not explicitly stated. On the other hand, In Vivo coding took place at the surface level, but enabled the actual words of the participants to be heard, which was seen to be particularly important for the pupil data. During the coding process, a decision was taken to also use versus coding (Altricher, Posch, & Somekh, 1993), where two concepts are identified as being in direct conflict with each other, in order to capture this divergence of thinking.

Analytic memos were written throughout this stage of analysis in order to evaluate the researcher's personal and emotional responses to the data, as well as providing opportunities for reflection around emerging patterns, themes, and processes within the data and links to existing research (see Appendix L).

Once the initial cycles of coding were carried out, a process of pattern coding was employed (Miles et al, 2014), where codes were grouped into smaller categories or merged when similar meanings were identified to create a 'meta-code' for a group of codes. During this stage, codes were placed into a codebook, enabling them to be monitored and organised during the coding process (see Appendix M).

Following this, a process of code mapping took place (Anfara, 2008) which enabled the full set of codes to be reorganised into categories and then condensed into central themes or concepts, in order to bring order, meaning, and structure to the data. Once clustered codes had been identified, these were then reviewed to see commonalities and exceptions to the data, which led to formation of initial themes (see Appendix N). These themes were then further categorized and major or 'meta-theme' identified (see Appendix O).

Following analysis, the codes and themes were organised across pupils and staff members into thematic maps (see Appendix P). These themes were then organised further around the research questions, and similar and differing themes were identified between the two sets of participants (see Figure 2 and 3). Similar themes and opposing themes were then further categorised into master themes, which related to the entire data corpus.

2.4   Findings

Six master themes and seven unique themes were identified. Due to the richness of the data, the scope of the thesis did not allow for exploration of all of these, therefore those most relevant to the research questions were explored in depth. The key points from within each theme will be discussed and illustrative quotes will be used to aid in the understanding and interpretation of the participants' views. To protect the identity of participants all names are pseudonyms.

2.4.1   What Attributions Underpin Pupil and Teacher Understanding of Why Challenging Behaviour Occurs?

Three master themes emerged relating to the causes of behaviour, which were consistent across both staff and pupil participants: 'behaviour is within-child'; 'behaviour is interactive'; and 'behaviour is a difficulty' (see figure 1). 'Behaviour can be judged', which was unique to staff members, will also be discussed.

2.4.1.1   Behaviour is within-child.

The theme 'behaviour is within-child' refers to behaviour being regarded as internal to the pupil. This perspective might be expected to be taken by those external to the pupil, however, within this sample pupils also took a within-child perspective on their own behaviour, citing it as part of their personality or something being 'wrong' with them. Pupils reflected that these internal factors resulted in them over-reacting or experiencing strong emotions, which would lead to their behaviour escalating. This was something they perceived to happen very quickly and felt out of their control.

> *… my head blew out in a fit of anger. (Thomas, pupil, line 119-120)*

Pupils also recognised how this lack of control made them different to their peers, thus reinforcing the idea that there was something wrong with them.

> *… well I've got something wrong with me where I get stressed out really easy, in my eyes.*
> *So, I can get stressed out real quick over something which other people wouldn't usually*
> *get stressed out about. (Daniel, pupil, line 329-331)*

For staff members there was a perception that some pupils were just "*naughty people*" and that some behaviour was a result of character traits staff members were unable to control or change.
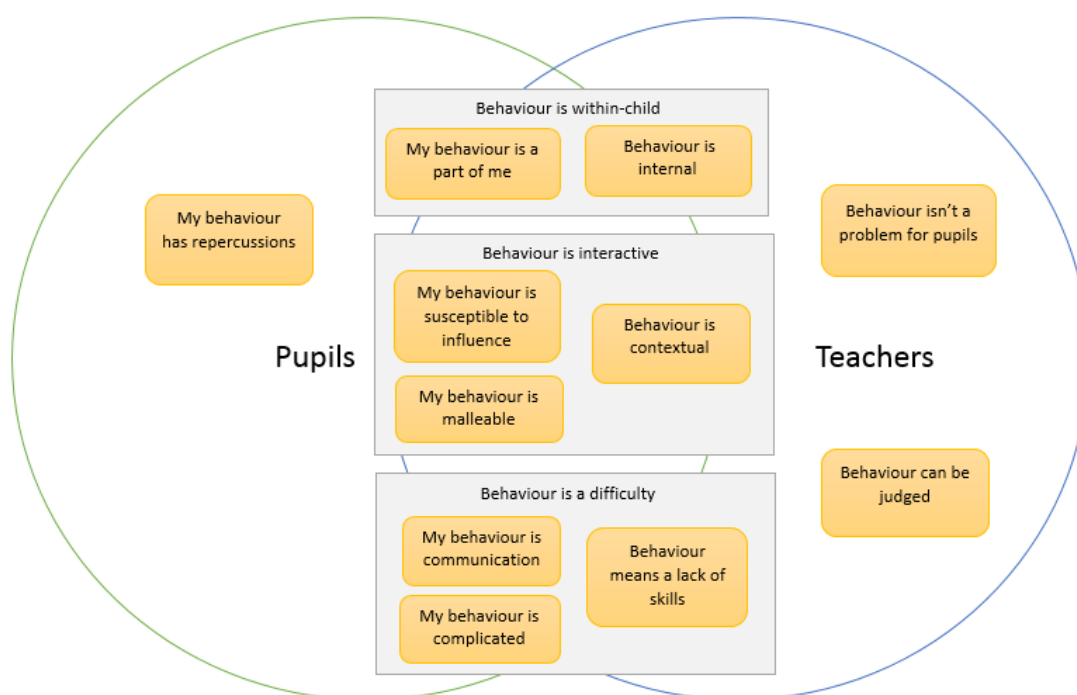
Figure 2. Combined thematic map for question 1

*We've got a student in the department at the moment, it doesn't matter how long she's in here, and going back into school, I **can't** change her character. It's who she is. (Erika, staff member, line 9-10)*

Pupils also acknowledged how difficult it was to change, which for one pupil in particular, led to belief that no-one could help him.

… it doesn't matter what I do, cause no-one would take it, no-one would like really care, you know. (Callum, pupil, line 226-227)

In summary, this theme suggests that within-child views of challenging behaviour can lead to the perception that the behaviour will remain stable and cannot change. The fact that pupils perceived that they were different from their peers appeared to reinforce this notion that the behaviour was a part of them. In some instances, these beliefs appeared to be associated with a negative outlook of the future and a sense of shared helplessness from both pupils and staff members.

2.4.1.2   Behaviour is interactive.

In apparent contrast, the theme 'behaviour is interactive' also emerged. Within this theme was the notion that behaviour was fluid, controllable, and contextual. The interactive nature of

behaviour was further supported as all participants spoke about behaviour not happening in isolation, but being an interaction between the pupil and the environment.

Staff members appeared to believe that there were different 'types' of pupils: those who were in control of their behaviour and those who weren't. This appeared to be linked to whether behaviour was seen to be a 'choice' or as a response to difficulties faced outside of school.

… we have children in the school who are just naughty people… and they have to confront that… they've made that choice, they've done it deliberately, there is no benefit to them and to others, so there is a consequence to it. As opposed to those who… made that bad decision because… they had to get all their siblings up because Mum was still flat out comatose drunk. (Graham, staff member, line 116-121)

Pupils could also refer to times when they felt they acted a particular way because they wanted to, compared to times when they were out of control.

Some of the time… I do it for people to laugh at me. And some of the time, I just do it because I want to. (Thomas, pupil, line 172-173)

Pupils mainly talked about the interaction between themselves, teachers, and peers. None of the pupils held teachers accountable for the cause of their behaviour, but they did identify times when teachers' actions made the situation worse. For pupils, reminders of consequences or not being allowed to follow a course of action, such as re-entering the classroom, appeared to only escalate their behaviour.

I start swearing sometimes, and then Sir basically threatened to put me on call. Then, I just called him a, I went oh you c-u-n-t, then walked away. (Daniel, pupil, line 331-332)

Staff members recognised how inconsistencies in practice between colleagues and confrontational exchanges could escalate behaviour, however, only one participant could recognise confrontation in her own practice.

… I kept allowing myself to get into these confrontations with her in front of the others and the Head teacher came up and said, "Right, go and just quietly talk to her and then come away, so the rest of the class don't hear," and what a difference that made. (Fiona, staff member, line 340-342)

It is likely that Fiona was not the only staff member in this sample who escalated behaviour through their actions, so it is interesting that she was the only one who talked about this.

Peers were also perceived as playing a significant role in pupil behaviour. For staff members, peers were often seen as a distraction due to the increased value placed on social relationships during adolescence. There was also a perception that boys in particular were attempting to "show off" or "peacock" their peers, with the main motivation seen as being the attention gained from doing so.

I think they do it because they think it's funny. Like they do it to be, you know, the entertainer, to make people laugh. Like perhaps they feel like they're not getting attention elsewhere. (Patricia, staff member, line 125-127)

The desire to make their peers laugh seemed to be a strong motivator for pupils too, however, they mostly talked about wanting to 'join in' with the behaviour of their peers.

I do join in with people a lot. Like, I'm not always the first person to start things, but, I'm usually the one which joins in and gets in trouble for it. (Daniel, pupil, line 280-281)

There was a sense that pupil behaviour was linked to a desire to belong to a particular social group, however they recognised that unlike their peers they would often take things 'too far', which result in them getting into trouble.

Pupils also identified peers as being the trigger for much of their behaviour. Pupils gave examples of incidents when peers took their things, called them names, or were 'winding them up'. They also felt that some of their peers might deliberately be instigating this behaviour, because they knew it would gain a reaction.

Well, now they see like, they can wind me up easier, and they can get a better reaction out of me, so people keep on going and I get in trouble. (Callum, pupil, line 262-263)

Acknowledgement of peers as a potential trigger led to most of the pupils talking about attempts to avoid or ignore situations that they knew might escalate their behaviour. Pupils appeared to have a general desire to improve themselves and a belief that they could change. This was fostered by a sense of their behaviour having improved already, particularly from when they were younger. While they acknowledged that they still got into trouble, they felt the strategies they were now employing, such as walking away or seeking support from a teacher, were more helpful at resolving issues, and that this was reflected in the reduction in the severity of consequences that followed. This led to a sense of hopefulness about the future.

I'm trying to change, my reputation and my… personality. I still want to be myself, but I want to be a better me and stop making… leave all the funny noises and things, like that

for, outside rather than in the class… my maths class is still a work in progress though. (Thomas, pupil, line 248-250)

For some staff members this hopefulness was also echoed in their talk around whether pupils were capable of change. Having a 'poor start' was not perceived to be indicative of poor outcomes, rather pupils were seen to be on a journey and for some staff they just hadn't 'reached them' *yet*.

*I'd like to believe that everyone **can** change… it's an important part of growth… I've definitely changed who I am throughout my life, and I'd like to think that, especially at this age where we are now, secondary school… you can't write someone off as being completely hopeless. (Harry, staff member, line 43-47)*

2.4.1.3   Behaviour is a difficulty.

For all participants there was a sense of behaviour being related to the pupil lacking the skills to be able to understand and manage their behaviour. As such, behaviour appeared to be seen as a difficulty or deficit. This theme is considered separately from the theme of 'behaviour is within-child', as it is interpreted as relating to skills, rather than innate personality traits.

Staff members reflected that pupils did not recognise what their behaviour looked like or how it was perceived by others, which resulted in difficulties changing their behaviour.

But, you know, if they aren't doing that, displaying that behaviour, then I wouldn't be challenging them and sometimes they don't… see what their behaviour is. In fact, with some Year 11s, I… videoed their drama exam… I brought them in and I actually showed them what they looked like and they had no idea, because they thought they were contributing really good ideas. When in fact, they were sat there saying nothing. And, I think, sometimes, children don't actually realise. (Fiona, staff member, line 181-186)

For pupils, they experienced their behaviour as complicated and on occasion confusing. They could recognise times when their behaviour was challenging, but did not always understand why it occurred or remember what happened, making it difficult to predict. Pupils were unable to explain what was different between some days and others, putting behaviour down to their mood or the side of bed they got out of in the morning.

*When I get in class I **sometimes** will be… [in the] right set of mind ready to do all my work, won't misbehave at all. But other times, it will be different and I just won't be up to the tasks… mess about and that will usually get me in trouble and put on call. (Daniel, pupil, line 293-295)*

Pupils talked about their behaviour being linked to how they were feeling, for example, being bored in class or worried about change. A couple of pupils identified difficulties understanding the lesson as a reason for their boredom and consequent behaviour. There was also an awareness from staff members about how difficulties accessing the curriculum could lead to pupils becoming frustrated and less confident to attempt work tasks, further amplifying the behaviour difficulty.

Because if you don't understand what it is you've been asked to do or if you aren't confident with it and then you start to muck around, because you feel happier doing that and you know what you're doing and you're not being confronted with something you can't do. (Harry, staff member, 216-218)

Staff members also felt pupils lacked motivation, which was further impacting on their willingness or ability to continue trying when finding tasks difficult. They thought that many pupils did not care about the consequences they might face, both in school as well as in the longer term.

It's like a lack of care. Like… they don't care about the consequences. They don't care that they're not going to achieve. That doesn't mean that they never will care, but at this point in time they don't. They don't care. It's no biggy. They don't mind that they're failing. And whether that's because they don't, like as a family, they don't hold education in like high esteem. Whether it's cause they can't access it, don't think they'll ever be able to access it, so don't think it's important. Or whether they're just going through an uppity stage. But I think… it's to do with, like not knowing the consequences and not understanding the importance I think. (Patricia, staff member, line 140-147)

However, there was also a sense that over time these skills and understanding could develop. Many cited examples of pupils suddenly improving their behaviour in Year 11, when the reality of next steps was much closer, but for some it was only once they had left school and could look back that they realised. A sense of skill improvement over time was also reflected in comments from staff members, which reflected their sense that pupils were not yet mature enough to be able to reflect on their behaviour and make changes accordingly.

… if I meet students that I used to teach or that used to be in, situations where they might be excluded for example, they might not have actually realised that… they could have changed and that… they had the opportunity to do so, but chose not to until they left school. (Harry, staff member, 77-80)

This theme indicates that there is a deficit model being applied to pupils, relating to their lack of skills or abilities, which gives rise to the idea of behaviour being a difficulty. However, there is also a sense that this is not necessarily permanent.

2.4.1.4   Behaviour can be judged.

The final theme, which will be discussed, was unique to staff participants and focuses on behaviour judgements. Within this theme there was a sense that behaviour was either 'right' or 'wrong' and that others could be blamed for the causes of this behaviour, most notably parents.

There was a recognition that many pupils displaying challenging behaviour experienced disruption at home. However, whilst there was empathy towards the pupils there was also a blame attached to these circumstances which, in staff members' thinking, appeared to absolve them of any responsibility to make changes.

> *… it's so hard that you've got them from 8.30am to 2.30pm and then whatever they learn outside… the stuff you've not had control of until they're 11 years old, it's so hard to change the behaviour of a student who comes with that. (Ian, staff member, line 450-453)*

In addition, there was a perception that any changes that were made to pupil behaviour could not be sustained because of negative influences at home. Home was seen to have a much stronger pull and influence over pupils compared to school, and it was because of this that school strategies were perceived as unsuccessful.

> *I'm thinking of this one person in particular, there's substance abuse within the family, and you try your hardest to, hopefully they won't go down that route, but sometimes you just can't do anything about it. And sometimes you just have to step back and let it be. That's, that's a really hard one to do. But… I've had to do that on more than one occasion. You know it's literally the **hold** from where they come from is more dominant than the actual what they want. Because… they're not getting the guidance. School can do all they can, but if they're not getting it from home… it's not successful. (Amanda, staff member, line 181-185)*

Parents were also blamed for not teaching the pupils skills, putting boundaries in place, or having values or beliefs that were in line with the school's policies and practices as well as societal expectations. When staff members perceived parental beliefs and values to clash with their own, there seemed to be increased talk of conflicts with parents. In these circumstances, parents were perceived to be in the wrong and to not be backing the school or getting 'onside'.

I think one is… parents agreeing and accepting responsibilities and… understanding the
behaviours of… their children and accepting they are wrong and supporting the school, I
think is a difficult thing to achieve… (Karl, staff member, line 112-114)

These strongly held judgements appeared to be a barrier to many staff members working collaboratively with parents and families to support the young person. Rather it was a 'battle' to get the parents to see things from their point of view.

It is worth noting that, while pupils reflected on some of the difficulties and disruptions they faced at home, they at no point referred to their parents being responsible for their behaviour. Rather parents were seen to be doing the best they could to manage them under difficult circumstances.

…at home, like my mum was all like, struggling with me and my ADHD so, it was hard on
her, cause like, she's got… other children to worry about. Not just me getting excluded…
it wouldn't help when she was like, shouting at me, but then, she was tired and she
didn't, she couldn't really do anything about it because, like she had other children to, to
worry about… (Callum, pupil, line 221-226)

2.4.2   How do Pupils and Teachers Understand and Experience the Use of Behaviour Management Strategies, Including Fixed-Term Exclusion?

Three master themes emerged from the data relating to behaviour management and exclusion: 'behaviour management is static vs dynamic'; 'exclusion leads to helplessness' and 'exclusion can be helpful' (see Figure 3). In addition, the theme of 'behaviour management is effortful' will be discussed.

2.4.2.1   Behaviour management is static vs dynamic.

Staff members strongly asserted that successful behaviour management depended on systems and policies being in place that were clear and easy to follow, with minimal flexibility allowed. The systems described universally followed a hierarchical pattern of increasing time, or severity of sanction depending on the seriousness or persistence of the behaviour. For most staff members the structure and clarity led to an assumption that all staff and pupils understood these systems and therefore should be able to follow them appropriately.
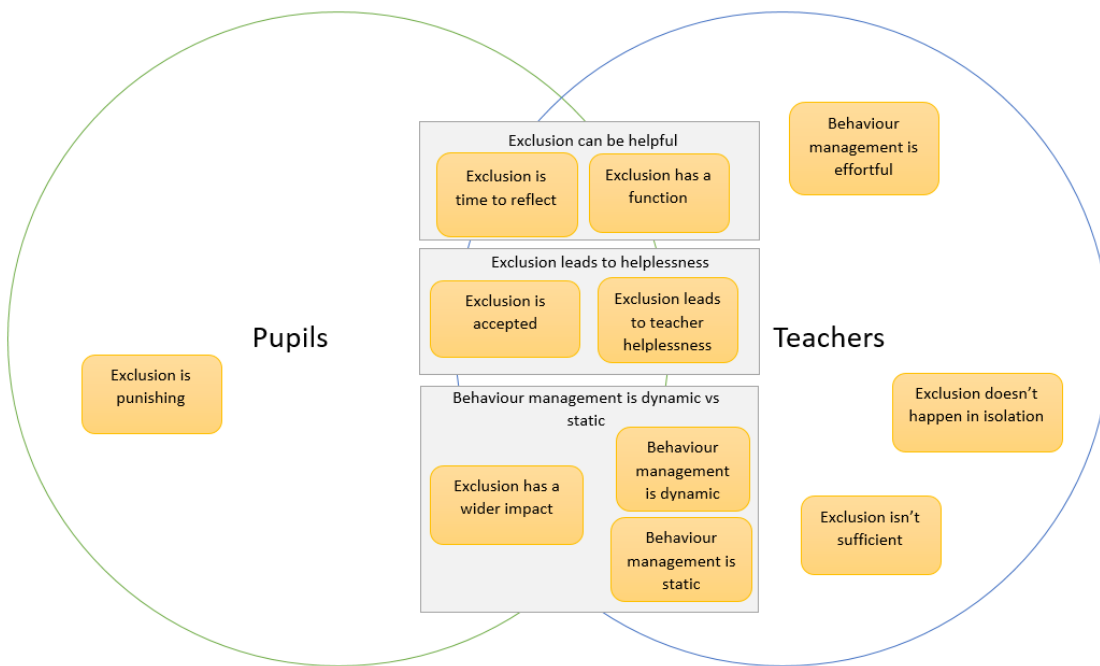
Figure 3. Combined thematic map for question 2

> *… obviously every adult is aware of… basic rules around behaviour and basic*
> *expectations. Every student is aware of the same basic expectations and… they all*
> *understand… the idea of consequences. That there are actions that result in a*
> *consequence and you have to take that consequence and that if you don't do that then*
> *you'll get a reward as well. If you modify your behaviour, you'll also get a reward… so*
> *that's the very fundamental starting point, the basic building blocks, the polices and*
> *procedures. (Graham, staff member, line 52-57)*

Staff members appeared to hold the belief that pupils needed this structure in order to be able to behave appropriately, and that a strict adherence to these rules, combined with consistency in approach, was necessary for the systems to be successful. However, it was evident that staff members' attempts to apply and adhere to rigid systems within a dynamic and social environment resulted in inconsistences and frustration, partly due to individual differences in staff expectations and tolerance levels of different behaviours. Staff members also recognised that their responses were dependent on their emotional wellbeing, external pressures, and workload, which pupils were aware of and could exploit.

> *It could be perhaps inconsistency between members of staff, in terms of what would be*
> *sanctioned in one lesson, might not be sanctioned in another one. That obviously gives*
> *some lea-way and students, certainly students that might need… to be given more strict*
> *guidelines on how to behave, might find that… alleviation… of those guidelines… they*
> *might find that more of an opportunity to misbehave and then… if you're being the*

person that's trying to be quite strict with them… they come in thinking something's acceptable when it's not. So the fact that it's different people the whole time… makes a bit of a difference. (Harry, staff member, line 154-161)

As such, systems were seen to require a level of flexibility in order to adapt to individual pupils and situations. However, for some pupils this individualised approach led to confusion around what would happen following a behaviour incident, and all of the pupils struggled to explain why particular consequences had occurred.

I didn't really understand, like, the punishments, so I didn't… really take it into thought. (Callum, pupil, line 78-79)

For pupils, the consequences appeared to be dependent on how they reacted following an incident, for example, consequences were less severe if they walked away or sought help. Callum described two incidences of aggression towards another pupil, one where he received an exclusion and one where he was isolated. He understood the reason for the lesser consequence to be because he had gone to tell a teacher straight away, which he would not have done in the past.

Because in Year 8, I wouldn't have gone straight to the teacher I would have just, I would have just gone around and that in a mess, like…, I'd be angry all day so there would be no point talking to me like that. (Callum, pupil, line 320-322)

Staff members also placed value in the response of the pupil following an incident, in particular remorsefulness. In some instances, pupils demonstrating remorse had a significantly reduced consequence.

But because she was so remorseful, it was all like, almost immediately after… "I'm so sorry. I didn't mean it," and… it got put down to a two day fixed. But normally, something like that, if you look at our… policies, that would be a permanent exclusion, because that's taking, even in like in the big world, the police would regard that as extreme." (Amanda, staff member, line 409-413)

This apparent flexibility in the application of the behaviour management strategies appears at odds with previous assertions around the need for clear and consistent boundaries and policies to be followed.

In summary, there appeared to be a conflict between the desire for structure and consistency in behaviour management, and recognition of the need for flexibility and individualised approaches. It also appeared that staff members considered pupils to be noticing

this internal consistency and conflict, and in some cases exploiting it. The pupil accounts did not appear to indicate that any policies, whether static or dynamic were shaping their behaviour, apart from how they responded following a behaviour incident.

2.4.2.2   Behaviour management is effortful.

This theme, unique to the staff data set, captures the effort expressed by staff members of implementing behaviour strategies. While many staff members recognised the need for consistency and following through with school systems ('behaviour management is static vs dynamic'), this placed a huge demand on their time, such as missing breaks and lunch times to monitor behaviour or taking the time to ensure the consequences were followed through.

Like yesterday, just from my department, three teachers sent out homework detentions, including myself and out of the ones I sent, about three kids or four kids came… I think I asked for about eight kids. So… you know, that just becomes like a massive faff, because then you've got to chase these kids up, escort them over, when really all I want them to do is their bloomin' homework. I don't want to give them a detention particularly, I don't want to spend any extra time with them necessarily. (Patricia, staff members, line 108-113)

In addition, managing behaviour was emotionally difficult for many staff members. Some talked of times when they felt threatened or scared of pupils in their classes, while others felt sad or disappointed when pupils were unable to change their behaviour. For Harry, the emotional impact came when his own beliefs about what would be helpful to the young person differed from the school policy.

… even if there is something that needs to be punished, as a school, we try to be really positive and find… the good things out about the student and then try and… build a rapport and then that can lead to… almost, an inner conflict, where you don't want to sanction someone because you are trying hard to help them enjoy school, and want to be here, and make progress, but actually, what they're doing might not be appropriate. (Harry, staff member, line 161-166)

Many staff members thought more proactive and preventative strategies were needed, however these required additional support, resources, and knowledge of new and innovative ideas. Staff members also recognised that the impact of these strategies were often not seen immediately and it took time to foster a sense of trust and build relationships, both with parents and pupils, which was key to the effectiveness of these strategies.

… a lot of it is reactive, it is in most schools… what I've found from my experience… the best schools are the ones that deal with behaviour proactively, which can be difficult, because you then need a buy in from the kids and the parents. (Ian, staff member, line 118-121)

For some, successful behaviour management came with experience, and an understanding of a range of strategies and when to apply them, alongside a confidence in what you were doing. However, investing the time in learning skills and establishing relationships with pupils, appeared to enable less effortful and quicker resolutions at a later date.

It's having the experience and confidence that this is the right thing to do… if it's a student I know really well then I'm confident that, because of the relationship with him and the skill that I've got, I'm able to deflect or distract or whatever it is to prevent it escalating. So skills, relationships, experience and understanding, I think, of what the needs are. (Joanne, staff member, line 293-297)

2.4.2.3 Exclusion leads to helplessness

For all of the participants there was a sense of acceptance and helplessness around the use of exclusion in school. For pupils', exclusion was something that happened to them and was part of their normal school life.

Bit annoyed but it's usual really. It's happened to me before. I know what happens. So it's not that bad of a day really. (Daniel, pupil, line 358-359)

In addition, they did not hold teachers accountable for their exclusions rather they were seen as "just doing their job". As such, there appeared to be limited efforts from pupils to change or alter their behaviour on returning to school following an exclusion.

I just act how I normally act, cause it's not that usual for me to get excluded really, but I have been excluded a few times. But, recently it's really rare for me to get excluded. And when I do, I'm just the same person as I usually am. (Daniel, pupil, line 414-416)

Education staff also perceived exclusions to be rarely used, and only as a last resort when they had "exhausted every possibility".

… the behaviours they're still displaying now, which is really immature, silly behaviour, they're still displaying in Year 10. And we've done loads of work with them along the way, and had meetings with parents, managed move, Navigator [PRU], you name it, all the interventions we're meant to put in place, we've… implemented. And still they're

displaying, so at some point you have to say, this can't continue. How else are we meant

to help you get an education? I struggle with that. (Amanda, staff member, line 336-341)

Many staff members also saw decisions relating to exclusion to be out of their control. For some this meant exclusions did not happen when they felt they should have, which left them feeling unsupported by senior leaders and disempowered.

… our opinions are taken into consideration, but it doesn't mean we're going to be the

one who makes that ultimate decision… at the end of it. You know, and that's when you

get put back into your place, if you know what I mean. (Amanda, staff members, 308-

310)

The perception from pupils that there wasn't necessarily a problem or anything they could do differently, alongside staff members thinking they had run out of options resulted in an apparent cycle of helplessness. It appeared that once pupils had been excluded more than once, there was a perception from pupils and staff that nothing would change the situation or stop it from re-occurring.

2.4.2.4   Exclusion can be helpful

Staff members and pupils did not always perceive exclusion to be something negative. It was often seen to serve a function and could even be a helpful strategy to reduce escalation of behaviour or risk of harm to others. Some of the pupils recognised that being excluded, prevented them from engaging in further challenging behaviour. Being taken out of the situation was helpful as they acknowledged that they found it difficult to regulate their behaviours or emotions following a serious incident, therefore increasing the likelihood of further incidents occurring.

Well something that helped was me just going home. Cause otherwise it could have just

kicked off again with anyone really. (Daniel, pupil, line 404-405)

For staff members, keeping others safe by preventing further incidents was also a key objective when using exclusion. As such, exclusion was something necessary, in order to protect others from harm. It was also seen as having an additional purpose of giving staff and pupils a break from behaviour which was detrimental to the learning and wellbeing of others.

… when a student is persistently disrupting learning and… is running the staff down, it's

wasting other students learning time… which is unacceptable and an exclusion… can be

valuable then. I won't say all the time, but it can be. (Ian, staff member, line 338-341)

In addition, comments from staff members suggested that they saw exclusion as giving them time to investigate incidents thoroughly, and to take preventative actions. Pupils also saw the benefits of having time away from school to in order to reflect on their behaviour.

… cause it like, gives me time to think about what I've done. Cause I can't think about what I've done straight away. Cause I need time to think about it, so yeah, it kind of helps. (Ryan, pupil, line 220-221)

Although this theme reflected the sense that exclusion was helpful, only a few staff members saw it as an effective sanction, which supported behaviour change for some pupils.

… I think that would actually be quite a high percentage of students that have only ever been excluded for… just one thing… but then, they might be the students who perhaps aren't persistently in trouble throughout, like a school year, an average school day, they wouldn't come up on someone's radar, there might have been something bubbling away and then they might have snapped and attacked a student, I don't know, like thrown a punch at them in the corridor or something and then that would be a fixed term exclusion. And I don't think they would do it again. (Harry, staff member, line 280-285)

For many staff members, it was the impact and message exclusion gave to other pupils that was more important.

I think it's more about that person becoming an example, not so much about whether it's impacted on them as a person… it's the impact that it has on the young people that get left behind. Because when they see… actually we are taking it seriously, that person will be removed from school, they're the ones who take more notice of it, because that person is no longer there. (Amanda, staff member, line 396-401)

For others there had to be a consequence even if it was deemed to be ineffective. For Joanne, not excluding also had a potentially detrimental impact on the reputation of the school.

*… it did sit uncomfortably with me, but we have been struggling as a school, as a reputation and I think, for me, if we'd not permanently excluded **him**, people do find out and I think it's damaging for the school and I wonder.. if my kids came to the school… would I want them to be here with a Head Teacher that allows somebody who's brought… two really quite unpleasant knives. Um, yeah, so I think I, even though it's **horrible**, I, I did agree with that decision, because you have to look at the wider school and you have to look after the school. (Joanne, staff member, line 256-262)*

However, for many, the benefits of exclusion, such as time for the pupil to reflect and giving staff and students a break, could be just as easily accomplished through the use of an internal exclusion or isolation. Ryan preferred this consequence to being sent home, because he was then provided the support from staff to be able to talk through what had happened.

I'd rather stay in there [isolation]. Cause… Miss always speaks to me and talks to me about it. (Ryan, pupil, line 225-226)

Staff members also appeared to prefer internal exclusions, particularly when home environments were perceived to be unstable or unsupportive of the pupil's needs. In addition, keeping pupils within school where they still had access to support from staff and access to learning, was deemed to be more preferable then sending them away and preventing them from accessing this support.

… if we say perhaps home life isn't as nurturing an environment as we might like, to say, you're not here where there's dedicated professionals that are here to help you make progress, so you have to go home to do whatever it is for the next however many days, sometimes it is difficult to find the, shall we say, the value in that. (Harry, staff member, line 296-300)

2.5   Discussion

In order to understand and interpret the findings, they were considered alongside attribution theory, which informed this research. By interpreting the data through this lenses, a proposed model of attributional beliefs was developed, which was informed by the themes which emerged from the data (see Figure 4). This highlights how the loci of causality are influenced by attributional dimensions and mediating factors; all of which emerged from the data. The potential interaction between these dimensions e.g. locus of causality, attribution, and mediating factors could then be linked to a particular emotional response or outlook, which would likely influence decisions and behaviour. Due to the overlap in themes, this model can be applied to both pupil and staff beliefs, with the exception of parental casual factors which were unique to the staff data.
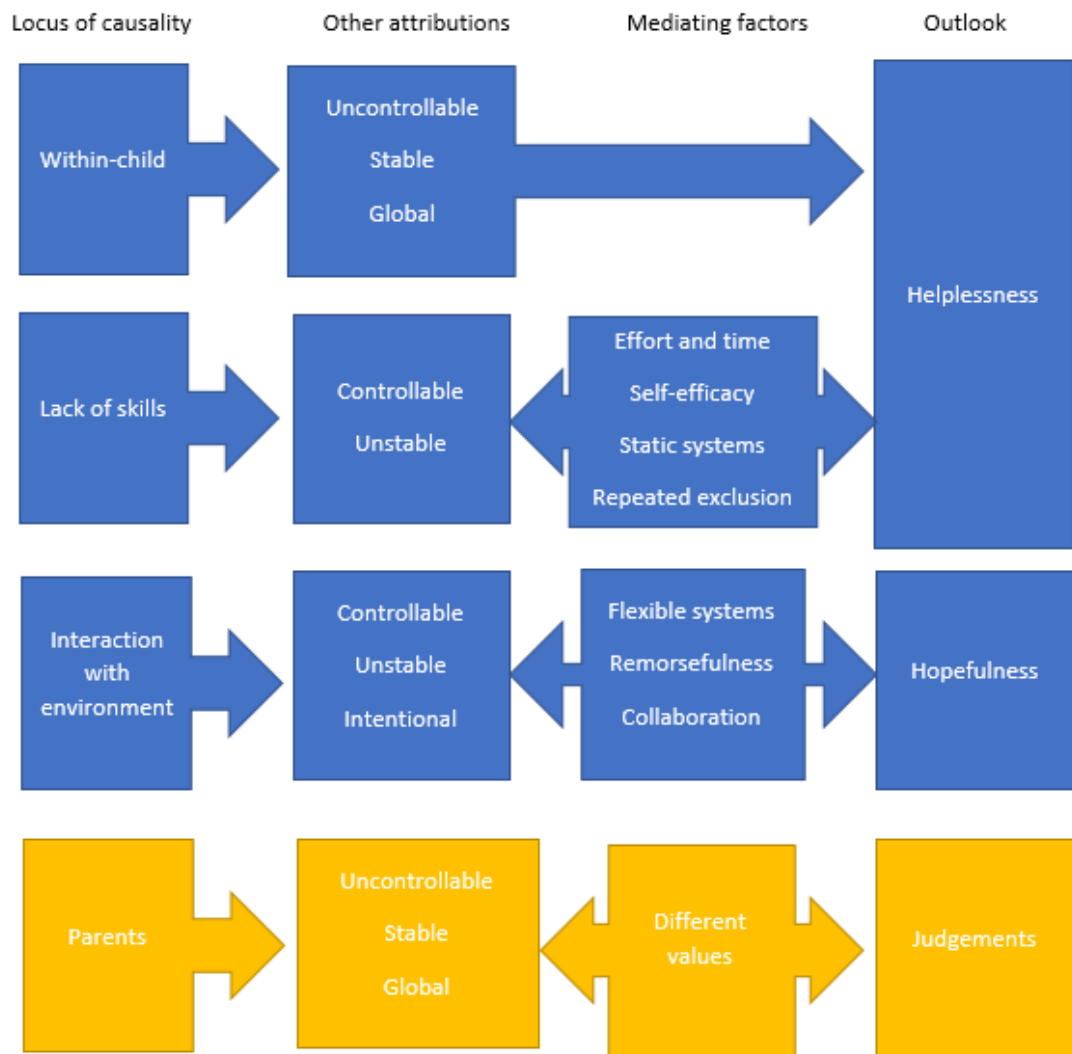
Figure 4. Attributional model of challenging behaviour in school

2.5.1   Pupil-related Factors

In relation to the locus of casualty, the findings suggest that staff views were in keeping with the current literature in this area, with pupil factors being the most common attribution made (Christenson et al., 1983; Guttman, 1982; Hughes, Barker, Kemenoff, & Hart, 1993; Miller, 1995; Savina, Moskovtseva, Naumenko, & Zilberberg, 2014). Two of the key themes related to pupil factors: a belief either that the problems were part of the pupil, such as their personality traits or characteristics; or that the pupil lacked the skills and understanding to be able to manage their behaviour effectively. However, in contrary to previous pupil attribution findings (e.g. Tony, 2003), pupils in this study did not appear to be solely making external attributions, rather often seeing the behaviour as something internal. One possible explanation would be that the beliefs and attitudes of others were influencing how they pupils saw themselves. Previous research has

found that parental and teacher attributions can influence pupils' attitudes towards learning tasks (e.g. Tõeväli & Kikas, 2017), therefore it could be assumed that a similar attribution process could be occurring with behaviour. Previous research has shown that when causality is placed externally, this can lead to helplessness (e.g. Abramson et al., 1978), which was further supported within these findings. However, where pupils talked about within-child factors, this was also linked to helplessness in relation to their behaviour, suggesting a 'learned helplessness' (Seligman, 1975). It appeared that an internal locus of causality, combined with the belief that the behaviour was out of their control, and part of them, led to a perception that their attempts to change this behaviour would have little impact.

Additionally, there was a distinction within the findings between behaviour being seen as within-child and behaviour being seen as a difficulty by pupils and staff. Within the latter theme, behaviour was related to a deficit in pupil abilities and skills. This is interesting in light of recent policy attempts to move away from behaviour as a difficulty and rather as a function of social, emotional, and mental health needs (SEMH) (DfE & DoH, 2015). Within this data, participants regularly referred to behaviour as a problem in its own right, without necessarily seeing it as a communication or function of another need, suggesting recent policies have yet to transfer into staff members' thinking about behaviour.

It has been proposed by school psychologists that drawing attention to pupil cognitive deficits can lead teachers to look more favourably on the pupil and their behaviour (Hart & Diperna, 2017), however, current findings suggest that even when staff members saw the behaviour as unintentional and malleable they displayed a helpless outlook of the future. This is surprising considering the pupil skills referred to by staff, such as being unable to access the curriculum, could be construed as factors within their control, and which they would feasibly be expected to manage as part of quality first teaching e.g. through differentiation, stimulating and motivating lessons, and the use of rewards and positive incentives (DfE & DoH, 2015). However, many staff members noted the difficulties as well as the effort required to sustain strategies and the length of time it took for pupils to show any observable changes, which may have influenced their negative outlook.

Moreover, staff members appeared to perceive the responsibility of behaviour change to lie within the pupil, which further supports the interpretation that teachers perceived they had little controllability over the behaviour (Miller, 1995). Miller found that low perceived controllability resulted in teachers placing more responsibility with the pupil to change their behaviour. This suggests that staff members were lacking the skills or perhaps confidence themselves to effectively support behaviour.

Furthermore, pupil self-efficacy also appeared to be linked to pupil-related causality. Many pupils did not see themselves as able to make the required changes despite their best efforts. In addition, many pupils appeared to have a limited understanding of what these changes would look like beyond general statements, such as attempts to "behave more".

2.5.2   Home Factors

While home factors, on their own were not identified as a theme, they were strongly associated with 'behaviour can be judged'. Staff members identified parents as the root of the behaviour problems they were facing in school. Notably, at no point did pupils assign any blame to their parents, or teachers for the cause of their difficulties. Rather they saw their parents as people who gave them advice and supported them, when they were finding things difficult.

Associated with this theme were a high degree of conflict and negative feelings towards parents from staff members. Dweck et al. (1995) found people who held an entity theory of personality made more judgements based on a small number of behaviours and were more likely to endorse punishments rather than educational training. Additionally, attribution research found that family-related attributions were a predictor of the use of threat, however only when class management efficacy was low (Andreou & Rapti, 2010). As such, stable beliefs alongside low-self efficacy would likely increase judgements and punitive behaviour strategies.

The suggestion that the behaviour was stable was reflected within 'behaviour can be judged', with staff members regularly making reference to the 'hold' home had over pupils and a perception that behaviours were so 'deep-seated' that schools could only have a limited impact on behaviour change. However, there was no direct link between this theme and the overall implicit theories staff members held. Furthermore, increased use of punishments and threats did not appear to be directly linked to talk within this theme.

Home was also perceived to be out of the control of staff members, although parental influence was valued, as long as parents were 'on board' and supportive of the school. When parents were not perceived as being such, staff members often took a dismissive and negative stance. As such, the impact of these judgements on the ability to work with or alongside parents is likely to be significant.

2.5.3   Interactive Factors

The final causal attribution which emerged from the data was one of behaviour interacting with a number of factors. This is something which previous attribution literature has had difficulty

exploring due to the methodological restrictions of their chosen approach, such as providing participants with lists of causal attributions to choose from or rank (e.g. Guttman, 1982). Within this study, the complexity of the relationships interacting on pupil behaviour was apparent.

Within this theme came the perception that the behaviour was within both staff and pupil control. Rather than laying the blame completely with another or themselves, which had a detrimental impact on their self-efficacy, they were able to take on responsibility for the part they played within the wider system. As such, there was a perception that they could make changes that would positively affect behaviour. Positive strategies highlighted by pupils included: changing the peers they sat next to, not calling out, walking away from situations, and seeking adult help. For staff members, this was the only theme where it appeared that they recognised the impact of their own practice on pupil behaviour. Whilst blame for the root of challenging behaviour was seen as laying with the parents and pupil, there was nevertheless a recognition that school factors in particular, curriculum work, triggered day-to-day behaviour. Miller (1995) described this as a 'compensation model' and found over half of his 24 teacher participants applied this way of thinking to themselves.

Staff and pupils also highlighted the role of peers in precipitating and maintaining behaviour. While the importance of social relationships to adolescents is acknowledged within the literature (Rubin, Bukowski, & Laursen, 2009), how peers were attributed to the cause of behaviour was largely missing from previous research in this area. This suggests an underestimation of the importance of peers on pupil behaviour and may be particularly pertinent for secondary-aged pupils. It appeared that while attributions towards teachers and parents were low among the pupils, attributions towards peers as the cause of their behaviour were more apparent.

Within this theme of 'behaviour as an interaction' also emerged the concept of intentionality. When staff members saw behaviour to be more within the pupil's control, pupils were believed to have more 'choice' in what behaviour they displayed in school. This attribution of choice appeared to be closely linked with malleable implicit theories - with the idea of choice being associated with an instability in the behaviour and possibility of change. This also was associated with increased talk around the need for consequences. Brophy and Rohrkemper (1981) also found teachers were more likely to demand behaviour change and rely on punishments and threat when behaviours were perceived to be intentional and within a pupil's control.

Despite the potential risk of harsher punishments, it was the only causal attribution, which led to a sense of hopefulness for the future. Pupils and staff members were also more positive about the impact they personally could have on behaviour in school.

2.5.4   Behaviour Management

How behaviour management was perceived by staff members goes someway to further understand causal attributions and their link to helpless vs hopeful outlooks. Behaviour management was seen to be something that could be both static and fixed, or something dynamic and flexible.

When systems were seen to be fixed, although these afforded staff members some certainty about what was expected of them, there were difficulties perceived in ensuring consistency in implementation. The data also suggested conflict created by being forced to follow systems, which did not fit with staff members' own beliefs or the individual circumstances of a young person.

While staff members spoke of the detrimental impact of inconsistencies in practice, they also acknowledged the time and emotional factors associated with behaviour management. Despite a desire to use more positive and proactive strategies to support behaviour, and an understanding of the effectiveness of these strategies, the effort these took to maintain appeared to be a key mediating factor to their non-implementation. This may go some way to understanding the resistance of teachers to incorporate these strategies into their practice (Sutherland et al, 2008).

In addition to time and emotional factors being potential barriers, staff members revealed a lack of confidence regarding their capacity to adjust their teaching practice. The data suggested staff members struggled to differentiate the learning, even when it was recognised that lack of access to the curriculum was influencing pupil behaviour. One staff member also commented on the lack of "behaviour differentiation" within her school. This suggests a low efficacy for class management from some staff members in this study, which, when paired with external attributions, can be a predictor of more punitive behaviour strategies (Andreou & Rapti, 2010).

Another mediating factor was pupil remorse. When pupils were seen to be taking responsibility for their behaviour and were sorry that it occurred, the punishment incurred was often milder in nature. In the literature examining youth offending, remorse has also been shown to impact on future behaviour. Hayes and Daly (2003) found that remorse reduced the likelihood of reoffending in particular when paired with involvement in decision-making. As such, they advocated the use of conferencing to encourage this process, similar to restorative practices (RP) used in many schools in the UK (McCluskey et al., 2008). Although a number of staff members highlighted using RP, none of the pupils mentioned it.

The idea of a flexible and dynamic approach to behaviour management appeared to support the interactive causal explanation of behaviour. Within this was the suggestion that everyone working together collaboratively towards a common goal was key to success. However, a changing and adaptive system posed problems for the pupils' understanding of what the consequences of their behaviour would be, suggesting the need for their involvement in this decision-making and next steps.

2.5.5 Exclusion

For many staff members, and some pupils, exclusion was something which happened rarely and only as a last resort, supporting the findings of Crawshaw (2015), who found similar teacher perceptions. Staff members described exclusion as a last resort, and an indication that they had tried everything they could. This was particularly true when referring to pupils who were repeatedly excluded.

Almost all staff members perceived exclusion to be ineffective at supporting behaviour change, yet somewhat paradoxically, staff and pupils still saw it as helpful. It was seen to provide time and space for behaviour to be investigated and alternative systems implemented. It was also perceived to be necessary on some occasions to keep others within school safe. Pupils in particular recognised the need to be taken out of the situation to prevent further incidents from happening and to give themselves time to reflect, however, many participants saw internal exclusion as serving a similar function. There has been some research into the use of 'remove rooms' (Department for Children Schools and Families, 2009) which have shown them to have some positive effects in the short term (Barker, Alldred, Watts, & Dodman, 2010).

2.5.6 Methodological Reflections

This study recruited far fewer pupils than the researcher would have hoped, due to the fact they were from a vulnerable population. As such, the pupil voice within this study was reduced compared to staff insights. In addition, pupil talk around exclusion generated less themes than the staff data. It was considered that the pupils might not have had enough recent exclusions to enable them to recall what happened and compare and contrast experiences. This combined with the small sample led to a less rich data set for pupil participants.

In addition, there were no female pupils included within the data set which limits the findings of this study to male pupils only. While girls are less represented within this population their voices are still valuable and would have enhanced the data generated here. In addition, it

would have been useful to have explored any potential differences in views between boys and girls.

Across all participants there was limited ethnic and cultural diversity with only white British teachers and pupils represented. While this was likely representative of the school populations within which these pupils were recruited, it is not reflective of the wider population across the UK, with recent exclusion figures identifying Black Caribbean pupils as being three times more likely to be permanently excluded than the school population as a whole (DfE, 2017).

In addition, not all of the staff participants within this study were teachers and as such direct comparisons between this research and other attributional research cannot be drawn. There was also a wide range of roles included within the staff data, which may have led to over generalisations of themes across all participants. While all participants were invited to comment on and respond to the themes during the analysis process none responded. It is therefore difficult to know whether the final model resonates with all staff members. This would require further exploration beyond this research paper, as well as further research which compares attributions across staff roles such as teachers and teaching assistants.

Finally, not all of the data initially collected within this study was able to be examined fully. This was partly due to the richness of the data collected through interviews alone as well as the limitations of this thesis to explore all of the data within the given time frames. While this data has not been fully explored within this paper it is hoped it can be further analysed at a later stage so that the current model proposed can be further developed and refined to include implicit theories of personality.

2.6   Conclusion

This research suggests that attributions do influence how staff members and pupils understand behaviour. However, these attributions and theories on their own do not explain why behaviour continues to occur for some pupils, nor why staff continue to use strategies that they recognise to be ineffective. The impact of self-efficacy, conflict between home and school, the time and effort needed to make changes, static behaviour management systems, and continued use of exclusion can negatively impact on future outlook and any willingness to do things differently. However, flexible systems, remorsefulness of pupils, and positive relationships can lead to a more hopeful outlook for the future. It is important to consider these mediating factors alongside staff attributions as they facilitate a better understanding of the complexity of the processes underpinning behaviour in schools.

The mediating factors of time, effort, and self-efficacy suggest the need for support in promoting the resilience of school staff and pupils in order to offset these barriers and enable them to persist with strategies beyond the short term. While pupil resilience has been well researched within the literature (e.g. Pillay et al., 2013), there has been little which has investigated the promotion of resilience of school staff and systems.

2.7 Implications

2.7.1   For EP Practice

An understanding of the impact attributions can have on the attitudes and behaviours of pupils and staff members is key to supporting practice. An appreciation of the complexity and interaction of attributions and mediating factors such as time and effort, self-efficacy, and static systems, will enable practioners to work more effectively with education staff and encourage them to adopt new and different strategies. The link between seeing behaviour as an interaction and a hopeful outlook highlights the need for all parties - pupils, staff, and parents - to take on some responsibility when attempting to change behaviour. EPs are well placed to support in reaching a shared understanding of a problem and empowering others through consultation at an individual level, however, when a pupil is encountering a number of different staff members each day this may have limited impact over time. As such supporting the skills development of teachers and pupils is likely to be more effective in the long term.

Persistent disruptive behaviour remains the most common reason for fixed-term exclusions within all schools and the rates of exclusion continue to rise with most exclusions taking place in Year 9 and above (DfE, 2017). Yet school staff in this study appeared to lack the confidence and possibly skills to manage this behaviour. Whether this is unique to secondary practioners is unclear, however clearly needs to be supported and addressed. Teacher self-efficacy also affects intentions to help and the use of positive and sustained interventions in the classroom. EPs are ideally placed to support teachers to develop their understanding of causes of behaviour in the classroom as well as raising their awareness of how attributions and self-efficacy can impact on their actions. Engaging teachers during their initial training would likely be the most effective way of ensuring that teachers begin their careers more prepared to manage challenging behaviour when it occurs.

In addition, this research has implications for how EPs support schools develop their behaviour policies and systems. It is clear that while policies are in place, they focus on managing negative behaviours rather than promoting positive behaviours. In addition, the static nature of

these systems serves to highlight inconsistences in practice and appears to prevent staff members thinking they can use more flexible and individualised approaches. Moreover, there appears to be limited capacity and resilience within schools to explore proactive and longer-term strategies in response to pupil behaviour. EPs are well placed to offer support and advice at this level and work collaboratively with schools to develop systems which are inclusive and allow for behavioural differentiation as well as differentiating learning. EPs also have access to current research and programmes which have begun to look at ways of supporting resilience in schools and this could be a key area of future work and development.

Finally, the prevalence of confusion and helplessness within the pupil data highlights the need for pupils to take an active role in the development of behaviour strategies pertaining to themselves. Techniques such as Person Centred Planning (Sanderson, 2000), support this process, by enabling the pupil to be involved and remain at the centre of future-planning. Pupils also appear to be lacking the skills to regulate their emotions and apply strategies to manage their behaviour effectively. While they all were aware of ways in which they could better resolve their behaviour once it had occurred and wanted to improve they had limited understanding of how to do so. Supporting school staff to identify and teach these emotional and behavioural skills more explicitly alongside the pupil appears to be vital to making any sustained changes to behaviour.

2.7.2   For Future Research

While this research has been able to build on the current literature and understanding, it has also highlighted gaps which would warrant further and more in-depth exploration. Firstly, exploration of the similarities and differences between the attributions of pupils displaying challenging behaviour and their peers requires further examination. Additionally, research that investigates the role of remorse in mediating sanctions would be a valid, given its link to outcomes, alongside further focus on pupil voice in relation to behaviour and exclusion. Finally, research that explores how to support the development of increased resilience of staff members, particularly in light of increased curriculum demands would be beneficial to the field.

Appendices

Appendix A   Included and Excluded Articles

	Author/Date	Title	Included/Excluded	Reason
1	Nutter (2016)	A phenomenological investigation of teachers' beliefs, expectations, and perceptions of classroom practices	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
2	Webster (2016)	Teacher's beliefs and practice related to student self-regulation in the classroom	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
3	Anthony (2015)	Teacher attributions, expectations, and referrals for students involved in the child welfare and juvenile justice systems	Excluded	Decision taken not to include specific populations
4	Simms (2015)	The relationship between teachers' causal attributions for student problem behaviour and teachers' intervention preferences	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
5	Pochtar & Del Vecchio (2014)	A cross-cultural examination of preschool teacher cognitions and responses to child aggression	Excluded	Decision taken not to include cross-cultural studies
6	Savina, Moskovtseva, Naumenko & Zilberberg (2014)	How Russian teachers, mothers and school psychologists perceive internalising and externalising behaviours in children	Included	
7	Fontaine (2013)	Teacher attributions for behaviour disorders and their relationship to expectations and self-efficacy	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
8	Gibbs & Powell (2012)	Teacher efficacy and pupil behaviour: The structure of teachers' individual and collective beliefs and their relationship with numbers of pupils excluded from school	Excluded	Main focus of efficacy beliefs rather than causal attributions
9	Riley, Lewis & Wang (2012)	Investigating teachers' explanations for aggressive classroom discipline strategies in China and Australia	Excluded	Minimal links made to teacher causal attributions and management of behaviour
10	Johansen, Little & Akin-Little (2011)	An examination of New Zealand teachers' attributions and perceptions of behaviour, classroom management, and the level of formal teacher training received in behaviour management	Excluded	Minimal analysis of attributions beyond descriptive statistics.
11	Rae, Murray & McKenzie (2011)	Teaching staff knowledge, attributions and confidence in relation to working with children with an intellectual disability and challenging behaviour	Excluded	Decision taken not to include specialist populations, such as those with learning difficulties
12	Andreou &	Teachers' causal attributions for	Included	

	Rapti (2010)	behaviour problems and perceived efficacy for class management in relation to selected interventions		
13	Ding, Li, Li & Kulm (2010)	Chinese teachers' attributions and coping strategies for student classroom misbehaviour	Included	
14	Erbas, Turan, Aslan & Dunlap (2010)	Attributions for problem behaviour as described by Turkish teachers of special education	Excluded	Decision taken not to include specialist populations, such as those with learning difficulties
15	Cothran, Kulinna & Garrahy (2009)	Attributions for and consequences of student misbehaviour	Excluded	Decision taken not to include subject specific research e.g. PE
16	Dobbs & Arnold (2009)	Relationship between preschool teachers' reports of children's behaviour and their behaviour towards those children	Excluded	Methodology more focussed on teacher relationships rather than attributions
17	Lucas, Collins & Langdon (2009)	The causal attributions of teaching staff towards children with intellectual disabilities: A comparison of 'vignettes' depicting challenging behaviour with 'real' incidents of challenging behaviour	Excluded	Decision taken not to include specialist populations, such as those with learning difficulties
18	Thijis & Koomen (2009)	Toward a further understanding of teachers' reports of early teacher-child relationships: Examining the roles of behaviour appraisals and attributions	Included	
19	Gibbs & Gardiner (2008)	The structure of primary and secondary teachers' attributions for pupils' misbehaviour: A preliminary cross-phase and cross-cultural investigation	Excluded	Decision taken not to include cross-cultural studies
20	Arbeau & Coplan (2007)	Kindergarten teachers' beliefs and responses to hypothetical prosocial, asocial and antisocial children	Included	
21	Kulinna (2007)	Teachers' attributions and strategies for student misbehaviour	Excluded	Decision taken not to include subject specific research e.g. PE
22	Little (2005)	Secondary teachers' perceptions of students' problem behaviours	Excluded	Focus was on specific behaviours teachers found problematic rather than attributions around those behaviours
23	Arbuckle & Little (2004)	Teachers' perceptions and management of disruptive classroom behaviour during the middle years (years 5-9)	Excluded	Focus was on perceptions and management of behaviours, but not linked specifically to causal attributions
24	Ho (2004)	A comparison of Australian and Chinese teachers' attributions for student problem behaviours	Excluded	Decision taken not to include cross-cultural studies

25	Smith (2004)	The effect of teachers' responsibility attributions and self-efficacy on efforts to involve parents whose children exhibiting behaviour problems	Excluded	Main focus was on self-efficacy and little on causal attributions
26	Brown (2003)	An attributional approach to understanding teachers' use of consultation: The role of problem type, perceived controllability, and attributional style	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
27	Athanasiou, Geil, Hazel & Copeland (2002)	A look inside school-based consultation: A qualitative study of the beliefs and practices of school psychologists and teachers	Excluded	Main focus was on consultation within minimal focus on causal attributions
28	Jackson (2002)	A study of teachers' perceptions of youth problems	Excluded	Decision taken not to include cross-cultural studies
29	Mavropoulou & Padeliadu (2002)	Teachers' casual attributions for behaviour problems in relation to perceptions of control	Included	
30	Poulou & Norwich (2002)	Cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses to students with emotional and behavioural difficulties: A model of decision-making	Included	
31	Ahler (2001)	Teachers' use of attributions, self-serving bias, and desired outcomes in making referral decisions	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
32	Atici & Merry (2001)	Misbehaviour in British and Turkish classrooms	Excluded	Decision taken not to include cross-cultural studies
33	Bibou-Nakou, Kiosseoglou & Stogiannidou (2000)	Elementary teachers' perceptions regarding school behaviour problems: Implications for school psychological services	Included	
34	Goyette, Doré, Dion (2000)	Pupils' misbehaviours and the reactions and causal attributions of physical education student teachers: A sequential analysis	Excluded	Decision taken not to include subject specific research e.g. PE
35	Poulou & Norwich (2000)	Teachers' causal attributions, cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses to students with emotional and behavioural difficulties	Included	
36	Bibou-Nakou, Stogiannidou & Kiosseoglou (1999)	The relation between teacher burnout and teachers' attributions and practices regarding school behaviour problems	Included	
37	Morgan & Hastings (1998)	Special educators' understanding of challenging behaviours in children with learning disabilities: Sensitivity to information about behaviour function	Excluded	Decision taken not to include specialist populations, such as those with learning difficulties
38	Hodes (1997)	Teacher tolerance, self-efficacy,	Excluded	Decision taken not to

				causal attributions for student aggression, and intervention preference		included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
39	Altman (1996)	Classroom social status and the likelihood and nature of referral to special education: An experimental study	Excluded			Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
40	Lovejoy (1996)	Social inferences regarding inattentive-overactive and aggressive child behaviour and their effects on teacher reports of discipline	Excluded			Decision taken not to include pre-service teachers
41	Miller (1995)	Teachers' attributions of causality, control and responsibility in respect of difficult pupil behaviour and its successful management	Included			
42	Sodak & Podell (1994)	Teachers' thinking about difficult-to-teach students	Excluded			Article was mainly focused on learning difficulties as opposed to classroom behaviour
43	Battagliese (1993)	Relationship of teachers' attributional style to referral likelihood and ratings of behavioural interventions	Excluded			Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
44	Carner (1993)	Teachers' and psychologists' causal attributions for classroom problems and their relation to preferred consultation strategies	Excluded			Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
45	Hughes, Barker, Remenoff & Hart (1993)	Problem ownership, causal attributions and self-efficacy as predictors of teachers' referral decisions	Included			
46	Jordan (1993)	Who has the problem, the student or the teachers? Differences in teachers' beliefs about their work with at-risk and integrated exceptional students	Excluded			Focus on beliefs around intervention, rather than causal attributions of behaviour
47	Kauffman, Wong, Lloyd, Hung & Pullen (1991)	What puts pupils at risk? An analysis of classroom teachers' judgements of pupils' behaviour	Excluded			Focus was mainly on risk of particular behaviours as opposed to causal attributions
48	Cunningham & Sugawara (1988)	Preservice teachers' perceptions of children's problem behaviours	Excluded			Decision taken not to include pre-service teachers
49	Kennedy Marx (1988)	The attribution of causality by teachers and parents to school problem behaviour: An empirical test of interacting systems	Excluded			Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
50	Maxwell (1987)	Teachers' attitudes towards disruptive behaviour in secondary schools	Included			
51	Christenson, Ysseldyke,	Teachers' attributions for problems that result in referral for	Included			

	Wang & Algozzine (1983)	psychoeducational evaluation		
52	Irby (1983)	Teachers' attribution and affect for successful and unsuccessful classroom interactions with problem students: Applications of Weiner's attributional model	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
53	Guttman (1982)	Pupils', teachers', and parents' causal attributions for problem behaviour at school	Included	
54	Brophy & Rohrkemper (1981)	The influence of problem ownership on teachers' perceptions of and strategies for coping with problem students	Included	
55	Vernberg & Medway (1981)	Teacher and parent casual perceptions of school problems	Excluded	Not specific to attributions around children's behaviour
56	Wiener (1980)	The effect of causal attributions of student behaviours on the judgement of high school educators	Excluded	Decision taken not to included dissertations due to lack of peer review.
57	Medway (1979)	Causal attributions for school-related problems: Teacher perceptions and teacher feedback	Included	

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Appendix B   Data Extraction Table

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
Savina, Moskovtseva, Naumenko & Zilberberg (2014)	80 female elementary teachers, 30 female school psychologists & 99 mothers of elementary school children. Randomly selected from 10 public schools.	Teachers: mean age = 41.16, mean years' experience = 28.83; Psychologists: mean age = 28.83, mean experience = 6.50; Mothers: mean age = 35.59.	Russia	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Causal attributions, seriousness of problem; recommended interventions, gender; internalising vs externalising behaviours	Two vignettes describing internalising and externalising behaviour of girl/boy; then asked to complete survey regarding causal attributions, seriousness of problem and recommended interventions	Three-way mixed ANOVA for each causal attribution; zero-order correlations between causal attributions of behaviours and recommended interventions	All participants attributed boys' internalising behaviours to personality to greater degree than externalising behaviours; all respondents rated family as a significantly more important cause for externalising behaviours; for teachers, negative relationships with peers were the cause of externalising behaviours; teachers recommended psychiatric help at higher rate for externalising than internalising behaviours.
Andreou & Rapti (2010)	249 full-time primary teachers attending a teacher-training seminar	Gender: 151 female, 98 male; Age range from 36-59 years (M = 42.1, SD = 5.9); Experience range from 2 yrs- 22yrs (M = 15.9; SD = 6.8)	Greece	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Attributions, efficacy of classroom management and preferred behavioural strategies	Vignette describing male student with behaviour problems; 12-item Likert scale on possible causes of behaviour (α = .77); 19-item Likert scale on possible responses to the behaviour (α = .57);	Descriptive statistics i.e. means; correlational analysis of attributions and efficacy; multiple regression to explore link	Teachers with longest experience were less likely to think family factors caused behaviour problems than teachers with less teaching experience; they were also more likely to think school-related factors were having an impact than less experienced teachers; correlation between teacher's self-efficacy and their attribution of school-factors to

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
						8-item questionnaire around efficacy for classroom management (α = .68)	between attributions, efficacy and class management strategies; multiple regression to explore link between attributions, efficacy and co-operation with others	behaviour; preference for positive incentives was predicted by teacher's attributions to pupil-related factors and high efficacy, whereas use of punishments was linked to low attributions of school factors and high attributions of family factors plus low efficacy; teachers who asked for specialist help within school tended to attribute behaviours to school-factors, whereas those who sought outside help tended to attribute behaviour to pupil-factors and not family factors.
Ding, Li, Xiaobao & Kulm (2010)	244 teachers (Grades 1-12)	Gender: 112 Male, 121 Female; Teaching experience: 28 = <5 years, 77 = 5-10 years, 136 >10 years	China	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Casual attributions and coping strategies	Questionnaire: 11 items about teacher attributions around four categories (student, family, teacher & school); 17 items about coping strategies (positive, negative & neutral); based on interview data they gathered and questionnaires by Poulou & Norwich	Frequency of teacher choices; paired t tests	Chinese teacher attributions were mainly student-related; very few teachers attributed student's misbehaviour to their own performance; elementary school teachers were more likely to attribute misbehaviour to bad learning habits, whereas middle and high school teachers were more likely to attribute it to pupil not putting in effort or learning interests; teachers perceived most effective coping strategy as praise and talking after class; praise was

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Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
						(2000) and (Martin et al, 1999) – adapted for Chinese culture		seen as most effective and used most by elementary teachers, whereas talking after class was seen as most effective by secondary teachers.
Thijs & Koomen (2009)	81 kindergarten teachers	77 female, Mean age = 41.5 years	Netherlands	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Behaviour characteristics and appraisals, attributions of control, and teacher/child relationship	BQTSYO-M (Thijs et al, 2004) – screening tool for hyperactivity and social inhibition; behaviour appraisals based on Rutter (1975) – six items + severity of behaviour measure; attributions – adapted from Hastings & Rubin (1999) – three items; teacher-child relationship (closeness, dependency & conflict subscales from Student-Teacher Relationship Scale – Koomen, Verschueren & Pianta, 2007)	PCA – two components for behaviour appraisals (perceived social problems & perceived personal problems); multilevel analysis	Teachers attributed less control to children with personal and/or social behaviour problems and less close and more dependent and conflictual relationships for these children; some teachers made more internal attributions than others; when perceived control was high there was a negative effect on personal problems and social problems in relation to closeness only.

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
Arbeau & Coplan (2007)	202 kindergarten teachers	All female; 92% Caucasian; Mean age = 40.78; Mean teaching experience = 14.27 years	Canada	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Responses to behaviour, tolerance, attributions and costs	Child behaviour vignettes (eight relating to shy, prosocial, aggressive & unsociable behaviour of male and female children); teachers asked to rate responses to behaviour, tolerance of behaviour and causal attributions and costs	Repeated measures ANOVAs and MANOVAs	Tolerance of children's behaviour was significantly and negatively related to its perceived academic costs and to the likelihood of intervening directly and reporting the behaviour; for teachers' tolerance of behaviour a significant main effect of child behaviour with behaviours of aggressive children as least tolerable; boys were believed to be in lesser control of their behaviours than girls; behaviours of aggressive children were seen as most due to situational factors; unsociable and prosocial behaviours were seen as most internal; behaviours of hypothetical aggressive children were perceived as having the greatest costs for the children; shy and aggressive behaviour were seen to have most negative social costs.
Mavroploulou & Padeliadu (2002)	305 elementary teachers attended 2 year in-service	47% male and 53% female; average teaching experience of 13.8 years; 66.2% cities, 26.9% village areas; Mean	Greece	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Casual attributions; perceived control	Vignette describing a child with behaviour problems based on behaviours teachers found most concerning in the	Means & SDs; multiple comparison; correlational analysis	Teachers felt that family-related factors and pupil-related factors caused behaviour problems; teachers did not tend to attribute behaviour to organic and school-related factors; significant

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
	training programme	number of pupils in class = 18.95				literature; asked to evaluate possible causes on 4-point Likert scale (grouped into pupil-related factors, family-related factors and school-related factors); the Spheres of Control (SOC) Scale (Paulhus, 1983) – multi-dimensional measurement of perceived control (including personal efficacy, social relationships and interactions, socio-political factors)		correlation between teacher's perceived control of interpersonal relationships and causal attributions around class size, lack of parental interest and brain damage, being less likely to make attributions in these areas, however they were more likely to make attributions around parental attitude; increased personal efficacy was correlated with attributions around lack of parental interest; teachers who had been teaching for longer were less likely to make attributions around school demands, teachers' attitude and lack of classroom rules.
Poulou & Norwich (2002)	391 elementary teachers from 60 elementary schools through proportional stratified	64.5% female, 38.3% 1-9 years of teaching experience; 57.8% aged 30-39 years old	Greece	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Causal attributions; responsibility; feelings for self; self-efficacy; subjective norms	Attribution inventory – six versions presenting different behaviour problems (mild/severe conduct, mild/severe emotional and	Pearson correlations; multiple regression analysis – stepwise regression method	Significant low correlations between teacher causal factor and perceptions of nature of the problem; school attributions only predicted teachers' negative feelings e.g. stress, helplessness and hurt; teachers experienced more negative feelings for self if attributed EBD to child and felt

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
	sampling (Borg & Gall, 1989); 557 administered and 391 returned (70.1% response rate)					mild/severe conduct and emotional); teachers within same school completed same version of questionnaire; Vignettes came from data gathered from a Behaviour Inventory administered to 170 teachers and 20 semi-structured interviews (Poulou & Norwich, 2002); rated teachers perceptions on 5-point scale		subjective norms more intensively, also felt more capable of dealing with behaviour; significant correlation between teachers' intention to help and perceptions of the efficacy of positive and negative incentives with actual coping strategies; effectiveness of negative incentives was only predictor for use of threats and punishments – less likely to be used with emotional problems as opposed to conduct and behaviour problems.
Bibou-Nakou, Kiosseoglou & Stogiannidou (2000)	200 elementary teachers taking child psychology course	32.7% male, 62.8% female; 57.1% 23-30, 27.6% 31-35, 15.3% 36-45; teaching experience: 61.8% up to 5 years; 18.3% 6-9 years; 10% 10-15 years, 9.9% 16-22 years	Greece	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Intensity of behaviour; explanations of behaviour; teacher practices	Questionnaire on frequency and intensity of behaviour (disobedience, playing the clown, disturbing others & off-task behaviour); questionnaire on teacher's	Principle Component Analysis (PCA); means & SDs; t-tests	Most frequently adopted explanation for misbehaviour was internal pupil-related attributions and teacher-related attributions were least made; causes differed across problem behaviours e.g. off-task behaviour was related to external pupil-related causes, whereas disobedience was attributed to internal-pupil related

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Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
						explanations relating to the presence and continuance of problems (eight causal statements); questionnaire on goal-directed behaviour on the part of the teacher (eight practices)		causes; external pupil-related explanations were related with either social-integrative practices or neutral actions; internal pupil-related attributions were related with neutral actions.
Poulou & Norwich (2000)	391 elementary teachers from 60 elementary schools through proportional stratified sampling (Borg & Gall, 1989); 557 administered and 391 returned (70.1% response rate)	64.5% female, 38.3% 1-9 years of teaching experience; 57.8% aged 30-39 years old	Greece	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Perceptions of causes; emotional and cognitive responses; perceptions of actual and effective coping strategies	Attribution inventory – six versions presenting different behaviour problems (mild/severe conduct, mild/severe emotional and mild/severe conduct and emotional); teachers within same school completed same version of questionnaire; vignettes came from data gathered from a Behaviour	Repeated measures ANOVAs	Significant differences between vignettes and attributions and a significant interaction; attributions to school and teacher were consistently higher than to family and child factors; teachers' desire to help and feelings of responsibility and self-efficacy were consistently higher than feelings of external demands or negative feelings towards self; significant different for teachers' emotional responses to child and vignette and significant interaction; significant differences across vignette and teacher coping strategies and significant interaction; significant difference across vignette and between effective coping strategies and

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
						Inventory administered to 170 teachers and 20 semi-structured interviews (Poulou & Norwich, 2002); rated teachers perceptions on 5-point scale		significant interaction.
Bibou-Nakou, Stogiannidou & Kioseoglou (1999)	200 elementary teachers attending a 3 month training course.	Gender: 32.7% male, 62.8% female; Age: 57.1% (23-30 years), 27.6% (31-35 years), 15.3% (36-45 years); experience: 61.8% (up to 5 years), 18.3% (6-9 years), 10.0% (10-15 years), 9.9% (16-22 years)	Greece	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Teacher burnout and attributions	Assessment of the frequency and the intensity of four minor examples of misbehaviour in school (disobedience, playing the clown, disturbance of others, off-task behaviour); teachers' explanations related to the presence and the maintenance of the above problems; goal-directed behaviour on the part of the teacher to deal with each	Factor analysis of questionnaires; t-tests; Spearman correlation analyses	External student-related attributions were associated with lower levels of depersonalization; internal student-related causes were related to higher scores of emotional exhaustion around children disrupting others; teachers' personal accomplishment higher in teachers who attributed disobedience to internal student-related factors and playing the clown to external related explanations; slight, but significant correlation between teachers' preferred actions and burnout scores; choice of punitive practices significantly related to lower feelings of personal accomplishment.

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Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
						kind of disruptive behaviour; Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI, Maslach & Jackson, 1986)		
Miller (1995)	24 primary teachers from eight LEAs between Midlands and Scottish border	Mean teaching experience = 11.6 years; 23 female and 1 male; 1 head, 1 deputy and 3 SENCos within population; Pupils: Mean age = 7.1 years, 1 girl and 23 boys, 10 teachers said most difficult behaviour they had encountered, 8 said behaviour was among most difficult half dozen pupils they had encountered.	England	Descriptive qualitative design	N/A	Structured interviews between 40 minutes to an hour; specific questions were intended to elicit causal attributions for the pupil's original difficult behaviour and for the improvements that had taken place; also looking for other causal mechanisms in place	Tallies of attributions made; Chi-squared test	Teachers identified 15 possible mechanisms which were parental factors impacting on behaviour, but only three by which they may make a contribution to its improvement; 10 possible causes on part of the teachers to account for the origins of problems and 20 to account for their solution; 21 possible pupil factors and 13 to solutions; teachers made attributions to themselves which were 10 times more favourable than they made to parents and 3 times more favourable to pupils; teachers were more likely to make attributions to parents when they perceived things to be within their control, but to pupils when perceived them to be out of their control.
Hughes, Barker, Remenoff & Hart (1993)	55 elementary teachers	53 females and 2 males; 53 white, 1 Hispanic and 1	USA	Descriptive qualitative design	Causal attributions; perceptions of	Individually interviewed by three doctoral students in	Perceptions of control – coded within or out of	Student problems were attributed significantly more to pupils' personality factors than to any

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
		Black; teaching 2nd – 4th grade; at least 3 years teaching experience (M = 11.69 years)			control	psychology for 1 hour; provided with definitions of consultation and referral prior to interview; presented with 12 problem behaviour vignettes from Brophy & Rohrkemper (1981); two random orders of vignettes; attributions (1-5 Likert scale) importance of six factors in causing problem (student intelligence, student motivation, student personality, home situation, educational background, teaching factors – Medway, 1979); self-efficacy (1-5 Likert scale) degree of certainty they had in ability to solve or reduce the problem;	teacher's control (92% agreement in coding); one way ANOVA for causal attributions; discriminant function analyses (DFAs); Multivariate lambdas	other factors; teachers who decided to refer the child rated student intelligence as more important in causing the problem; teachers who chose consultation rated teaching factors as less important in causing the problem; teachers who decided to handle problems on their own reported higher self-efficacy than teachers who decided to refer or seek consultation.

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
						intervention choice (non-refer, consultation or refer for direct services)		
Maxwell (1987)	63 members of SLT within 6 secondary schools	None reported	Scotland	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Disruptive behaviour; causal attributions; interventions	Questionnaire (63 items) re disruptive behaviour, causes for disrupted behaviour and interventions	Descriptive statistics; correlations and ANOVA	Lack of discipline at home and disturbance in children's family relationships were seen as underlying disruptive behaviour; lack of time for guidance staff, poor classroom management, personality and inability to foresee consequences were also rated highly; top three strategies related to in-service training, closer liaison with parents, and development of more relevant school curricula; no significant effect between cause and effect with regard to external factors, but significant correlation for internal variables e.g. those who believed school factors were important causes also felt school based interventions were most effective.
Christenson, Ysseldyke, Wang & Algozzine	105 elementary classroom teachers	91% female; 11.4 years mean teaching experience;	USA	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Causal attributions; reasons for referral	Actual referrals for students plus two open ended questions relating to	Coded responses; chi square	In 61.7% of cases, teachers attributed causes to within student characteristics; over half of these attributions reflected an internal,

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
(1983)						the referral re reasons for referral and attributions for student's difficulties		stable cause; home causes were second highest; teacher and school causes were mentioned less than 3%; no relationship between teacher attributions and reasons for referral in 7 out of 10 variables; no significant relationship between causes and sex of student despite more boys being referred than girls.
Guttmann (1982)	220 pupils, 28 teachers, 107 mothers	220 pupils from 4th-6th grade; no other demographic information given	Israel	Descriptive cross-sectional design	Causal attributions	Questionnaire with a hypothetical child and 26 reasons for behaviour and rank in order of importance	Repeated measures one way ANOVA; factor analysis for pupil responses	Teachers attributed most importance to child's need for attention, need to let off steam, psychological problems, bad examples at home, desire to gain status in school, and parents' level of education.
Brophy & Rohrkemper (1981)	98 elementary teachers	Grades K-6; all teachers had at least 3 years teaching experience; nominated by principles as either outstanding or average in ability to deal with difficult students	USA	Descriptive qualitative design	Attributions; problem-ownership; rewards and punishments	Observed for 2.5 days (info on teacher's style, level of success in behaviour management, nature of students, classroom atmosphere and use of other adults); interviews for over 4 hours spread over 2	Problem ownership classification – based on Gordon (1974) – three categories of problem were identified (teacher-owned problems, shared problems &	Teachers typically saw the problems as caused by factors external to themselves and internal to the student; less likely to attribute student-owned problems to factors internal to student; students exhibiting student-owned problems were seen as unable to control their behaviour and thus as victims rather than as individuals responsible for their problems; teachers were very likely to see

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Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
						or more sessions (24 vignettes, asked to rate ability to cope with each type & frequency in which they had encountered behaviour)	student-owned problems); attribution inference coding system based on five attribution dimensions (locus of causality, stability, controllability (Weiner, 1979), intentionality (Rosembaum, 1972) & globality (Abramson et al 1978); intentionality was not used for teacher attributions in relation to themselves (76% agreement); rewards and punishment coding (72%	teacher-owned problems as within students' control and therefore students were blameworthy; teacher-owned problems are seen as both controllable and intentional, but shared and student-owned problems are likely seen as unintentional even if they are seen as controllable; when teachers perceive problem behaviour to be unintentional, they tend to be more confident of being able to produce stable change; in teacher-owned problems teachers demanded changes in behaviour and goals were short term and there was a reliance on punishment or threat; for student-owned problems teachers suggested support, nurture and instruction and worked on longer term goals which focussed on coping techniques; for shared problems teachers were more focussed on replacement of current behaviour.

Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
							agreement); universal coding system (68% agreement); one way ANOVA for problem ownership	
Medway (1979) **Study 1**	30 female teachers who requested SEN referral; 22 elementary teachers & 8 middle school teachers	None reported	USA	Descriptive qualitative design	Type of behaviour problem; causal attributions	Asked about problem area and reason for referral and indicate primary cause of problem; then present with list of 11 causes and asked to indicate importance of each to the problem from 1-3; also asked to indicate first remedial approach they had tried	Coded as learning (21) or behaviour problem (9) and also coded causes of problems into 5 categories (general student ability, specific student ability, student motivation/attitude, student personality, home problems); chi square analysis	Teacher attributions varied significantly with the type of student problem; home problems seen as cause of 67% of children with behaviour problems; within student variables were seen as most responsible, home and background as moderately responsible, and teaching-related factors as least responsible; behaviour problems were most dealt with using rewards and verbal praise.
Medway (1979)	24 elementary	None reported	USA	Descriptive cross-sectional	Seriousness of learning and	Classroom Adjustment Rating	ANOVAs; multiple	Student problems were attributed significantly more to intelligence,

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Study	Participants	Demographics	Country	Study design	Dependent variables	Materials	Analysis	Findings
Study 2	teachers who had made SEN requests			design	behaviour problems; causal attributions	Scale (CARS; Lorion, Cowen & Caldwell, 1975) and an attributional questionnaire	regression analyses	motivation and personality than to educational background and teaching; home situation was rated as being only less important than intelligence and motivation; one third of variance was due to student personality attributions i.e. more severe behaviour problems were seen to be, the more they were seen as reflecting underlying personality disorders; teacher attributions were not related to teacher praise, but were significantly related to use of criticism.

Appendix C   Quality Assessment of Papers

C.1   Quantitative Papers

Study	Was there a clear research question/ hypotheses?	Was the sample sufficiently large and representative?	Have claims of reliability and validity been made and are these justified?	Where vignettes or real life examples used?	Was the order and administration of questions considered?	Was a pilot version administered and the instrument modified accordingly?	What was the response rate and have non-responded been accounted for?	Was the questionnaire self-administered or conducted by researcher?	Was the analysis appropriate and were correct techniques used?	Have all relevant results been reported?	Overall score
Savina, Moskovtseva, Naumenk & Zilberg (2014)	Yes	Yes (80)	Not reported	Vignettes x2 (internalising and externalising behaviour)	Yes	No	80%	Researcher	Yes	Yes	6/10
Andreou & Rapti (2010)	Yes	Yes (249)	Yes .77, .57, .68)	Vignette x 1	Yes	No	Not reported	Not reported	Yes	Yes	6/10
Ding et al (2010)	Yes	Yes (244)	Not reported	Neither	Not reported	Yes	81.3%	Self-administered	Yes but limited	Yes	5.5/10
Thijs & Koomen (2009)	Yes	Yes (81)	Yes	Real life	Not reported	No	Not reported	Not reported	Yes	Yes	6/10

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Study	Was there a clear research question/ hypotheses?	Was the sample sufficiently large and representative?	Have claims of reliability and validity been made and are these justified?	Where vignettes or real life examples used?	Was the order and administration of questions considered?	Was a pilot version administered and the instrument modified accordingly?	What was the response rate and have non-responded been accounted for?	Was the questionnaire self-administered or conducted by researcher?	Was the analysis appropriate and were correct techniques used?	Have all relevant results been reported?	Overall score
Arbeau & Coplan (2007)	Yes	Yes (202)	Not reported	Vignettes x 8	Yes	No	Not reported	Self-administered	Yes	Yes	5/10
Mavroploulou & Padeliadu (2002)	Yes	Yes (305)	Yes	Vignette x 1	Yes	No	Not reported	Not reported	Yes	Yes	6/10
Poulou & Norwich (2002)	Yes, but not explicit	Yes (391)	Not reported	Vignettes x 6 across sample	Yes	Yes	70.1%	Self-administered	Yes	Yes	7.5/10
Bibou-Nakou et al (2000)	No	Yes (200)	Not reported	Neither	Not reported	No	Not reported	Not reported	Yes	Yes	3/10
Poulou & Norwich (2000)	Yes	Yes (391)	Not reported	Vignettes x 6 across sample	Yes	Yes	70.1%	Self-administered	Yes	Yes	7/10
Bibou-Nakou et al (1999)	Yes	Yes (200) skewed towards younger age range	Yes for some measures	Neither	Not reported	Yes	Not reported	Not reported	Yes	Yes	5.5/10
Maxwell (1987)	Yes,	Yes (63)	Not	Neither	Not reported	Yes	86%	Self-	Yes but	Yes	5/10

Study	Was there a clear research question/ hypotheses?	Was the sample sufficiently large and representative?	Have claims of reliability and validity been made and are these justified?	Where vignettes or real life examples used?	Was the order and administration of questions considered?	Was a pilot version administered and the instrument modified accordingly?	What was the response rate and have non-responded been accounted for?	Was the questionnaire self-administered or conducted by researcher?	Was the analysis appropriate and were correct techniques used?	Have all relevant results been reported?	Overall score
	partially		reported					administered	limited		
Christenson et al (1983)	Yes	Yes (105)	Not reported	Real life	Not reported	No	Not reported	Self-administered	Yes but limited	Yes	4.5/10
Guttmann (1982)	Yes	No (28)	Not reported	Vignette x 1	Not reported	Yes with pupils	Not reported	Not reported	Yes	Yes	4/10
Medway (1979) – study 2	Yes	No (24)	Not reported	Real life	Not reported	No	Not reported	Self-administered	Yes	Yes	4/10

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C.2   Qualitative Papers

Study	Was there as clear statement of the aims of the research?	Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?	Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?	Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?	Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	Has the relationship between research and participants been adequately considered?	Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?	Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	Is there a clear statement of findings?	Have they discussed how the research may be used?	Overall score
Miller (1999)	Yes, partially	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	6.5/10
Hughes et al (1993	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not reported	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	7/10
Brophy & Rohrkemper (1981)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	8/10
Medway (1979) – study 1	Yes, partially	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	5.5/10

Appendix D Head Teacher Letter

UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

AN EXPLORATION OF MINDSETS ON THE PERCEPTIONS OF BEHAVIOUR LEADING TO

EXCLUSION

Dear Head teacher,

I am Emma Fitz-Gerald a Trainee Educational Psychologist studying at the University of Southampton and I am looking for secondary schools in the local area who might be willing to help me with my thesis research.

In my research I will be exploring the experiences of parents, pupils, and school staff around school exclusion through a short questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. It is hoped that by listening to and understanding their views, I will be able to better understand how pupils and staff within your school understand and interpret behaviour leading to exclusions. In addition, I will be looking for themes across all participants which would be helpful in supporting schools and pupils at risk of exclusion in the future.

If you agree to help me, I would need you to identify any pupils who have experienced three or more fixed term exclusions in the past academic year. In addition, I would like you to identify some members of staff who have direct involvement in behaviour management and specifically the exclusion process of pupils. Once you have agreed to take part in the project and have identified how many possible participants your school has, I will deliver consent and information letters along with self-addressed envelopes to the school to be given out. Once I have received consent from participants, I will then contact you or a named person to arrange times and dates to visit the school and carry out the interviews.

Please be assured that any data collected will only be used for the purposes of research and that published results of this research project will maintain the confidentiality of the school and all participants. Personal information will not be released to or viewed by anyone other than researchers involved in this project. Results of this study will not include the name of your school or any other identifying characteristics. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the project at any time. If you are interested in helping me with my research please or have any questions about the project please reply to this email by Friday 21st October.

Thank you in advance for your help and I look forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,

Emma Fitz-Gerald

Trainee Educational Psychologist

elfg1g14@soton.ac.uk

Appendix E   Example Information and Consent Letter

UNIVERSITY OF
Southampton

AN EXPLORATION OF MINDSETS ON THE PERCEPTIONS OF BEHAVIOUR LEADING TO EXCLUSION

Dear Parent/Carer,

I am Emma Fitz-Gerald a Trainee Educational Psychologist studying at the University of Southampton. I am doing a project about school exclusion and would be pleased if you and your child would take part. The attached information sheet gives you more information about the project.

If you agree to help, I would like you to fill out the attached **questionnaire** about the kind of person someone is. This should take around **5 minutes**.

Your child will also be asked to fill out a similar questionnaire and be asked to **talk to me about school and their exclusion**. The interview will last around **1 hour** and can take place in school or at home. This interview will be recorded to help me to write it up later.

Your child will be asked if they agree to take part at the start of the interview. I have also attached an information sheet for them, which they can read before I meet with them. If your child takes part they will be entitled to a **£10 Amazon gift voucher**.

By signing and completing this consent form you agree for the data collected to be used for the purposes of research. All results of this study will maintain the confidentiality of you and your child and your personal information will not be released to or viewed by anyone other than researchers. Results of this study will not include your name or any other identifying characteristics. Taking part in this project is entirely voluntary and you may change your mind and withdraw consent at any time.

Please read the attached information sheet carefully. If you are happy for you and your child to participate, **please initial the statements below** and then **return the form and questionnaire to me in the stamped addressed envelope provided.**

If you have any questions or would like to provide me with additional information, please contact me, Emma Fitz-Gerald, at <u>elfg1g14@soton.ac.uk</u>.

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Please initial the boxes if you agree with the statements:

I have read the parent information sheet (Version 2, 25/04/16) and clearly understand the purpose of the study.

☐

I agree to take part in this research project, by completing the attached questionnaire, and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.

☐

I agree for my child to be interviewed by the researcher and for this interview to be transcribed and recorded.

☐

I agree to share the pupil information letter (Version 2, 25/04/16) which my child and understand that their assent will be gained before the start of the interview.

☐

I understand that I have the right to withdraw myself or my child from the study at any time.

☐

My child would like to be interviewed at school/home*.

(*Please delete as appropriate)

Parent/Guardian's signature   _____

Name   _____

Date   _____

Child's name   _____

Child's school   _____

Contact number   _____

Contact email   _____

Appendix F   Pupil Information Letter

Researcher name: Emma Fitz-Gerald
ERGO Study ID number: 19462

UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

CHILD INFORMATION SHEET (Version 1, 28/02/2016)

EXPLORING THE VIEWS OF PUPILS, PARENTS AND STAFF ON SCHOOL EXCLUSION

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research.

What is the research about?

My name is Emma Fitz-Gerald and I am currently training to be an Educational Psychologist at the University of Southampton. I am interested in hearing the views of young people who have been excluded from school.

Why have I been chosen?

I have asked your school to send this letter to all pupils who have been excluded at least three times this year.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

By agreeing to take part you will help me to understand what it is like to be excluded from school. This will help us to support other young people in the future.

You will also get a £10 Amazon voucher at the end of the interview.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part, I will arrange a time to come and talk to you in school or at home, if you prefer. This session will last for around 1 hour and I will record it on an audio device.

During the session, I will ask you to complete a short questionnaire. Then we will complete an activity called a life grid and you can tell me a bit about yourself. After that, we will talk about your experiences of being excluded from school.

If you find this session too long or too short, I can arrange to come back and see you another time.

Are there any risks involved?

It is not unusual for young people to feel worried or concerned about being interviewed. You may also find it difficult to talk about your exclusions or feel uncomfortable with new people. If you would prefer to have another familiar adult or friend with you, that will be fine.

Will my participation be confidential?

All of the information that you tell me will stay confidential unless you tell me something which suggests you are unsafe or at risk.

What happens if I change my mind?

It is up to you if you want to take part. You don't have to and if you change your mind you can do that at any time.

Where can I get more information?

Your parents/carers and your school also know about the project and you can ask them for more information if you would like it.

95

Appendix G   Interview Topic Guides

G.1   Teacher Topic Guide

1) Tell me about the answers you gave to the questionnaire. Why do you think that?
   a. Can you give me an example of a time when someone has/hasn't changed the type of person they are?

2) Tell me about some of the way behaviour is supported and managed in your school.
   a. How effective do you think these strategies are?
   b. Is there anything you would like to be able to do differently?
   c. What are the particular challenges around implementing behaviour policies within your school?

3) What are your views on the different reasons why pupils display challenging behaviour in school?
   a. What do you feel contributes to the maintenance of this behaviour?
   b. How do you feel the pupil's own beliefs and views about themselves impact on their behaviour?
   c. What impact do you feel teachers and schools can have on this behaviour?

4) Describe how and when fixed-term exclusions are used within school.
   a. Can you tell me about a time when it has been successful in supporting behaviour change?
   b. Can you tell me about a time when it has been unsuccessful in supporting behaviour change?

5) When might you feel that exclusion is the best option to manage behaviour?
   a. What circumstances might lead to this?

6) Describe a time when you have supported a pupil to change his/her behaviour that hasn't involved exclusion.
   a. What factors influenced/supported this change?

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G.2 Pupil Topic Guide

1) Tell me about the answers you gave to the questionnaire. Why do you think that?
   a. Can you give me an example of a time when someone has/hasn't changed their personality?

2) Tell me about how you usually behave in school on a typical day.
   a. Has your behaviour in school changed over time?
   b. Why/why not?

3) Tell me about a time when you got into trouble in school.
   a. What happened before/after the incident?
   b. How did you feel about the incident/consequences etc.?
   c. What helped/made things more difficult?

4) Why do you think you sometimes behave inappropriately at school?

5) Tell me about a time when you were excluded from school.
   a. What happened before/after the incident?
   b. How did you feel about the incident/consequences etc.?
   c. What helped/made things more difficult?

6) Do you try to change anything/do things differently when you return to school after an exclusion?
   a. Why/why not?

7) Imagine that I came back to see you in a year's time. What would you like to have changed or have achieved in that time?
   a. What would help you to do this?

Appendix H   Life Grid

Time	Life events	School	Home	Relationships	Other
Before school					
Pre-school					
Year R					
Year 1					
Year 2					
Year 3					
Year 4					
Year 5					
Year 6					
Year 7					
Year 8					
Year 9					
Year 10					
Year 11					

Appendix I   Example Debrief Statement

TEACHER DEBRIEFING STATEMENT (Written) (Version 1, 04/03/16)

The aim of this research was to explore the views of pupils, parents and school staff on school exclusion. The data collected will be analysed and a series of themes collated across all participants. Your data will help our understanding of school exclusion and support us to provide support for pupils at risk of exclusion in the future. Once again results of this study will not include your name or any other identifying characteristics. The research did not use deception. You may have a copy of this summary if you wish and a summary of the research findings will also be available following analysis should you wish to receive it.

If you have any further questions please contact me Emma Fitz-Gerald at elfg1g14@soton.ac.uk.

Thank you for your participation in this research.

Signature _____   Date _____

Appendix J   Example Transcript Section

212 BEHAVIOUR IN SCHOOL

213 INTERVIEWER
214 OK. Um, tell me about how you usually behave in school on a typical day.

215 012-PUP-M
216 Er, it depends what mood I'm in during the morning, cause sometimes I, do you know the catch,
217 good sleep, bad sleep? Sometimes, cause, I'm very friendly, when I want to be. But when I'm
218 miserable, I hate everybody.

219 INTERVIEWER
220 OK. So it depends on what mood you're in?

221 012-PUP-M
222 Yeah.

223 INTERVIEWER
224 So if you were in a good mood, what would you be like?

225 012-PUP-M
226 I'd try to behave, but some of the time, cause I get a little but hyper sometimes, it just, some things
227 just blurt out and I still get numbers some of the time.

228 INTERVIEWER
229 OK. And what about if you were in a bad mood?

230 012-PUP-M
231 In a bad mood, all hell's loose.

232 INTERVIEWER
233 Yeah.

234 012-PUP-M
235 For teachers anyway.

236 INTERVIEWER
237 What do you do?

238 012-PUP-M
239 I just get up, um, walk around the classroom, get a little bit annoyed when the teachers tell me off.
240 And that's it.

Appendix K   Example Transcript with Comments

125 003-TEA-F
126 Um, I think some of our students have so little self-esteem, you know, that it's so low, their self-
127 esteem. They lack confidence, um, because people, I think, see them as the *naughty* child and don't
128 believe they can change. And so they probably think, well, in my opinion, they're thinking, well that's
129 what they expect me to be like, so that's what I'm going to be like. Um, but actually I believe every
130 child can change the way they react. It's just about being guided correctly. And nurtured. And
131 building that relationship.

> **Commented [EF3]:** Seems to contradict first comments about characteristics

132 INTERVIEWER
133 Mmm. And what impact do you feel teachers and schools can have on the behaviour?

134 003-TEA-F
135 A major impact, I think, um, students see the adults in the school as role models. I think if they've
136 been asked to do something, then they see the adult do something they've been asked *not* to do,
137 they seem quite hard done by, well how come she can have her mobile phone out, but I'm not
138 allowed to have my mobile phone out? And I think that, I can totally see a child's point of view from
139 that point, you know, from that. Um... I think children nowadays are more argumentative. Certainly
140 from when I grew up. Um, I wouldn't dare talk back at an adult or I wouldn't dare, um, question
141 them. Um... so I think attitudes have changed... today. But I think the impact these adults have on
142 these students is massive. But again, it goes back to relationships. I think it's massive if they've got a
143 good relationship with them, then they go away with positive um... you know, er, experiences.
144 Thinking of the word.

145 D – EXCLUSIONS

146 INTERVIEWER
147 Um, and can you describe how and when fixed term exclusions are used in school?

148 003-TEA-F
149 Um, fixed term exclusions are when behaviour is really severe. Um, but that is out of my hands. I, um
150 fixed term exclusions are generally by the Deputy Head or the Head Teacher. Um, I think, it has to
151 become evident that we've got evidence of a child's, um, continued behaviour becoming bad. Um,
152 and then they get a fixed term exclusion. Or it's got to be really extreme. You know, they've either,
153 um, physically assaulted somebody... um, or verbally abused somebody with racial comments or
154 something. Um, and that's when it's fixed term, but again, the decision's down to SLT.

> **Commented [EF4]:** Link to controllability? Controllability of behaviour management tools available to them?

Appendix L   Example of an Analytic Memo

14th April

Lot of themes that appear to be around RESPONSIBILITY however, it appears to be more around perceptions of whether the behaviour is right or wrong and making judgements of this behaviour in school. As one participants puts it, if behaviour is not seen as wrong, there would be no reason to do anything differently.

Query - how many times do people use the words RIGHT and WRONG in reference to behaviour? - see Queries & Results

Interestingly none of the pupils used these terms to talk about their behaviour at all. Only teachers used this. Do pupils understand what is right and wrong? What expectations are of them in school? Is this presumed by teachers? - look for possible evidence and counter-evidence of this concept

Query - how many times pupils DIDN'T KNOW in response to questions around their behaviour

Thinking about categorising how behaviour is described e.g. BEHAVIOUR AS A RELEASE, BEHAVIOUR AS A CHOICE, BEHAVIOUR AS AN ESCAPE? - will need to see if there is any evidence for last one e.g. avoidance of class tasks.

Have termed the causality/or perceptions of home, behaviour, teachers and peers into different conceptualisations of these based on the data. Have not done so for pupils because at the moment, that is much more complex and is not so easily categorised as such.

Now am going to do second cycle of coding based on these themes.

TEACHERS AS EXPERTS - appears to be the idea from some participants that they know best and can almost predict or tell which children will need support - e.g. from transition day and that due to their experience they know more than parents do. Does this impact on their ability to work with parents or perhaps understand a parent's point of view if they are putting themselves in position of power and authority?

Ran matrix query in relation to code for question 1 - appeared to be differences between fixed and growth mindset, but not in way you might expect e.g. growth mindset has many more references to BEHAVIOUR AS A CHOICE - maybe if it is seen a choice it can be seen as something that can be changed whereas if seen as stable and out of persons control, it cannot be changed? Mindsets do not appear to necessarily fit with sense of what the person said throughout the interview - might need more critical analysis and reading around Dweck!

Need to hypothesis test against other attribution categories - do these hold up within this data or not???

Appendix M   Codebooks

*indicates code either of key interest or relevance to question or one all or the majority of participants referred to

M.1   Pupil Codebook

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
Teachers' lack of control	Explanations given around their behaviour relating to teachers not being about to manage or control them in school.	"… in infant school, I used to get sent home cause the teachers there didn't know how to control me" "… then in Year 7, 8, I got sent home sometimes, cause they couldn't really control me that well"	1/2
Teachers making situations worse	Examples of times when teachers have escalated a situation by not allowing them through their actions or not allowing them to do something e.g. re-enter class	"I start swearing sometimes, and then Sir basically threatened to put me on call. Then… I just called him a, I went oh you c-u-n-t, then walked away" "I just wanted to get back in and finish my coursework. But he wouldn't let me back in. Then, that's when I started swearing then and I got in trouble really." "I got blamed for something and I just pretty much told her to	2/4

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		fuck off. It didn't go down well and I got excluded."	
Struggling to follow parental advice	Pupils giving examples of parental advice on things they could do in school, but finding it difficult to follow.	"I try to keep my head down. That's what my Mum always tells me, to just keep my head down. I try, but it's hard." "I was a little angry at the time, cause I got a number, cause I promised my Dad I wouldn't get any numbers…"	2/4
Being different	Pupils suggesting that they either behave differently from others or are treated differently from others when they misbehave	"So, I can get stressed out real quick over something which, other people wouldn't usually get stressed out about" "Cause some people mess about a lot more than I can." Pupil: … things that made it a little bit more tricky, because I had a bad reputation. Interviewer: OK. So you feel that maybe you got worse off than the other people? Pupil: Yeah.	2/4
*Can't remember	Pupil's responses which indicated that they couldn't remember previous incidents of behaviour or what happened during those incidents or when they were younger	"But I can't really remember any [incidents]." "I don't really remember anything from like, these years or preschool." "I only really remember Years 7 to 9."	4/10

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"Can't actually remember. All I remember is me getting isolated."	
Difficult relationships	Pupil's referring to others not liking them or their experiences of difficulties with family members including siblings.	"My teacher doesn't get along with me." "… in Year R, um, my teacher used to hate me. She didn't really like me at all." "… we used to fight a lot, and he'd end up getting hurt quite a lot."	2/12
"I do what I want"	Reference to them having some choice or control over some of their behaviours.	"Some of the time, I get, I do it for people to laugh at me. And some of the time, I just do it because I want to." "So school were trying to help me with that, in the end they did, but I didn't really listen. I just do what I want."	3/4
Understanding of impact on others	Pupils making reference to how their behaviour may be impacting on others, or appearing to indicate empathy or understanding for others who deal with them.	"My mum was all like, struggling with me and my ADHD so, it was hard on her, cause, like she's got other kids, she's got other siblings, um, other children to worry about. Not just me getting excluded…" "Well in Year 7, I was annoying to the teachers. Still am a little bit."	3/4

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
Taking things too far	Suggestion that they sometimes don't know when to stop or take situations too far.	"My friends weren't as bad as me, I took it one step too far…" "My habits started going downhill. Always started to talk about games and stuff. I mean, I still do, I used to do that anyway, but… it was non-stop."	2/3
Not coping with change	Pupil's giving examples of struggling to manage or cope with change either within school or home.	"… in Year like 5/6 we had to like move classroom around a little bit, cause, one thing which I've learnt is that I do not do well with change." "Change sets me off…like if there's a different teacher, er, I'm not allowed, if there's a cover, I'm not allowed to be in there, like, at, at, home, I'll know if something's move and then I get wound up…"	2/2
Breakdown in school placements	Pupil's descriptions of times when they have had to move schools because of their behaviour or things not going well.	Interviewer: So you moved school in Year 8. That's quite a significant things isn't it? Pupil: Yeah. I wasn't getting, I wasn't doing well there. Getting into trouble, fights and detentions so, Mum took me out and put me here. Interviewer: Why did you move schools from your other one? Pupil: I wasn't very well behaved there. I wasn't expelled, but I was close to, so my parents took me out before it happened.	3/7
Transition to secondary	Pupil's feelings and memories of moving from	"In Year 6, it was really hard because I knew I was going into a	3/6

112

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	primary to secondary school	big school." "… I like, didn't know, like if the work was doing to be hard or not, cause everyone was telling me it was going to be hard…" Interviewer: So what changed when you went to secondary school? Pupil: Um… um, I thought it would be fun to er, damage stuff.	
*Finding things hard	Reference to times when pupils have found or are finding things hard, either in relation to work or changing their behaviour.	Interviewer: What things did you find tricky in Year 7? Pupil: Like doing all the homework. I can barely do it now… Interviewer: And do you ever try and do anything differently when you come back? Pupil: Just ignore them. Interviewer: Yeah. Pupil: If I can. Interviewer: How is that? Pupil: Hard…	5/10
Getting into trouble	Talk from the pupils in relation to being in 'trouble' or staying out of 'trouble'. Specific references to use of the word 'trouble'.	"So that can get me into trouble really" "I mess about so, I just, I usually get in trouble really"	4/13

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"I don't think I've got in much trouble. Only because I'm on report."	
It's just one of those days	Indication from pupils that some days are good and others are not, but they are not sure why. Some attempts to explain linked to mood, days of the weeks and food/drink.	"When I get in class I *sometimes* will be right, right set of mind ready to do all my work, won't misbehave at all. But other times, it will be different and I just won't be up to the tasks, mess, mess about and that will usually get me in trouble and put on call." "It depends what mood I'm in during the morning…" "Some days I can be annoying. Some days I'm good."	3/6
*Joining in	Indication that they are often joining in with peers or find it difficult to ignore peers' behaviour which impacts on their own.	"I do join in with people a lot. Like, I'm not always the first person to start things, but, I'm usually the one which joins in and gets in trouble for it." "I was just tapping, cause I was doing it with a load of people, it got really loud and that" "… my best mate's in my class, so we start mucking about together, we get in a lot of trouble together."	5/9
*Lack of control	Indication that pupils are struggling to control themselves or their behaviour. Suggestion that it happens quickly or that they can't help it.	"I can get annoyed really quick, really. That's why I usually get in trouble."	5/13

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"So I just can't help it, but, say what I need to say." "… my head blew out in a fit of anger." "… well I sometimes, I just can't control myself for some reason."	
Boring lessons	Pupils talking about lessons being boring as a trigger for their behaviour.	"When I get bored, and I don't get the lesson, then I just start mucking about." "some lessons, like, I'd be talking, when the teacher's talking, to my friends. Like, having fun in the lesson, when the lesson's not made for fun."	2/6
Broken promises	Pupils' experiences of others – in particular adults – in their past not being reliable, or not following through with promises or what they say they will do.	"You know really, from what I've learnt is that, people can say that they will change, but there won't be any difference. They'll be like if for a week, but it won't last." "And half the time she lied to me, like saying that we're going to Ibiza. We still haven't been. Also going to Mexico, we haven't been. Australia, still haven't been."	2/3
Negative life events	Pupil's descriptions of significant negative incidents in their lives at home, such as bereavement and abuse.	"Well, like, Year 5/6 as well, I found out that I was adopted." "When I was little, um, my mum used to abuse me."	3/9

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"Er, I think it was Year 8 or 7, my Nan died, well my great nan died."	
Making peers laugh	Reference to wanting to make others (peers) laugh as a reason for some of their behaviours	"But I don't mean to misbehave, I just, like I said, I just want to make people laugh." "I do it for people to laugh at me."	2/3
*Doesn't matter what I do	Sense that pupil no longer cares, or that others don't care about them or their behaviour.	"… it doesn't matter what I do, cause no-one would take it, no-one would like really care, you know. "	1/1
*Not knowing	Examples of pupils indicating they don't know the reasons for their behaviour or what will help them make the changes they want to.	Interviewer: What is the difference between primary and secondary school? Pupil: I don't know really. Interviewer: What do you think is different between those days when you come in? Pupil: I don't actually know really. Interviewer: What do you think has changed? Pupil: Me calling out. Interviewer: OK. Has anything help you call out less? Pupil: I dunno.	5/17
Peer support	Reference to their friends supporting them in difficult situations or them helping their friends	"… he used to help a lot, when I used to have a broken arm. I still owe him. He hasn't broken anything yet."	3/3

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	out.	"… like I was sticking up for a friend…"	
*"He was winding me up"	Descriptions of peers 'winding them up' or annoying them being triggers for their behaviour.	"I was doing my work then I just lobbed a penny at someone because he was annoying me." "Well, now they see like, they can wind me up easier… and they can get a better reaction out of me, so people keep on going and I get in trouble."	4/10
Positive relationships at home	Descriptions of positive and negative relationships with parents or family members	"Oh my relationship with my parents is fine." "I'm quite close to my Mum and Grandma."	3/4
*Influence of reputation	Suggestion from pupil's that their previous behaviour or their reputation for poor behaviour means they get into trouble quicker or more easily than others	"Cause some people mess about a lot more than I can." "Er, things that made it a little bit more tricky, because I had a bad reputation."	5/10
*Sense making	Examples of pupils trying to make sense of situations that they perhaps don't completely understand either in their home life or school.	"I wasn't too sure on how to react, cause I didn't really know the reasons. But then I found out the reasons and then I thought, oh, cause really my parents didn't, well my real mum didn't know how to look after me." "I was supposed to come here, but then I went to another	5/7

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		school. But then Year 8 I came here. Because I didn't like XXXX." "I didn't get much help with my reading and my sister was getting bullied."	
*"I've got well better"	Descriptions of their behaviour improving or being worse in the past and they are being better behaved in school now.	"… ever since Year 8, I've been able to control my anger really." "… in Year 7 I used to get sent out a lot, but it's rare for me to get sent out now really." "Because in Year 8, I wouldn't have gone straight to the teacher I would have just, I would have just gone around and that in a mess…"	5/11
Showing off	Idea that they are showing off to peers or acting up, not just trying to making others' laugh. Link to coming back from exclusion or idea of not losing face.	"Like everyone's like, you're back and that, and like, you start like, showing off again." "You start mucking about, as soon as you see them."	1/3
*"I've got something wrong with me"	Reference to pupil having a condition or that there is something internal in them which causes their behaviour.	"I guess it's part of my personality, that I can get off task easily…" "… well I've got something wrong with me where I get stressed out really easy, in my eyes."	4/8

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"… so me having anger prob- issues, I, my head blew out in a fit of anger."	
		"… my mum was all like, struggling with me and my ADHD…"	
"I got blamed"	Reference to things not being their fault or getting the blame for something when it wasn't them.	"Because it wasn't even me who was like being naughty."	4/5
		"… it weren't my fault."	
		"And then, she tried to kick me, but Sir got in the way and thought I kicked him, but she kicked him."	
Trying to avoid negative influences	Pupils describing their attempts to avoid situations or ignore others who might make their behaviour worse	"Well I'm now on like medication, so it's easier for me to understand, because before that I was not, I was being influenced by others, so, now I can say no. It's a lot easier."	3/5
		"… Miss told one of my mates to move, but I decided to move, so I moved, because I didn't want to get into trouble, because I knew I was on report…"	
Descriptions of themselves	Examples of pupils describing themselves or their behaviour. How they think others see them.	"I'm friendly when I want to be. But when I'm miserable, I hate everybody."	4/6
		"I'm just a bit cocky."	

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"Chatty. Come across, quite, like, boisterous."	
*"I want to be a better me"	Reference to pupils' desire to improve themselves and aspirations they have for the future.	"I would have liked to have achieved at least 5 or 6 A*s to Cs. And then, really, I just wanna, I'm just aspiring to become a sports coach really." "I still want to be myself, but I want to be a better me and stop making, stop, leave all the funny noises and things, like that for outside rather than in the class."	4/10
"I should have…"	Reflections of pupils on what they should have done differently after the incident or understanding that what they did didn't help.	"But I still shouldn't have swore. That didn't help anything. I knew that." "I should have spoke to her at the end…"	1/2
Positive memories of school	Reflections from pupils of times when they have enjoyed school or behaved well in school in the past.	"Then, cause I'm her step, um, grandson, um, I used to, um, I used to, um behave there." "… in Year 2, um, when there was golden time, I, my teacher used to give me an otter, and for some reason I gave it, I named it Sporty…" "It was a pretty good school."	3/6
Being the victim	Descriptions of them being targeted by other	"I just got a fight with someone, cause I was in Year 8 and he was	2/3

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	pupils or peers triggering their behaviour.	in Year 9/10. Then he took my bag and started lobbing it around." "…and they just like got angry, started running after me."	
*Acceptance of the situation	Sense that these situations happen and a 'matter of factness' of tone when talking about them. Also fact that the consequence isn't too bad.	"It's usual really. It's happened to be before. I know what happens. So it's not that bad of a day really" Interviewer: And how did you feel about that consequence? Pupil: I didn't mind. Interviewer: Is there anything you think your teacher could have done differently that would have helped you? Pupil: No not really. He was just doing his job.	4/9
Not understanding the consequences	Sense from pupil's they didn't completely understand the situation or the expectations/ consequences of their behaviour.	"I didn't really understand, like, the punishments, so I didn't, so I didn't really take it into thought." Interviewer: How come you're not allowed to do it? Pupil: Because I've got too many behaviour point. Interviewer: So what does too many behaviour points mean? You can't join in with stuff? Pupil: Yeah, that's what I got told.	3/5
What happens at home	Descriptions of what they do when they are home	"… my parents took away every electrical device in the house, so	2/4

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	due to an exclusion including additional consequences put in place by parents.	I couldn't do *anything*." "And then, an exclusion, you get a day off school, but you get your work sent home. And then you gotta do it at home."	
*Coming back to school	Experiences of returning to school following an exclusion, in particular reactions of friends or what they tell friends	"Like everyone's like, you're back and that, and like, you start like, showing off again." "I've told my friends where I've been, but not what for, some of the times what for."	3/6
*Negative emotions	Descriptions of negative emotions associated with the behavioural incident or consequence put in place e.g. annoyance, anger, embarrassment etc.	"I was just really annoyed. Couldn't think of anything else." Interviewer: And how did you feel about the consequences? Pupil: Um, upset, stupid and annoyed.	5/15
Types of consequence	Descriptions of consequences pupils have experienced, their understanding and their reactions to these.	"I'd been put into supervised learning, which is basically inclusion, cause I called a teacher a c-u-n-t." "Just started shouting, swearing and then eventually I got put on call." "You get kicked out the lesson. And then I had to go to a room, or like any other room and do work and then have a detention	4/14

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		after."	
*"I just behave more"	General statements of examples of things that they try to do differently when they return to school, with minimal expansion or explanation of how they do it.	"I'm just the same person as I usually am. And, but I'm like, I just behave more really." "I try and change who I hang around with, or, how I cope with the situation."	4/5
Getting help	Examples of teachers or others helping them or them making decisions to seek out others for help	"… cause Miss always speaks to me. And talks to me about it." "… school were trying to help me with that, in the end the did…" "… I asked sooner. I, I went to the teacher straight away."	3/5
Needing continued support	Reference to behaviour reverting back or getting worse when support is removed or withdrawn.	Interviewer: And do you stay on report all the time or do you come off it eventually? Pupil: Come off it and then every time I come off it, I start behaving badly again, so I just get put back on it.	1/1
Doesn't happen that often	Reference to them getting in trouble or excluded rarely.	"… cause it's not that usual for me to get excluded really, but I have been excluded a few times."	1/1
Positive emotions	Pupils' description of positive emotions associated with consequences they have experienced or their	Pupil: Well I got, I was at my Nan's, so I just done work. Interviewer: And how did you feel about that?	2/3

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	behaviour.	Pupil: Fun. Interviewer: Do you remember why you do those things? Pupil: Err… it's funny…	
Nothing helped	Sense that nothing helped make the situation better at the time, or couldn't think of anything that would have helped on reflection.	"Nothing really helped it…" Interviewer: Is there anything you think your teacher could have done differently that would have helped you? Pupil: No not really. He was just doing his job.	2/3
Parents being informed	Reference to how parents were involved or informed of the consequence.	"The day ended and then, er, my parents got an email saying, oh your son's done this, so we're going to put him in supervised learning for three days."	2/2
*Being punished	Reference to consequences as 'punishments' and that often there is more than one.	"And then I had to do to a room, or like any other room and do work and then have a detention after. And then, my Head of Year decided to put, decided to exclude me, even though I got punished." "I just didn't feel like it was fair for me to get punished…"	2/4
*Time to think	Reference to it being helpful to have time to think or calm down to prevent further incidents or escalation of behaviour.	"Well something that helped was me just going home, cause otherwise it could have just kicked off again with anyone really."	3/3

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"In a way, cause it, like gives me time to think about what I've done. Cause I can't think about what I've done straight away. Cause I need time to think about it, so, yeah it kind of helps."	
Types of behaviour	Descriptions or examples of different types of behaviour the pupils' get into trouble for in school e.g. fighting, swearing, causing damage etc.	"I start swearing sometimes, and then Sir basically threatened to put me on call. Then… I just called him a, I went oh you c-u-n-t, then walked away." "… there was this one time where I got excluded for… getting into a fight." "I smashed quite a lot of windows and smashed some doors in."	5/20

M.2 Teacher Codebook

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
Making a choice	Suggestion being made either explicitly or implicitly that the pupils are choosing to behaviour in a particular way.	"… a couple of young people who are looked after children, who… behave in ways because of choice and a lot of the choice is about I've been rejected so many times, so why does it matter if I behave that way." "I think we've got a student here who, nope, is going to behave	7/17

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		how he's going to behave and that's it."	
"whole pile of factors"	Reference to there being lots of influences on behaviour, not just one root cause, including home, school and individual pupil.	"… I think it could be a manner of things. It could be, um, their home life, domestic abuse, it could be um, total disruption, if I'm honest, with some of the home lived they've got at home. Um, broken relationships, um, at home and in school, that could be with adult and child. Um… sometimes it's just, I think they've done something wrong once and they just don't know how to turn it round." "I don't think it's ever really just one root cause, I don't think a child is just naughty, I think there's obviously external factors which cause them to behave in that way, and it's about unpicking that and trying to kind of retrain their, their way of thinking really."	5/7
Having an outlet	Reference to behaviour being an emotional outlet for circumstances out of their control or a way of expressing themselves. Suggestion that they are less in control of this behaviour.	"… probably, the most of her exclusions were through the anger of what had happened, been happening outside of school." "… I think also, the baggage that they bring with them, from outside the classroom. They kind of just let it out."	7/9
Their right	Strongly worded statements in relation to the pupils' beliefs that their behaviour is OK or right.	"You can see those that believe it is their God given *right*, to behave in a way which is… against the way normal society would work." "… you see, it's the lack of rules, and they, they feel that they	2/2

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		can do it. They have a *right* to be rude to people. They feel they have a right to do things and I think that is society today."	
Living up to negative expectations	Reference to pupils acting in a particular way because they think that is what is expected of others, or their behaviour impacting on other aspects of their life e.g. learning, so their beliefs about their difficulties with learning are then confirmed.	"They lack confidence, um, because people, I think, see them as the *naughty* child and don't believe they can change. And so they probably think, well in my opinion, they're thinking, well that's what they expect me to be like, so that's what I'm going to be like." "I think if a child is constantly *told* or *believes* that they are a naughty child, or a, or that they *can't* learn or that they don't, or that they're not clever, then they will bring with them and they kind of get fixed into this mindset of well that's me, that's the type of person I am…"	6/7
*"just naughty people"	Reference to the behaviour being part of the pupil or something 'within them' which they can't change.	"… we have children in the school who are just naughty people. Er, and they have to confront that, that they've made that choice, they've done it deliberately, there is no benefit to them and to others so there's a consequence to it." "…we have got a large cohort of young people on, on the SEN register, because they come with, whether it's autism, ADHD, OCD, you know, all of the labels, um… but saying that, there's not much can be done to really change that…" "We've got a student in the department at the moment, it doesn't matter how long she's in here, and going back into	7/18

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		school, I *can't* change her character. It's who she is."	
Empathy towards others	References to an understanding of the pupils' situation and circumstance and examples of seeing it from their point of view. As well as empathy for teachers and parents.	"We've got some people that have come back here to teach, that went to school here. And they will use that as a tool when talking to young people, and they'll say, I know what, exactly what it's like here, because I went here, look at me now, I'm like you…" "I think if they've been asked to do something, then they see the adult do something they've been asked *not* to do, they seem quite hard done by, well how come she can have her mobile phone out, but I'm not allowed to have my mobile phone out? And I think that, I can totally see a child's point of view from that point, you know…"	5/8
*Disruptive home lives	Examples given or disruption or challenging home circumstances that the pupils have to cope with and manage e.g. domestic abuse, alcohol, drugs, divorce etc.	"… when you dig in to find out that they've made that bad decision because… domestic violence last night, or, um they had to get all their siblings up because Mum was still flat out, comatosed drunk." "… she really pulled it together in Year 11… still with a lot of outside stuff, Mum with drugs and alcohol, um, her having to battle threatening behaviour from Mum towards her, um, her moving out, her then being put in care, then coming off of care and going back to Mum."	8/15
Learned from home	Reference to the behaviour of pupils is as a result of experiencing or witnessing similar behaviour at	"… you can straight away, on most occasions, parents come in for a meeting with a, child's been excluded and you think to	5/7

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	home. The idea that they have 'learnt' how to behave from their parents or other family members.	yourself, well that's where they got it from." "… I don't think you're kind of pre-programmed to only behave in a particular way. I think it's, definitely kind of learnt from what you see, and how you're brought up…"	
Values at home	Reference to the values home places on education and other behaviours e.g. smoking and swearing, being different to school values.	"So parents come in. Weren't happy. Sat down in my office. *Why* have you excluded him? Well, why can't he, no, the actual answer to that questions was, why can't be smoke in school? And I couldn't quite believe it." "… he's not engaging in lessons at all. Um, and it's partly because his Dad said to him, look, oh well, you can just fix cars on he from driveway with me, and then you'll just work with me and that's it."	7/12
Different boundaries	Reference to school and home having different boundaries regarding pupils' behaviour and the suggestion that at home there were less or no rules or consistency in these compared to school.	"You need the *parents* to be consistent. Or they learn one way at home and one way at school, and I think, sometimes the school, because school gives them boundaries, they probably behave better in school than they do at home. So I think *boundaries* are very important to behaviour." "… I think it comes down to the parents comes in, um, and she can get away with anything she wants, and its' glaringly obvious within five minutes of being with Mum and you think, there's no boundaries at home, we haven't got a chance in school."	7/22

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
Making excuses	Reference to pupils using their home circumstances as an 'excuse' or reason for their behaviour.	"… a lot of them use excuses. Um, I don't think they're… all reasonable excuses. Um, quite often they will, use home life and that whole, you don't know what's going on in my life, and you get that thrown at you and stuff like that."	1/3
Societal impact	Reference to changes in society and differences in what is tolerated in society now compared to when they as teachers were at school.	"I think children nowadays are more argumentative. Certainly from when I grew up. Um, I wouldn't dare talk back at an adult or I wouldn't dare, um, question them. Um… so I think attitudes have changed…" "And I think, in today's society, er, and it's not exclusive to this school, I think it is just in general, children… think they are untouchable…"	5/10
Personal comments	Comments that were made that suggested negative personal feelings in relation to parents or pupils in the past or present.	"… um and that's when you do find yourself sometimes talking to a parent like they're 5 years old. Because… they can't speak in any other way." "… but, there was like a particular couple of girls who were like a right pain in the arse and didn't really, weren't very motivated to do very much…"	6/13
Comparing themselves to peers	Examples of pupils making reference to them not being as good as others, particularly with regard to their learning.	"… she doesn't think she's, she kind of compares herself to her other friends. And um, doesn't feel she is in the same league as them, and therefore acts up."	1/2
Social relationships	Reference to pupils' focus on their social relationships with peers as a priority over their	"Social issues regarding their peer group is a big one, because as much as I would love their primary focus for that hour that I	4/7

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	learning.	have them to be about what I'm trying to teach them, I know that if student A and student B have had a falling out then student C, D, E to M have all got involve and then… without meaning to, they're distracted by something else, and will be displaying behaviour that doesn't help students make progress…"	
"Showing off"	Descriptions of pupils engaging in behaviour as a way of seeking attention from peers.	"… I know it's that whole peacocking, you know, I'm with my peers, I'm being a lad, I'm funny. But it's not funny is it?" "I think they do it because they think it's funny. Like they do it to be, you know, the entertainer, to make people laugh. Like perhaps they feel like they're not getting attention elsewhere."	5/7
Low aspirations	Reference to the belief that the pupils do not have high expectations or aspirations for the future which is impacting on their behaviour and motivation to engage in their learning.	"You'll find this in schools that serve estates like ours, particularly very white British estates, um… that sense of self-worth, that aspiration, the mental health aspects that we come across and that we deal with, um… it's a huge issue. "	3/7
They don't care	Reference to pupils lack of care around their behaviour or the consequences.	"It's like a lack of care. Like they don't… they don't care about the consequences. They don't care that they're not going to achieve. That doesn't mean that they never will care, but at this point in time they don't. They don't care. It's no biggy. They don't mind they're failing."	4/11
Impact of maturity	Reference to the age or maturity of the pupils impacting on their behaviour or understanding of	"… with young students I feel that sometimes they need kind of an extrinsic, king of a consequence, whether that's a punishment	6/13

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	their behaviour and consequences.	in order to learn that that's the wrong thing to do, um because of their age and their development stage, I don't think they always buy in to and, and realise the kind of nurturing aspect of the, the punishment…" "I think it does matter with age, I think students… I think children do find it difficult to reflect on what they've done at a young age…"	
*Don't have the skills	References to the pupils lacking skills which impact on their ability to manage their behaviour, access their learning or meet school's expectations.	"… so obviously there are emotional and vulnerable students, that have a lot of needs and are not emotionally intelligent enough to be able to sit down and have a conversation with you about them…" "Because if you don't understand what it is you've been asked to do or if you aren't confident with it and then you start to muck around, because you feel happier doing that and you know what you're doing and you're not being confronted with something you can't do."	8/25
*Right and wrong	Reference to clear moral judgements being made around behaviour or environment being 'right' or 'wrong' in the eyes of the participant.	"So that continuing the same types of behaviour, quite often caused by… a lack of belief that I'm doing something wrong. I really, really don't believe that what I've just done is wrong." "… they don't necessarily know how to behave, they've never been put in the right social context, social environment to learn, um how to have effective relationships with friends or	10/51

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		teachers…"	
Not understanding consequences	Reference to pupils not understanding the consequences of their behaviour, including school consequences as well as natural consequences.	"… he's supposed to be getting As and actually at the moment he will be lucky to get Cs. Cause he's just like, bumbling along and he *hasn't* changed, he hasn't realised the… kind of consequences yet of not being motivated to work." "… I think bad behaviour comes down to… I… no knowing, not knowing the end game."	5/14
*Not understanding their behaviour	References to pupils not understanding their behaviour or realising what their behaviour looks like.	"…I had some video footage, when another boy had slapped a boy really hard on the back. And it wasn't until they *saw* their behaviour that they realised. Cause they actually, I remember him saying, "Oh my God, I didn't realise it was that hard."" "I don't think they really understand how vulnerable they are, um, and actually their behaviours are almost, their way of displaying that…"	8/15
Reputation around school	Reference to the importance of pupils maintaining their reputation or image in front of peers by acting in a particular way to gain or maintain their respect.	"… their reputation around school, their reputation with their peers I kind of, a lot of it is founded upon, and their friendships is founded upon the way they act and um, a lot of students feel that they need to continue that and keep that king of respect, they see it as respect to a certain extent I think." "I think the students that tend to be excluded are the ones that	3/3

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		have a persona that they feel they need to… almost validate in school."	
Low self-worth	Reference to pupils' low self-worth or self-esteem impacting on their behaviour negatively.	"… we are constantly working and managing people's perceptions about themselves because, er, an awful lot of our children and families have very low self-esteem." "…so, a lot of students with low self-esteem, obviously, are the ones that don't behave very well…"	5/11
Taking responsibility	References to people taking or not taking responsibility for changing behaviour including pupils, parents and school staff.	"… people are kind of stuck in that, it's not my responsibility, people that don't take responsibility for their own actions and making changes to their own behaviour are those kind of people that I think, and lots and lots of times in Triple P, and through my work with families in *this* school, they're the people, so people that don't take responsibility for making changes, don't make changes, because they think it's, it's always someone else who should be doing it. And it's not their fault and it's not their, so therefore, it's not their responsibility to do anything about it."	4/8
Teacher inconsistencies	Examples of different teachers having different expectations of behaviour and the impact this has on pupils' behaviour.	"In terms of what would be sanctioned in one lesson, might not be sanctioned in another one. That obviously gives some lea-way and students, certainly the students that might need to have, to be given more strict guidelines on how to behave, might find that… er, alleviation of kind of, those guidelines, the, they might find that more of an opportunity to misbehave then…" "… so my Year 7 class that I share with a maths teacher, the way	4/6

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		that they speak to her, I wouldn't tolerate. I would say, you know, you're being rude, that's not OK. Where she, she's kind of lets them get away with it, so then, the behaviour escalates to a point where then you do have to do significant sanctions…"	
*"They haven't got a hope in hell"	References to circumstances being unlikely to change for that pupil and a sense of helplessness from teachers in terms of pupils' future prospects or outcomes.	"… some of them it's because it's, it's their experience, they know nothing else, that's the way they have been brought up, that's the way it's always been therefore that's the way it's always gonna be." "The thing is, where we are in society, where some stuff is so deep seated, some of the children we have here, they haven't got a hope in hell. Because their background and their homes and you know, where they live, um… people they are with, are going to ultimately have that impact on them…"	3/6
Teachers escalating behaviour	Reflections around times when teachers have themselves triggered or escalated behaviour or examples of colleagues doing so.	"… I kept allowing myself to get into these confrontations with her in front of the others and the Head teacher came up and said, "Right, go and just quietly talk to her and then come away, so the rest of the class don't hear," and what a difference that made." "You get some people that do the whole, I'm the adult, you're the child, you should be listening to me, and actually it doesn't always work like that, and if anything it just puts other people's back up, or the young person's back up."	6/10
SEN needs	References to specific needs that pupils may have	"… there's one boy in particular, he's on the um, spectrum, um,	3/3

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	that impact on their behaviour or ability to change their behaviour.	so his social skills are generally kind of lacking anyway, so he's been excluded for swearing at a teacher, or, um, just his behaviour towards other students has been so extreme that actually, for *his* sake he's not been in school."	
Negative reactions of parents	Examples given on parents reacting negatively or aggressively towards school or teachers due to decisions that have been made.	"… where a student will say something to home, home will explode and naturally it's just a downright lie…" "… but if you've got a parent, every time you say, like, a young person is getting excluded, then you've got the mother screaming down the phone at you, you know… loads of different expletives and god knows what else…"	5/5
Individual situations	Reference to behaviour and management strategies being dependent on the individual situation and reasons for the behaviour.	"… everybody's different. So you can't have a generic, oh this happened to you, so we can fix you. It's, you can't do it like that at all." "… it really depends on the student and a case by case of a student. There's no certain type of student that gets excluded. Because we do have one off incidents here when students have been excluded for the first time, we do have students that have been persistently excluded, um so it is very much on a case by case…"	7/13
Lack of support from home	Reference to examples of parents not agreeing with or reinforcing school expectations or consequences at home. Or wanting the school to	"But this one girl I was thinking of, she um… she got in trouble with the police, really aggressive, very violent… and her mum, we'd have meetings, and her mum would just sit there and just	7/15

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	manage the problem.	back her corner all the time." "… the barrier is, that those… "types", in adverted commas, of parents, those… er, parents with particular attitudes or the way in which they've brought the children up, are very quick to say, it's the school's problem to deal with." "… and you feel sometimes that the parent is just making excuses after excuse, why that young person is doing the stuff that they are doing. That's the battle. When they can't actually physically see *themselves* actually there's a problem here."	
Falling into bad habits	Reference to pupils reverting back to similar behaviours or getting into bad habits of behaviour which makes it difficult for them to change.	"…I think that's the biggest motivation for everybody. Actually knowing that you can do it. Cause otherwise it's much easier to give up and just fall into bad habits, such as poor behaviour." "… they've all got this idea about thems-, you know, how they *appear*. Then they will equally reflect that and resort back to their, kind of, bad behaviour…"	3/6
Becoming role models	Reflections on supporting the pupils to recognise themselves as role models to other peers.	"I spent an hour, a good hour, talking to them about how they should behave at break time, lunch time, why they're a role model, why they shouldn't be seen to be fighting…"	2/4
*Setting expectations	References to teachers talking about the importance of their role in creating boundaries and consistency for pupils in school.	"… just through clear guidelines and strict rules as to what behaviour is expected, um, but that need to be justified to the student and explained why that's expected and why that's	10/22

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"suitable and what that behaviour allows…" "You know there are your rules and the students have to go by them, because if you're not consistent, that's when they see that chink and that's when they'll take advantage."	
Teacher experience	Reference to teacher's own experience in the job and knowledge helping them to identify and support pupils with challenging behaviour.	"And I suppose it's just the experience of the people that work here, know exactly what's going on…" "…if it's a student I know really well, then I'm confident that, because of the relationship with him and the skills that I've got, I'm able to deflect or distract or whatever it is, to prevent it escalating."	6/12
*Importance of relationships	Reference to teachers building relationships with pupils as a helpful strategy to supporting their behaviour and making them approachable.	"… for me it's about building relationships with these students. And I think it's really important that these students have a relationship with an adult. And if that relationship hasn't been built then they naturally don't take on board what the adults' asking." "I think having an adult that's approachable. Someone they can open up to and talk to. Someone who actually sees from their point of view why they might have felt that way."	8/26
Teachers as role models	Reference to themselves as being role models for the pupils or someone the pupils can look up to and learn from in school.	"For many, certainly our school, for many of our children, we are the positive role models. We are the ones who say, actually that's not good enough or that was brilliant. And we have to	5/7

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		model that ourselves and we have to be on top of our game, every day, all day. Constantly." "… I feel that teachers could have a huge role, but I think that needs to be through role modelling really and um, and yeah, just through clear guidelines and strict riles as to what behaviour is expected…"	
Power and control	Reference to teachers having authority over pupils or examples of them using power to exert influence over them.	"Because I think students do have to appreciate, you know, we're the teacher, we've done our training, we've got our degree, we know more than they do, and I think sometimes they think they know as much as we do." "… previously we had a Head who ruled by fear. And yeah, I think the behaviour was *different*. I think now students here feel they have more of a voice now. And whether you think that's a good thing or not, I mean, I'm, I wouldn't comment either way."	4/8
Additional strategies and support at time of exclusion	Comments made regarding additional strategies and support that were put in place alongside the exclusion e.g. anger management, which were felt to have helped more than the exclusion itself but was difficult to unpick.	"…we've got a couple of boys that are in Year 11, um, both of whom have quite short fuses and have been in a few fights, and they've had fixed term exclusions for that, their behaviour, they are not much more able to manage their behaviour, but I don't know whether that's a consequence of the fixed term exclusion or the anger management they had following that."	3/5
Administrative activities	References made to the paper work or evidence that is needed in order to manage behaviour and exclusions, including informing others officially.	"… we've got what is known as a serious incident form. They're yellow forms that come to the Heads of year that has to go through the Heads of Department, so the department need to	4/10

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		be aware, that they know what's going on within their department…" "… but I just know what's going to come after that and the paperwork I'm going to have to do, everything um, develops into paperwork doesn't it?"	
An example to others	Reference to the use of exclusion as a way of setting an example to other students or sending a message to others re what behaviour is expected in school.	"I think it's more about that person becoming an example. Not so much about whether it's impacted on them as a person…" "… that was when we felt a high price of an exclusion needs to set an example to everybody else, and they need to learn from it."	3/4
Being inclusive	Reference to the belief that their school was particularly inclusive, because they kept pupils for longer than other schools.	"But I think, as a school, we're *so* inclusive… you know, we hold on to a lot of young people that lots of school get rid of."	1/2
Being proactive	Reference to attempts to/or wanting to be more proactive in their approaches to behaviour e.g. early intervention and preventative work.	"… what I've found from my experience, um, the best schools are the ones that deal with behaviour proactively, which can be difficult, because you then need a buy in from the kids and parents." "I think more preventative work. I think that's something that's in the very early stages, um, we can always do more of that."	5/8
Bending polices	Despite reference to firm and clear policies, talk of being flexible in the application of these policies	"… normally that would have been a five day exclusion, pending a meeting whether that person stays with us. But because she	6/8

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	to individual situations and circumstances of the behaviour.	was remorseful, it was like, almost immediately after, um, "I'm so sorry, I didn't mean it," and you know we did the whole… it got put down to a two day fixed." "… fighting, I think that can be, but depends on the circumstances and the context of how and when it happened and all that kind of stuff…"	
"Should be more about the carrot"	Desires of participants for behaviour management to have a greater focus on the 'carrots' or positives of doing something right, rather than punishments.	"I feel like it should more be about the carrot rather than a stick, you know. Like actually if you don't do this, you'll get a detention, whereas actually if you *do* do this, you will achieve this."	3/4
Changing the environment	Reference to the school environment being difficult for some pupils to manage, and changing the setting or number of pupils or expectations to support with this.	"… when we've took them out of mainstream and put them into a college environment with older people, un they're still 15,16, but they're surrounded with people 17, 18, then further relationships with teachers is less formal, um and they're flourishing there." "… they kind of leave the mainstream school environment for a short term, but they do come and work with us, so they're not excluded, they're still on a full time timetable."	7/12
Changes in approach	Reference to previous Heads or SLT who worked differently as well as changed in foci or approach under the current leadership.	"… there's kind of a change there really, initially it was we, we'd identify behaviour, we, we'd see what went wrong and we would punish it really, based on an eye for an eye, to a certain extent. Um, now actually the, the behaviour is kind of	4/6

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		investigated a bit further…"	
		"… I think with the new Head Teacher, there's more buying into the, there's more positive stuff…"	
Following policies	References made to the importance of having policies and the clear protocol set out in these being followed.	"… everybody's got to understand that, er… there's a policy in place for a reason and the reason is that it allows clear understanding of, if you do that, that will happen." "Um, so the behaviour policy, yeah, should be quite watertight, there is definitely a protocol to follow."	5/7
*Striving for consistency	References made to the importance of consistency in schools to support pupil's behaviour as well as difficulties in trying to remain consistent.	"… making sure that um, everything's consistent. So expectations are consistent, um, rewards are consistent, sanctions are consistent. Um, which helps with the behaviour." "I think, with, with consistent boundaries, he won't shout out in my lessons, so I'm trying these strategies at the moment and um, ask me again in a few weeks' time, has it worked, then if not I go for a different strategy."	6/12
Day to day strategies	Examples of strategies teachers try to implement in the classroom, before use of sanctions e.g. time out, talking, avoiding triggers etc.	"And there's just talking. We're constantly talking to children." "… and we have like a time out system, where people can come out of a room, especially if they are known to lose it a little bit, so it's like, OK, leave the room, take time out, and then we'll have you back in."	8/17

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
Demands on staff	Reference to the high demands managing challenging behaviour can have on staff, including demands on their time, teaching and the emotional impact it can have.	"… that becomes like a massive faff, because then you've got to chase these kids up, escort them over, when really all I want them to do is their bloomin' homework, I don't want to give them a detention particularly, I don't want to spend any extra time with them necessarily." "… also when they come back from an exclusion you then have to attempt to catch them up. And it makes everyone's lives a little bit more stressful and difficult."	7/16
Differentiation	References to the importance of differentiating learning but also behavioural expectations.	"… I'm trying to think of a different lesson at the moment, that I could do with this class, that will engage the ones that want to work and the ones that are disruptive." "… because this is a mainstream school, um, they, the teachers differentiate in terms of learning, but sometimes not in terms of behaviour."	3/4
Playing down of some behaviours	Tendency on the part of some participants to play down particular behaviours through their use of language or suggestion that it was typical of pupils of that age.	"… it turned out to cause a couple of injuries, minor injuries to other students, um, and then they ended up having a bit of a, scrap if you like, it wasn't anything major, it was kind of a headlock and a grabbing sort of thing…" "… you know it was continuous behaviour, but I, for me he's just a cheeky little monkey…"	3/4
*Rarity of exclusions	Perception of participants that the school is not	"… we don't do them a lot. I think if you look at our exclusions,	5/9

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	using exclusion often and for very few pupils.	we, we, actually get told we're excluding too much. I don't think we are at all…" "Um, so fixed term exclusions are, um, used quite rarely now really."	
"we do a good job"	Perception of participants that they are successful at supporting challenging behaviour either as an individual or a school.	"I think the behaviour in this school is good. And I think the staff here, the senior staff, do pick it up, when they are made aware of it." "I say, generally, it work really well."	7/15
"there has to be a consequence"	Reference made by participants to the necessity of consequences being put in place for challenging behaviour	"… they tend to be areas where fixed term exclusions don't work as well, but there has to be a consequence for the behaviour that has just happened." "… it's got to be some kind of sanction, and it's got to be, not unpleasant, well yeah, unpleasant, but not in a horrible way, but they've got to find it difficult and challenging, because what's the point in doing it otherwise and then hopefully, then, they will learn not to do it again…"	7/11
Gives us a break	Suggestion that exclusions gives teachers and pupils a break from the behaviour.	"… it also gives the, um, the class, if it's persistent disruptive behaviour, the class they're in some respite, let the teacher have some respite from their behaviour, which is also important."	3/4
"it's a day off for them"	Suggestion that for many of the pupils exclusion is like a day off from school as they are not	"… those parents, of some of those students who do get excluded, um, wouldn't necessarily enforce, um a rigid timetable	4/4

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	monitored or supervised at home when excluded.	for that student if they were at home for the day, it would kind of be a, almost a day off for them really…" "… you do wonder *what* some kids that do get excluded are getting up to, and are they just having a nice day with their feet up watching telly?"	
*Hierarchical systems	Reference to behaviour systems which are hierarchical in nature. Either having to go through gradual steps which escalate in severity each time, or management systems e.g. head of department to head of year etc.	"So, we have a behaviour policy for like in the classroom, chance, warning, action. Um, and if a child flouts that then they have a more significant consequence ,whether that be a detention with the Head of Department, Head of Year of they go into like supervised learning…" "… then it comes to Heads of Year and then we look at it, um, talk to our senior links, we've got a senior member of staff linked to each year group, and then we discuss what happens next. There's a definite, you know, protocol."	8/14
Teacher inconsistencies	Reference to other teachers having different expectations, reacting differently to behaviours and on occasions undermining decisions that they have made.	"… cause I've heard when they're in 3 to 5 they just mess around! They don't, what's the benefit? You know, to me they should be sat there getting on with their work and doing what they weren't doing when they were obviously put into seclusion. Um, but then again, that's down to expectations of the adult whose running the session, I suppose isn't it?" "…it's the inconsistencies. So not, not everybody… um, has the same tolerance levels..."	5/13

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
Negative impact on learning	Reference to behaviour disrupting learning for the other pupils as well as the impact it has on the pupil's own progress and ability to catch up.	"… when a student is persistently disrupting learning and the sta- is running the staff down, it's wasting other students learning time, um, which is unacceptable, and an exclusion is a, um, can be valuable then." "… the time lost in learning for the day, they never catch up. We tell them they have to and we give them the work, but they're never in the lesson…"	4/7
Negative impact on wellbeing	Reference to the negative impact behaviour or exclusion could have on the wellbeing of the pupil and peers, as well as access to emotional support and resources.	"… I think she felt so ashamed, and the fact that she'd been singled out and wasn't allowed to be with her peers." "… because this is meant to be a supportive environment for *all* students, and because that was happening a lot of the more vulnerable students were refusing to come in, saying it's just a place where all the naughty kids get sent, which really annoyed us…"	7/11
*Internal vs external	Discussions relating to the use of internal exclusions (inclusion/isolation/seclusion) methods rather than the external exclusions and the suggested benefits and preference of using these.	"We don't use exclusions a lot, because we do this whole seclusion, which is a two hour after school, um, DT. So from 3 to 5 o'clock. And… just being kept back for two hours, is enough in some cases." "I think I would, in terms of exclusions, I think, I don't think I would increase exclusion, I would just, I would switch from exclusion to inclusion as we do here, so we would keep a student in school…"	8/15

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
Teacher's not knowing	References made to teachers not understanding the situation or systems or finding it difficult to give an answer or think of a solution to the problem.	"… but you do have to take into account of… what could happen when they go home, or I don't know, it's just, that's a really hard one." "No, I'm not sure. If there's anything I would like to do differently it's probably because I don't know about it."	7/38
"puts the parents out"	Reference to exclusion impacting on the parents as well as the pupils, which is seen as a positive.	"… it does put the parents out, and actually that is another good thin, because they need to take responsibility…"	3/3
Reputation of the school	Reference to exclusion being expected to maintain the reputation of the school in the eyes of others	"… it did sit uncomfortably, by we have been struggling, as a school, as a reputation, and I think, for me, if we'd not permanently excluded *him*, people do find out, and I think it's damaging for the school…"	1/1
Liking the pupils	Comments made which suggest that teachers like individual students or enjoying their company	"Three boys actually, really nice lads. Doesn't sound like they're nice, but they are actually really nice boys…" "I even went over and sat down with her, and you know she was lovely to talk to, so one to one she was incredible and happy and really good…"	4/5
*"We are not solving the problem"	Reference to the use of exclusions or other sanctions not working long term, because they are not changing the behaviour or getting to the root of the problem.	"I would say exclusion is a, is a short, sharp shock, that actually the students conform for a little while, then the underlying reason for the behaviour re-emerge after a few weeks." "… that was a classic example of, you know, he's been excluded, but actually, what good has it done because he's come back in	8/22

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		and done exactly the same thing…"	
Once vs often	References to conflict between times when exclusion has worked for pupils so they have only been excluded once compared to others where it hasn't and they get excluded several times.	"… in terms of short term, I think it's been successful, I think um, there's been a, a shock to a few systems, with students who've realised they've been excluded, um, I've seen success in that for maybe two to three weeks and then we find ourselves back at that position. Um, however, there are a number of students in school, who've only ever been excluded once, so there's obviously evidence there that it does work…"	7/14
Open to ideas	References made to teachers being open to suggestions of things to try or ways to do things differently.	"… there's always things that we could learn. There's always new things out there, new ideas, new tips, new tricks, new through processes." "… there's no harm in revisiting and revamping or thinking maybe we should be doing something a little bit different."	5/6
"that is out of my hands"	References to feelings of disempowerment or lack of control in being able to make decisions or the responsibility no longer being with them personally.	"… out opinions are taken into consideration. But it doesn't mean we're going to be the one who makes that ultimate decision, decision at the end of it. You know, and that's when you know, you get put back into your place, if you know what I mean." "… because I'm not in a position where I can do that at the moment, because they, *they* um, want to come over and have one to one with students. And try and talk to them about their behaviour, even though I've done that, and I've give them the	4/11

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		riot act and everything else."	
Getting outside support	References to times when the school has sought support from external professionals or services to aid in management or understanding of behaviour.	"All these services that come into school now, because we recognise that the mental health of our young people, nowadays, um, stand out an awful lot…" "… we've got outside agencies, out local community youth group, um… you know, just a lot of people who come in and help support that person."	3/7
Pastoral support	References to pastoral or emotional support the schools can offer pupils internally.	"We have, um, a pastoral team, who are *incredibly* good at supporting challenging behaviour…" "… we have er, ELSAs, um who are constantly around so that if somebody says, you know what, I'm getting a little bit tense, do you mind if I go and see… er, and they use that as a positive, to solve the issue that's going on, that's about to cause them a problem…"	3/5
Persistent behaviours	References made to the impact of persistent behaviours or disruption, rather than one off incidents that could result in exclusions.	"I think when, when a student is *persistently* breaking the rules, disruptive, then I think, it's, it's just time to go…" "… fixed term exclusions are used for, serious offences. Serious one-off offences. Or repetition of lots of minor offences that just build up and build up and build up."	4/5
Playing the system	Perception that some pupils are able to adjust their behaviour just enough to stop the	"… you can follow the same path, lesson after lesson, day after day, week after week, and they can, they understand the	2/4

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	consequences escalating or that they are manipulating the systems in some way.	system, and can remedy any issues, just before things escalated to the next level and so on, which is… issue."	
Use of positive strategies	Reference to use of or preference for positive rewards and incentives or using pupil's strengths as a way in.	"We have students where we say right, OK, um you're a really good sportsman for example, or you're a really good musician, um… instead of doing this activity go and play football or go and um… band the drums. Er, and allowing them to use a positive experience to get them out of a fix, um so that diversion tactic, that allows them to calm down." "I give certificates I send home, but to be honest, phone calls home are the best thing. Every single day I make phone calls home. And that makes a difference for these kids. Because what they're striving for more than anything is getting it right. And knowing that they've had a phone call home, to either their carer or their parent to say actually, do you know what, he's actually had a really good day today…"	4/10
Presumed awareness of expectations	Reference to the pupils having a knowledge and understanding of the rules and consequences in school.	"… obviously every adult is aware of er, basic rules around behaviour and basic expectations. Every student is aware of the same basic expectations and, and they all understand, um the idea of consequences." "And there's a definite flow chart that the kids are all aware of, and I'm sure if you asked one of them, they could tell you off the top of their heads."	3/4
Punishment	References made to the use of punishment or	"… sometimes they need kind of an extrinsic kind of	3/5

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	need for punishments following challenging behaviour.	consequence, whether that's a punishment in order to learn that that's the wrong thing to do…"	
Pupil voice	References to pupils being listened to or having a say in relation to their learning and behaviour.	"… we're really good at listening to the young people, so if they felt, so there's student voice, if they felt that there's something different we should be doing then we will, um, consult with them and ask their opinion as well."	3/4
Reintegration	Examples of support which is put in place when the pupils return from exclusion including reintegration meetings and RP.	"… and we do reintegrate, we have a meeting before they come back in, regardless if it's a day, two days, whatever." "… I think it's really important that when you come back to school that restorative work is done, um, and that we look at why this situation happened…"	5/7
"where do they go?"	Reference to concerns about excluding pupils who are vulnerable or who have challenging home lives.	"… well if you fixed term exclude where do they go? And they've got to go somewhere." "… if we say perhaps home life isn't… as nurturing an environment as we might like, to say you're not here where there's the dedicated professionals that are here to help you make progress, so you have to go home, to do whatever it is for the next however many days, sometimes it is difficult to find the, shall we say, the value in that."	3/5
Teaching skills	Reference to behaviour management techniques which are perceived to teach pupils, including use	"Again, you're teaching them to, a life skill, you can't talk or behave in that way, because there's going to be a, there's always	5/10

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
	of exclusion and explicit teaching.	got to be a consequence to what you're doing. So, um, so we're really good at that here." "…so she did some work, er, with Sandie, well, in here on what is… what do these terms, that she used, racial terms, what do they mean and how can they be offensive? You know almost like a learning session, two hour session on that, as a sanction as well. We do that quite often, because we think it, um, it's more… productive than a fixed term exclusion."	
Target setting	Reference to setting targets with pupils when they return from exclusion.	"When we get to the point where we've got fixed term exclusions, um, a student comes back and they have a restorative meeting, they have a meeting where, er, they set out targets for their behaviour over the next week, the next two weeks, the next month that are reviewed. Um, for 90% of children who have a fixed term exclusion that works."	1/2
Transition	References to work teachers do around transition from primary school.	"We also have the strategy of the transition of students coming from key stage 2, um, we do an intensive transition programme. Sandie does a um, more in-depth one for vulnerable students, so they come and visit more, um, but with the general student that comes up into school we have a week transition, so we identify then, students that we can see that have behaviour, um, I wouldn't say issues, but behaviour, different behaviours. Um, we also, um do, my Head of Year 7, or going to be Head of Year 7, will go and do, visits at the schools, and discuss the students	2/2

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		with the Year 6 teachers, so we're fully briefed when they come in."	
*Keeping people safe	Reference to the need for exclusion in order to keep people and property safe.	"When there is a clear threat to the safety of people. Um… when there is an absolute fundamental belief that that person is about to do something or has done something, has injured or is likely to injure another student, another member of staff, another anybody, er, and property within the school. Um, and we've used that, um, and we've used the, the ultimate sanction of permanent exclusion for that as well, where people have *seriously* got it wrong and you can't have… people who are putting other people in danger, putting themselves in danger in and institute of 600 people. It just doesn't work." "I guess when the kid is… has been like… putting themselves or others at risk. Therefore, they need to be separated from other children, even if it is only for a short amount of time, so they have the time to re-evaluate their behaviour. But I think if they're a danger to themselves or others then that's, they need to be taken away from everybody else for a bit."	6/9
*Buys time	Reference to exclusion providing time for teachers to put things in place and investigate, as well as give pupils time to reflect on their own behaviour.	"I think the only time I would say that exclusion is the best option to manage behaviour is if things have got so heated, that actually the child or… whoever is involved, just takes that space away to… you know when you go away and you calm down and you take that space to reflect on what's happened."	7/12

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Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		"…if it was a physical assault and an investigation had to be put forward, I think, for the wellbeing of the student who's um… done the assault and for the student who wasn't, I think it's important that, you know, they are excluded while that happens, because it would be no different if it was a teacher. Being suspended while an investigation takes place. Um… but do we then call it an exclusion? I don't know, it's difficult isn't it?"	
*Last resort	References to perception that teachers have tried everything they can and exclusion is the only consequence left available to them.	"Um, we, I tell you we use them when we feel the behaviours got to an extremity where that student needs to be removed, whether that's for the safety of other students or whether that's because actually, we've tried another number of things, so we've isolated the student and actually that's not worked, we've given them detention, it's not worked, so actually we're at a stage now where we need to exclude them." "Um… We have a little lad, who's being educated, he has two hours of school a week? No sorry, a day. And he has had multiple fixed term exclusions for violent behaviour and he's still, violent, I mean, I think, the next step for him will be a permanent exclusion. Because we've, like got above and beyond for him."	6/8
Trying	Suggestion that teachers are putting effort into changing behaviour, but that the strategies they are employing are not effective.	"Definitely aspirations and accepting what they've done and knowing why they've done it and what they would do differently. And that's what we *try* and do with them, but they	5/6

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		don't ever, very rarely do they feed it to you and say, Sir, I am going to go and apologise to her. You always, almost have to tell *them* to do it (laughs). Which is, just disappointing."	
Types of behaviour	Descriptions of behaviours which teacher considered to warrant exclusions either according to their views or school policies.	"…they're used for serious events, so like… um, violence, so if a child is fighting, they tend to get a fixed term exclusion." "Fixed term, so generally, recently, er when they swear directly at a teacher, if you tell the teacher to fuck off, that's it. That's a one dayer, basically. Um… and I know that because, literally, that's two, two students this week have had a one dayer because of that very nature, directly, aggressively, pretty much in the teacher's face. So that, that would be a one dayer."	7/19
Unsupported	Teachers references to times when they have felt unsupported by colleagues when managing behaviour, in particular SLT.	"…if you've not got the support of senior leadership, or advice from them, I think it's very difficult to know how to deal with it, because you're not in a position to exclude, you're not in a position to, um, give them a seclusion, which is where we do 3 to 5 in the afternoon?"	2/8
Warnings and reminders	General perception that the use of warning and reminders are effective ways to support behaviour change.	"Um, if it's in a classroom environment, and doing chance and warning and action, I'll try, in between chance and warning to have a quiet word with the student and say this is going to end, quite badly, if we continue down this road…" "Um, and I think also giving them, the warnings as well. It kind of	5/8

Appendices

Code	Definition	Example	No of sources/refs
		stops it escalating. As, as quickly as it had."	
Working with families	References to successful collaborative working with families which has supported behaviour change.	"Communicating with parents, I email, a lot… Conversations are very open. First name terms. She calls me by my first name. I call Mum by her first name. So I think just having that, relationship, has made a massive difference to that young person." "You know, and I think all of our success stories are based on the relationship we have with families, with homes, more so than just, you know… I think if you've got that it makes a difference. If you feel like, you know, parents and yourself are on board and you are both doing the same thing, you're giving out the same messages, it works…"	3/9

Appendix N   Clustered Themes to Codes

N.1   Pupil Initial Themes (Question 1)

Clustered codes (Step 1)	Themes identified (Steps 2)
Teachers' lack of control Teachers making situations worse "I got blamed" Boring lessons	• My behaviour is within my teachers' control • My behaviour is made worse by decisions my teachers make • My behaviour means I sometimes get blamed for things I didn't do • My behaviour means I am bored or don't understand the lesson
*Lack of control Taking things too far Not coping with change *"I've got something wrong with me" It's just one of those days Being different	• My behaviour is out of my control • My behaviour is a part of me • My behaviour means I can't cope • My behaviour is unpredictable • My behaviour is different to other people
Struggling to follow parental advice *Finding things hard Getting into trouble *Doesn't matter what I do Transition to secondary	• My behaviour is hard to change
*Joining in Making peers laugh *"He was winding me up" Showing off Being the victim	• My behaviour is worse when I am with my peers
Trying to avoid negative influences *"I want to be a better me" "I should have…" Understanding of impact on others	• My behaviour is something I want to improve
Breakdown in school placements Negative life events Broken promises *Sense making	• My behaviour means I have to move schools • My behaviour is difficult for me to understand

Appendices

Clustered codes (Step 1)	Themes identified (Steps 2)
Positive relationships at home ***"I've got well better"** Peer support Positive memories of school Difficult relationships ***Influence of reputation** Descriptions of themselves "I do what I want" ***Can't remember** ***Not knowing**	• My behaviour is improving • My behaviour doesn't stop me having positive experiences • My behaviour means others don't always like me • My behaviour is within my control (sometimes) • My behaviour is not always something I can remember

N.2   Pupil Initial Themes (Question 2)

Clustering Codes (Step 1)	Themes identified (Steps 2)
*Acceptance of the situation Nothing helped Doesn't happen that often Types of behaviour	• Exclusions happen
*Being punished ***Negative emotions** Types of consequence Not understanding the consequences ***Coming back to school**	• Exclusion is a punishment • Exclusions are a negative experience • Exclusions don't make sense • Exclusions need to be explained to others
*Time to think Positive emotions Needing continued support	• Exclusions allow me time to think • Exclusions are better than lessons
What happens at home Parents being informed	• Exclusions mean consequences at home
*"I just behave more" Getting help	• Exclusions mean I try to do things differently

N.3   Teacher Initial Themes (Question 1)

Clustered codes (Step 1)	Themes identified (Steps 2)
Making a choice Having an outlet Their right Making excuses *"just naughty people"	Behaviour is controllable Behaviour is a part of you Behaviour is acceptable to pupils
Different boundaries *Disruptive home lives Learned from home Values at home Living up to negative expectations Parents backing up their child "whole pile of factors"	Behaviour comes from home Behaviour is expected
Low aspirations They don't care Impact of maturity *Don't have the skills Not understanding consequences *Not understanding their behaviour Low self-worth SEN needs	Pupil's lack motivation Pupil's lack understanding Pupil's lack belief in themselves
Personal comments *Right and wrong Empathy towards others *"They haven't got a hope in hell"	Behaviour can be judged Behaviour is hard to change
Reputation around school Comparing themselves to peers Social relationships "Showing off"	Behaviour is an act Behaviour means status to pupils
Taking responsibility Societal impact	Behaviour is the fault of others
Teacher inconsistencies Teachers escalating behaviour	Behaviour depends on the teacher

Appendices

N.4 Teacher Initial Themes (Question 2)

Clustered codes (Step 1)	Themes identified (Steps 2)
Negative reactions of parents Lack of support from home Motivation to change Becoming role models Pupil voice	Behaviour management needs 'buy in'
Teacher experience *Importance of relationships* Teachers as role models Working with families	Behaviour management is relational Behaviour management is collaborative
Following policies Administrative activities *Setting expectations **Striving for consistency** **Hierarchical systems** Presumed awareness of expectations	Behaviour management means structure Behaviour management is clear
Being inclusive **Being proactive** "Should be more about the carrot" Open to ideas **Rarity of exclusions** "we do a good job" Playing down of some behaviours Liking the pupils	Behaviour management needs optimism
*"there has to be a consequence" Punishment Power and control Once vs often Negative impact on learning Negative impact on wellbeing Demands on staff "that is out of my hands" Unsupported **Buys time** **Keeping people safe** Gives us a break An example to others "puts the parents out" Reputation of the school Teaching skills Types of behaviour Persistent behaviours Falling into bad habits	Exclusion is necessary Exclusion is a deterrent Exclusion isn't my decision Exclusion means time and space

Clustered codes (Step 1)	Themes identified (Steps 2)
Individual situations **Bending polices** Changes in approach Teacher inconsistencies Playing the system **Teacher's not knowing** **Differentiation**	Behaviour management is individual Behaviour management is difficult Behaviour management can change
"where do they go?" **"We are not solving the problem"** Reintegration **Internal vs external** "a day off for them"	Exclusion is ineffective Exclusion isn't enough Exclusion could be harmful Exclusion could be within school
Additional strategies and support at time of exclusion Warnings and reminders Target setting Use of positive strategies Day to day strategies Changing the environment Getting outside support Pastoral support Transition **Last resort** Trying	Exclusion is only one component Exclusion means we're out of options Behaviour management is continual Exclusion includes others

Appendix O   Meta-themes

O.1   Pupil Themes (Question 1)

Thematic categories (researcher-generated theoretical constructs)
My behaviour is susceptible to influence Supporting themes: My behaviour is made worse by decisions my teachers make My behaviour is worse when I am with my peers My behaviour is within my teachers' control
My behaviour has repercussions Supporting themes: My behaviour means I have to move schools My behaviour means others don't always like me My behaviour means I sometimes get blamed for things I didn't do
My behaviour is a communication Supporting themes: My behaviour means I am bored or don't understand the lesson My behaviour means I can't cope
My behaviour is complicated Supporting themes: My behaviour is unpredictable My behaviour is difficult for me to understand My behaviour is not always something I can remember
My behaviour is a part of me Supporting themes: My behaviour is out of my control My behaviour is a part of me My behaviour is different to other people My behaviour is hard to change
My behaviour is malleable Supporting themes: My behaviour is something I want to improve My behaviour is improving My behaviour doesn't stop me having positive experiences My behaviour is within my control (sometimes)

Appendices

O.2   Pupil Themes (Question 2)

Thematic categories (Researcher-generated theoretical constructs)
Exclusion is multi-layered Supporting themes: Exclusions mean consequences at home Exclusions need to be explained to others Exclusions don't make sense
Exclusion is accepted Supporting themes: Exclusions are better than lessons Exclusions happen Exclusions don't make sense
Exclusion is time to reflect Supporting themes: Exclusions mean I try to do things differently Exclusions allow me time to think
Exclusion is punishing Exclusion is a punishment Exclusions are a negative experience

O.3   Teacher Themes (Question 1)

Thematic categories (researcher-generated theoretical constructs)
Behaviour is contextual Supporting themes: Behaviour is controllable Behaviour depends on the teacher Behaviour is an act
Behaviour is internal Supporting themes: Behaviour is a part of you Behaviour is hard to change
Behaviour can be judged Supporting themes: Behaviour comes from home Behaviour is expected Behaviour can be judged Behaviour is the fault of others

| Thematic categories (researcher-generated theoretical constructs) |
|---|
| **Behaviour means a lack of skills**
 Supporting themes:
 Pupil's lack motivation
 Pupil's lack understanding
 Pupil's lack belief in themselves |
| **Behaviour isn't a problem for pupils**
 Supporting themes:
 Behaviour is acceptable to pupils
 Behaviour means status to pupils |

O.4   Teacher Themes (Question 2)

Thematic categories (researcher-generated theoretical constructs)
Behaviour management is dynamic   Supporting themes: Behaviour management needs 'buy in'   Behaviour management is relational   Behaviour management is collaborative   Behaviour management is individual   Behaviour management can change
Behaviour management is effortful   Supporting themes: Behaviour management needs optimism   Behaviour management is difficult   Behaviour management is continual
Behaviour management is static   Supporting themes: Behaviour management means structure   Behaviour management is clear
Exclusion has a function   Supporting themes: Exclusion is necessary   Exclusion is a deterrent   Exclusion means time and space   Exclusion could be within school?
Exclusion isn't sufficient   Supporting themes: Exclusion is ineffective   Exclusion isn't enough   Exclusion could be harmful

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Thematic categories (researcher-generated theoretical constructs)
Exclusion doesn't happen in isolation Supporting themes: Exclusion is only one component Exclusion includes others
Exclusion leads to teacher helplessness Supporting themes: Exclusion isn't my decision Exclusion means we're out of options

Exclusion doesn't happen in isolation
Supporting themes:
Exclusion is only one component

Appendix P   Thematic Maps

P.1   Pupil Thematic Map

Appendices
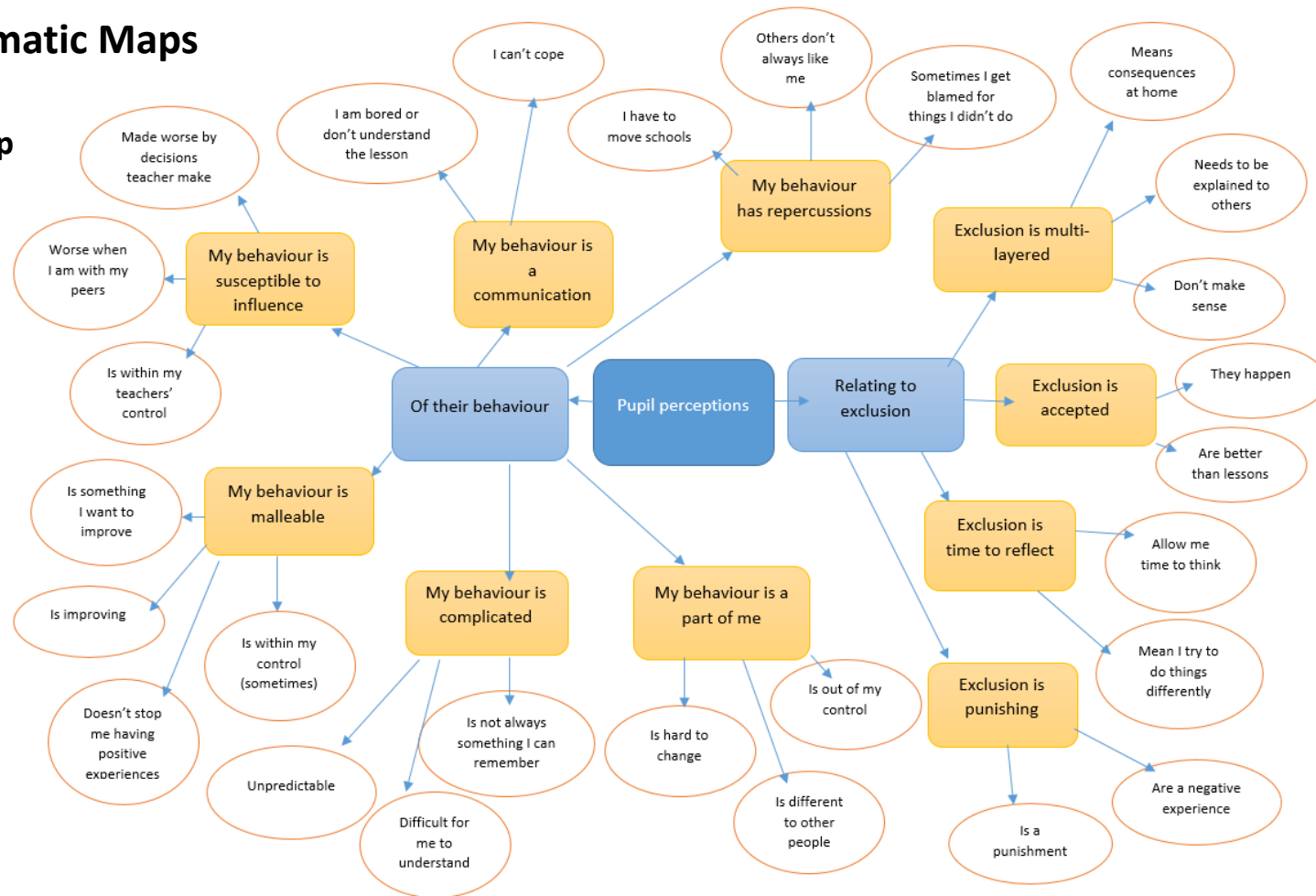
P.2   Teacher Thematic Map

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