UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

INCLUSION AND CHALLENGING BEHAVIOUR: A STUDY OF PRIMARY
TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

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DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

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This study examines the way in which teachers perceive and interpret a current
political initiative. In the spotlight are seemingly competing Governmental
demands for schools to raise standards and to promote the right to inclusion as
part of a national social exclusion agenda.

The research aimed to find out the views and attitudes of twelve teachers in four
mainstream primary schools and to explore how their personal and professional
lives were affected by their work with children with social, emotional, and
behavioural difficulties. Building upon the notion that where teachers change
their practices, so does the person who is the teacher (Fullan and Hargreaves
1992:36), the research uses the teacher's voices to tell their stories with multi-
method analysis. It identifies the similarities and differences of the teachers'
perspectives in respect of children whose behaviour presents significant
challenge, the pupil behaviour teachers find to be challenging and what they say
they do to include such children in their classroom. Personal constructs and
narratives of critical experiences and / or epiphanies reveal how teachers claim
their personal and professional lives are affected by the inclusion of pupils with
challenging behaviours.

The participants are all teachers whose work with challenging pupils is highly
regarded in their schools. A typology of three different teacher perspectives is
identified. Some schools are more supportive than others, helping teachers
through epiphanies by enabling them to have access to discourses that are more
useful in enabling them to think in 'connected' terms about pedagogy and
inclusion, as well as the emotions and behaviour of challenging pupils. In such
schools, teachers are most likely to succeed and feel rewarded. The research
offers implications for senior managers in schools and to agencies involved in
supporting schools to reach those children who are often the very hardest to
teach.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Prologue: Perspectives on the Problem

Consider these two replies to the same question, "What does inclusion mean to you?" The first is from Lesley[1],

> ... the best way for me to describe inclusion is to illustrate it with a child who has been included successfully, a child who came to us in year 3 ... autistic, ... and he's gone from being taught separately ... being, gradually over the stage of the year, being brought in through group work, through his P levels, so that now he's actually working with a group of children and benefiting greatly. His social skills have improved, his learning skills have improved, his attainment, his whole functioning as a human being has improved greatly from inclusion.

The second is from Nicola,

> I can see why people may think inclusion is a good idea but my experience of it with Malcolm certainly is that I don't think it's right for all children. Some children I think will probably benefit from inclusion but I think other children need specific help, they've got difficulties and I think it has to be addressed and I don't always think that that's appropriate in the classroom ... Malcolm has come on well since he started in the junior school but there's always the issue there ... and he still won't do any work unless he's got the one to one, which can't be offered in a classroom situation like that. I think he's got fifteen ... hours provision ... He won't do anything unless he's got somebody with him one to one ... he takes himself out of the classroom. I genuinely think that all children, with all the will in the world, aren't going to progress and make any achievements or attainment within mainstream school.

What is interesting about these two vignettes about inclusion is that *they refer to the same child*. The former is a Special Educational Needs Coordinator's (SENCo) positive example of how inclusion works and the latter gives the class teacher's negative reasons as to why inclusion cannot work.

What is going on here? Perhaps Nicola is so worn down by the experience of having Malcolm in her class that she has lost sight of the development of the whole child. She has the responsibility for the education of her entire class, not just Malcolm, whereas Lesley has a more specific responsibility in her management role to ensure Malcolm's individual needs are catered for, and experience of how these have developed year on year. What strikes me most is that these two teachers have an entirely different perspective on what Malcolm's inclusion in his

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[1] All names of schools, participants, and children to whom they refer are pseudonyms

mainstream class actually means. There is some consensus that inclusion is benefiting Malcolm, but Nicola implicitly feels that he would make better progress elsewhere.

Here are some further responses to the question:

> *(The Head's)* vision of an inclusive school is very strong and I support it. I don't believe any child should be turned away, they all deserve a chance, but this does mean the school has taken on excluded children and some from special settings. Aggressive children are not able to be included and we've got two children who have to have special arrangements where they are taught on their own because they are so aggressive. (Toni)

> Inclusion means education for all. We should be working with children in mainstream school except where ... I think violence. Inclusion can't mean children who are violent, outwardly aggressive so others are in danger, that can't be right because school should be a safe environment ... (Angela)

These teachers seem to be saying that where children infringe others' rights through acts of aggression, their rights to be included are diminished. Julie's description represents a theoretical ideal tempered with pragmatism.

> Inclusion really means to me ... including ... every child within the city, to include them into your class, into a mainstream school, every child, no matter what a child has, a chance to come into a mainstream school and learn alongside ... other children, no matter what their medical diagnosis, race, culture, whatever...

And yet, she also feels "the down side far outweighs that positive side". While Lorna from the same school would want her own child to be in a mainstream school, she also claims inclusion is responsible for the teacher shortage.

> To me ideally inclusion does mean bringing the majority of children into mainstream education but – and the ideal of inclusion to me is something very positive, if I had a child with very specific needs I would want them included into mainstream school because I've been to Harley Rise School, I've been to other schools and I would prefer for children to be included into mainstream. I think inclusion needs to go with a whole package of support and of education. ... I mean at the moment inclusion, as far as I can see it, is throwing the children into mainstream school and getting them to cope as best as they can and I think at the moment it's destroying a lot of work that's going on in mainstream schools and it's incredibly difficult and stressful for teachers and the support isn't there at all, the funding's not there ... it's the reason recruitment is at crisis point, it's because of inclusion..."

Few teachers are as matter of fact about inclusion as Pauline who sees it as inevitable.

> Inclusion means accepting everyone. It has benefits, as it makes for more caring attitudes. There is no choice with the new Disability Act.

Her colleague, Val feels pragmatically that a small minority of children cannot be included.

> ... I'm hoping Karl who I've got, it should work because he's still very young and his mother's got no control over him. We watched him one day, he was kicking her at the bus stop over there ... but some children, they're just beyond it ... the minority cannot cope ...

So, while most teachers subscribe to a notion that it is somehow 'right' to educate children in a mainstream classroom, their pragmatic concern is that there are limits to these 'rights', and usually the limits are physical aggression, (and here there is an implicit safety theme); and / or support, which may mean additional learning assistance or training in appropriate teaching techniques (and here the theme is effective teaching for all); and / or that other children's learning should be unimpeded (and here the effective teaching in order to raise standards theme is evidenced).
Sandy exemplifies,

> I tend to think of behaviour with inclusion rather than other learning difficulties ... the whole idea of inclusion obviously getting children with very challenging behaviour back into mainstream. I'm actually supportive of that but within limits ... my general concerns about inclusion are that there is support so that if things don't work quite as we would like them to work out there is an opportunity for the class to get on with their learning ... what worries me with any bad behaviour is that you know the rest of the children have to be given the same opportunities to learn as the child who has the difficulties.

This study probes underneath these and other teachers' perspectives and offers insights about what is going on in respect of the challenges to teach those children who represent the most hard to reach.

Why Inclusion? Why Challenging Behaviour?
This study is about how twelve primary teachers in four schools interpreted a contemporary and seemingly controversial political and educational topic that is an issue in all schools. When I planned it in summer 2000, I had taught for nineteen years in schools where large numbers of pupils had been described as 'hard to teach'. In some respects the inclusion of such children did not seem to be anything new

because I had always done it, and yet something remarkable was happening. Two clear strands of Government education policy had emerged from the late 1990s, viewed by some as being in direct opposition (e.g. Bines 2000, Vulliamy and Webb 2000). Firstly, there was the call for mainstream schools to accept a growing number of children with an ever-widening range of special needs (DfEE 1997a), and secondly there was the demand for published league tables as part of the Government's drive for 'effective schools', with improving standards of achievement for all children that are continuously and quantitatively monitored. These demands were made in the context of children with special educational needs (DfEE 1997b). The demands were for schools both to raise standards with a very public system of monitoring *and* increase inclusion. Discussion amongst teachers focused on the inclusion of pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties in an educational climate that seemed full of paradox. It appeared to teachers they were expected to manage an increasing number of challenging, provocative and often dysfunctional pupil behaviours that undermined their best efforts to raise standards to nationally expected levels for the majority. A question that seemed apposite was "Does a market-led policy of provision and practice encourage exclusionary values and demands?" (Barton 1999:61). Chapter Two focuses upon literature that informs us of conflicts and possible resolutions to this question.

Central to the movement for educational inclusion has been the Government's agenda for a more inclusive society, epitomised by the Prime Minister's creation in 1997 of a Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), whose purpose is to focus on the processes by which people are included or excluded from communities. Social exclusion is defined as:

> a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown.
> (http://www.socialexclusionunit.gov.uk/index.htm 29.10.02)

The SEU links disciplinary exclusion at school with unemployment and criminal activity and claims it is of high future cost to society (DfEE 1997a,

SEU 1998 and 2001). Teachers with whom I worked heard the rhetoric about reducing social exclusion, and implicitly understood this to mean that they should manage inclusion of all pupils in their classroom, irrespective of levels of attainment, background or, crucially in the focus of this research, behaviour.

Corbett (1999) suggests that the climate of effectiveness has created an exclusive culture to the detriment of successful inclusion, a view substantiated by the National Union of Teachers in its response to the circular Social Inclusion: Pupil Support (DfEE 1999a).

> The aims of removing social exclusion are often undermined by other Government targets ... a school's achievement in simply keeping a pupil in school and interested in education appears to have a lower priority than hitting a narrow range of academic performance targets.
>
> (NUT 2000:1)

Slee (1999a) suggests, "schools have always produced failure and disaffection" (ibid. p.28). However, he claims that the educational policies of choice and markets have led to the increased vulnerability of these students, making transparent the numbers of students that schools find 'undesirable'.

I started this research with the belief that no student *should* be deemed undesirable but with the knowledge that an increasing number *were*. I believed that children with challenging behaviour should be in mainstream schools wherever possible. Quite simply, I had not observed that they got better by being anywhere else.

I had a further belief and this was that teachers *in particular* (rather than in general) and *in their own school contexts* make a difference to pupils, and that it is through teachers as individuals that socio-educational policies are largely realised. I wanted more insight from teachers in order to find out answers to my emerging questions.

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Early Aims and Objectives

My initial aim was to find out in relation to my research topic the extent to which "it is teachers or teaching that make a difference, what kind of difference and how?" (Hextall and Mahony 1998:139). In other words, what is the relationship between who teachers are and what teachers do? I wanted to explore a notion that both *who* and *what* were important and that teaching is more than a technical process and to shift the balance from looking at *what they do* towards finding out *who they are*, which became the focus of this research. I had noticed that some teachers managed children with behavioural difficulties better than others, to the extent that pupils' emotional needs were met and behavioural difficulties not evidenced. What accounted for sameness and difference in teaching and sameness and difference in teachers? I knew I had to unravel some key terms but the following questions became my starting point for the literature and methodology review, which were subsequently sharpened in focus.

1. What perspectives do teachers have of inclusion and how have these been influenced?
2. What are the teachers' experiences and how do these affect them both professionally and personally?
3. How do teachers say they manage to include children who present troubling behaviour?
4. What pupil behaviour do they find challenging?
5. What is the significance of school culture upon teachers' work in relation to managing pupils with problem behaviour?
6. How might further change be influenced?

In order to carry out research I needed to get behind my own beliefs, especially as these were often in set in juxtaposition by the raft of Governmental demands within which I was operating. The opportunity arose for me when I left my school based post to work for a Local Education Authority. This new post gave me the chance to look at what was happening to teachers and schools with increased objectivity than through the somewhat myopic lens of my own staff-room. The rationale

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for my starting-point was therefore to clarify and explore questions and definitions of inclusion and challenging behaviour, teaching and teachers, and through empirical research to increase what is known about how teachers can and do include those children who are the very hardest to teach.

Significance of the Study

In her discussion of the centrality of school culture as the significant factor for ensuring improvement and successful change, it is suggested that real improvement "cannot come from anywhere other than within schools themselves" (Stoll 1999:47). It seems clear that the school itself has a key role with regard to inclusion, both influencing teachers and influenced *by* teachers. The research sought to illustrate how strong this link might be. Implementing school improvement projects "requires an understanding of and respect for the different meanings and interpretations people bring to educational initiatives" (ibid. p.47). The significance of this study is that it aspires to contribute to an understanding of an area of policy and practice that is of immediate contemporary relevance for all teachers and education managers, both at the level of policy and practice, meaning and interpretation.

Overview of Chapters

The study is presented in the way that it was both planned and implemented, with chapters describing the research journey as follows:

Chapter Two explores the literature that proved influential to shape the study beyond the starting points that I have outlined in the opening chapter. It is presented thematically to discuss the key ideas that influenced and comprised the project's development – pupil behaviour, inclusion, effective teaching and the notion of change in teachers' lives.

Chapter Three explores the methodology that underpinned the implementation of the project, while *Chapter Four* focuses upon the actual methods that were used to collect and analyse data, including the

sample and selection of schools. Chapter Four also describes how a pilot study was undertaken in order to sharpen the research tools and provides an entry point into the data that would be collected in the main study.

Chapters Five and Six refer to the data from the main study in detail, using the voices of the teachers as illustrative of the research phenomena. The data begins to be synthesised in Chapter Seven in the form of a typology of teachers' perspectives. This chapter also describes the third and final stage of the research where findings are empirically explored.

Chapter Eight refers to the data from all of my participants to tell the stories that arise from the evidence in the form of research findings. Chapter Nine presents the implications that will have interest and relevance for all involved in supporting the work of classroom teachers and relocates in the current world of education. The study concludes as it opens, with the voices of the teachers who are central to its message.

CHAPTER TWO: UNRAVELLING THE KEY IDEAS –
AN OVERVIEW OF LITERATURE

My rationale in this chapter is not to summarise all there is to know about each aspect of my research project: inclusion, behaviour, effective teachers and how change impacts upon teachers personally and professionally. The purpose is to give some key ideas that relate to the project and have proved influential.

Unravelling the Challenge of Pupil Behaviour

A DFE circular (9/94) describes children with emotional and behavioural difficulties (EBD) as those who

> behave unusually or in an extreme fashion to a variety of social, personal, emotional or physical circumstances. Their behaviour may be evident at the personal level (for example through low self-image, anxiety, depression or withdrawal; or through resentment, vindictiveness or defiance); at the verbal level (for example the child may be silent or may threaten, or interrupt, argue or swear a great deal); at the non-verbal level (for example through clingingness, or truancy, failure to observe rules, disruptiveness, destructiveness, aggression or violence); or at the work skills level … Whether or not a child is judged to have emotional and behavioural difficulties will depend on the nature, frequency, persistence, severity or abnormality and cumulative effect of the behaviour, in context …
>
> (DFE 1994:8)

The Code of Practice for Special Educational Needs (DfES 2001a) defines such children as being "withdrawn or isolated, disruptive and disturbing, hyperactive and lack*(ing)* concentration … with immature social skills" (ibid.p.87), while a more appropriate definition in terms of this study is

> defiance of the will of someone in authority; aggressiveness; and anti-social behaviour that violates other people's rights, property or person
>
> (DfES 2001b:24)

to such an extent that its severity significantly impacts upon the lives of others. The term 'EBD' links behaviour to emotions with the inference that challenging behaviour arises from emotional delay. Long (2002) suggests that understanding behaviour has been given too much

emphasis at the cost of appraising pupil emotions. I did not want to overlook psychological perspectives that all human behaviour seeks to serve legitimate emotional needs, but my focus was on experience of presented *behaviour and teachers' understandings of it*. Because the notion of what constitutes challenging behaviour is context-dependent I wanted to find out what teachers describe as challenging and why, and what their explanations are. It is clear that what one teacher finds tolerable, another will not and teachers may be inconsistent from one part of the day to another. What may be acceptable for one age group will not be so for another, and so on (Munn 1999).

The focus on children with whom this enquiry is interested goes beyond those children who are sporadically oppositional. In this study my meaning of challenge refers to occasions when these difficulties are acted out in classrooms in ways that persistently violate the learning environment of others. Etzioni and Lehman (1980) argue that all social units have cultures of compliance with two elements, power and involvement, and two groups of participants. The "higher participants" are those who apply power in order to control the "lower participants" and seek to obtain their involvement in the organization. Congruence in the compliance relationship is what makes an organisation effective; for example in a school, the teacher might make use of peer pressure to manage a child who has broken a rule. This study is interested in the incongruence of compliance relationships in the classroom, where classroom cohesion is threatened. Etzioni and Lehman focus upon "lower participants" because "the control ... is more problematic than that of higher participants" and because it is here where "the largest differences in compliance can be found" (op.cit. p.94). From the outset of the study it was important not to view the "lower participants" or pupils as 'the problem', but rather to see this as the incongruence between teacher, child and school. The notion of a culture of compliance seemed helpful to avoid attaching blame either to pupils or teachers where challenge is experienced and therefore to depersonalise findings.

The Elton Report (DES / Welsh Office 1989) responded to concerns about problems facing teachers and recommended actions to secure an orderly atmosphere in which effective teaching and learning could take place. In many ways the report was ahead of its time, warning of the effects of a teacher shortage upon strategies for dealing with behaviour and pointing out that the content and methods of curriculum delivery have links with the motivation and behaviour of pupils. Fifteen years on, primary schools have implemented a National Curriculum, complete with National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies; managed delegated resources; aspired to meet imposed targets for pupil attainment backed by league tables; and experienced a national shortage of teachers at the same time as an increasing demand to include an ever wider range of children. All this comes at a time when teachers have a perception of having more confrontations with children (Johnstone and Munn 1997, cited in Munn 1999). The increasing challenge of pupil behaviour, within primary as well as secondary schools, is exemplified by a dramatic rise in reported school exclusions during the first half of the 1990s, and is well summarised (Parsons 1996; Hayden 1997). Although Parsons et al. (2001) suggest that there has been a downturn towards the close of the decade, it seems likely that "the free market model has encouraged schools in England to exclude" (Gray 2002:188) and it is expected that the year 2002 will again show an increase.

Unravelling the Concept of Inclusion

Until recently, pupils with special educational needs have been thought about as having disabilities that lie within the individual, a deficit that is exclusively theirs. This concept is predominantly a medical one, centred upon a psychological and biological assessment of needs, which require specialised provision or appropriate interventions (Skrtic 1991). The main difficulty with such a view is that it "characterize(s) the learner rather than the learning situation" and encourages us to "absolve ourselves from the responsibility to enable" (Gross 1993:4). This psycho-medical model focuses on meeting the difficulties caused by the individual's needs, often in specialised settings and means teachers stop believing inclusion in

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mainstream settings is possible. The social model of disability that characterises discussion about inclusion views the deficit as within schools and society. This model challenges teachers of children with special educational needs to think "of disabilities as organisational pathologies, as artifacts of the traditional curriculum" (Skrtic op. cit. p.36). In other words the context of school creates the problem of inclusion. Such a view focuses on meeting the difficulties of the community in which the individual is included, with the aim of minimising disability.

The Salamanca Statement on Special Educational Needs enshrined the social model as the norm within education. It called on the ninety-two Governments that were signatories, among other matters, to

> "adopt as a matter of law or policy the principle of inclusive education, enrolling all children in ordinary schools unless there are compelling reasons for doing otherwise".
> (UNESCO 1994)

Committing itself to those principles The Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education (CSIE) states

> Inclusive education is all children and young people - with and without disabilities or difficulties - learning together in ordinary pre-school provision, schools, colleges and universities with appropriate networks of support. Inclusion means enabling all students to participate fully in the life and work of mainstream settings, whatever their needs.
> (http://inclusion.uwe.ac.uk/csie/studnts02.htm#DefiningInclus
> ion
> 30.10.02)

The CSIE sees inclusion as largely about making mainstream education available for all and involving "an unending *process* of increasing learning and participation for all students" (Booth and Ainscow 2002: 3). The Salamanca Statement says, "schools have to find ways of successfully educating all children, including those who have serious disadvantages and disabilities" (UNESCO 1994). This is echoed in the following definition.

> ... 'inclusive education' refers to education for allcomers. It is a reaction against educational discourses that exclude on the basis of a range of student characteristics, including

class, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, perceived level of ability or disability, or age.

(Slee 1999b:195)

Comprehensive as his list of allcomers appears to be, Slee's characteristics fail to refer to emotional and behavioural difficulties. Children with challenging behaviours are those who are generally perceived as a threat to the learning environment (DfEE 1997a). Teachers are more concerned about the inclusion of pupils with behavioural problems than any other children (Forlin et al. 1996 and Avramidis et al. 2000). What seems likely is that teachers believe the necessary network of support for the individual is at the cost of the majority of the school community and this causes significant tension. This makes a distinction between the 'needy' and the 'naughty' (Barrow 1998), the 'worthy' and the 'worthless' (Ramjhun 2002). Corbett (1996) adopts the term 'bad-mouthing', as the way in which professionals sometimes use language as a means to exercise social power through definitions that negatively label people with special needs. Such labels have the effect of marginalizing them as learners. In terms of behaviour this might be manifested through an expectation that it conforms to expectations that are "rigidly eurocentric, middle class and restrained" (ibid. p.12).

Nias (1999) argues that the culture of care, which is ever present in primary teaching, has a heavy emotional cost upon teachers in terms of the interpersonal relationships they sustain and proves to be exhausting. Enter then the child who is oppositional to the teacher's culture of care, who rejects the interpersonal relationship and there is the opportunity for the teacher to be undermined both personally and professionally, leading to the teacher's erection of barriers to the participation of some learners. 'Bad-mouthing' occurs as professional defensiveness, as well as attack against the inclusion of some groups of pupils.

The Government's own guidance about social inclusion for schools (DfEE Circulars 10/99 and 11/99) was in the context of reducing both classroom

disaffection and disciplinary exclusions. This coincided with another prevailing discourse concerning the rights of teachers not to have their confidence and effectiveness undermined by unacceptable pupil behaviour, and has been manifested by professional associations proposing or taking direct action (NUT 2000, NASUWT 2001). Such responses have promoted new guidance for exclusions (DfES:2003) that makes exclusion less likely to be overturned by parental appeal. In its simplest form inclusion may be taken to mean that children are not excluded from mainstream education for any reason (Thomas and Davies 1999:71) and in relation to the inclusion at school of pupils with significantly challenging behaviour, there is clearly tension in New Labour's education agenda.

Discourses of Inclusion

In discussing the underlying perspectives of research in the field of inclusion, Dyson (1999) differentiates between four discourses - *rights and ethics, efficacy, political* and *pragmatic*. The rights and ethics discourse seeks to protect the needs of the individual largely by perpetuating the notion that these are best catered for in 'special' ways. The efficacy discourse seeks to comment on the quality of provision both in terms of costs and pupil achievement, often again with a focus upon children who are segregated in any way. The political discourse focuses upon the struggle to challenge all manifestations of concepts that sustain segregation in education. The pragmatic discourse determines what inclusion might look like in practice, defining the characteristics of inclusive schools. It paves the way for guidance as to how schools can become inclusive (e.g. Booth and Ainscow 2002). A discourse of rights, ethics and politics is useful to interrogate what the school actually claims to do, while a discourse of efficacy and pragmatics allows for scrutiny of what the school really does, and with what outcomes. The assumptions that are apparent in many texts and in policy documents announcing its merits are explained in this way.

> Inclusion is different from many other fields of inquiry in that
> it is premised on an answer rather than a question. That

> 'answer', of course, is that inclusive education is superior in
> one or other way to non-inclusive education...
> ...The danger, however, is that it becomes all too easy for
> thinking on inclusion to descend from analysis to polemic,
> and for certain values and beliefs to become ossified.
>
> (Dyson 1999:43)

Dyson offers two further key ideas that will be referred to again in this study. Firstly he urges us not to think about educational inclusion as a single notion but to recognise that there are multiple inclusions, or many routes towards consideration of the same issue. Secondly he points out that "different discourses construct the 'target group' for inclusion differently" (ibid. p. 47) and perhaps the reason why the term inclusion has become for teachers almost synonymous with discussion of pupil behaviour is simply because they lack experience of other discourses. The notion of discourse is one that is given further consideration in Chapter Three and is key to the study.

Dyson's deconstruction of the term 'inclusion' helps us to shift the emphasis from defining a product or end state and to replace it with an emphasis upon process. In considering the complex processes of inclusion, the emphasis is on the discourses of efficacy and pragmatics.

The notion that there are 'multiple inclusions' finds its similarity in Clough and Corbett's (2000) discussion of five routes to inclusion: the psycho-medical model, the sociological response, curricular approaches, school improvement strategies and disability studies critique. They suggest that in their research there is evidence of a 'convergence of energies' bringing together the many routes, making for a developing and more genuine dialogue about what inclusion is and should be. Corbett (1999) differentiates between entitlement, which is pragmatic and focused on resources, and inclusivity, which is idealistic and focused on constructing a social ethos.

> Entitlement is about actually getting the resources or
> placement, which an individual requires; inclusivity is about
> working towards a cultural climate, which celebrates all
> learners regardless of levels of need. It is a significant

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difference and a major shift from the practical to the philosophical.

<div align="right">(ibid. p.126)</div>

Her view is that what characterises all authors discussing inclusion, whatever their discourse, is that inclusion involves a change in order for difference to be more accepted. Corbett further suggests that in order to prevent inclusion casualties, an education system may be inclusive, while every individual school may not be so. This is an important dimension adding to the notion of multiple inclusions because it legitimises the process of expertise developing over time and the idea that some schools may not manage the inclusion of some learners at a fixed point in time. Corbett sees the imperative for change not at the policy or structural levels but in the penetration of the deep culture of schools, as this is what makes children feel included or excluded. Critical evidence for this is the peer acceptance of children with special needs, with the implication that schools seeking to become more inclusive must spend considerable time tackling culture at this level, an idea that is central to my study.

In common with many authors, Corbett sees such work as problematic in the current climate with rising exclusions "a reflection of the current rise of education as a market and the cult of the winners" (ibid. p.130). Her suggestion is that the true test of inclusion, for which a useful working definition might be "the participation of all pupils in the curriculum and social life of mainstream schools" (DfEE 1998a), is the experience both of children being included and of those who work alongside them. My emphasis upon teachers, rather than pupils, is because the social exclusion agenda is viewed in most schools as a system level imperative to be delivered at classroom level by individual professionals. Furthermore,

> ...despite conceptual slippages in practice, the notion of inclusion has moved debate from placement-focused integration towards common curricula and learning experiences...

<div align="right">(Bines 2000:30)</div>

Such experiences are the responsibility of classroom teachers. The inclusion of children who exhibit behavioural difficulties has become an

increasing source of challenge for teachers because the systemic shift towards common learning experiences has entitled such children to remain in mainstream classrooms.

Unravelling Effective Teaching

Croll and Hastings (1997) explain that 'effective teaching' is concerned with outcomes, while Kyriacou (1997) defines it as that "which successfully achieves the learning by pupils intended by the teacher" (ibid. p.5). Effective teaching facilitates the learning of facts, skills, values and concepts for outcomes thought to be "worthwhile" (Dunne and Wragg 1994:5). The focus upon outcomes can also be identified with the requirement for these to be objectively measured with demands for the quantifiable performance of students (Borich 1996), a narrow view that resonates with successive Government support for inspections by OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education). OFSTED ensures judgements about teaching and other aspects of the school are made against set criteria, which suggest that the teacher is a technician equipped with a range of tools for the trade (OFSTED 2000a). Additional guidance for inspectors evaluates whether schools are inclusive for a range of pupils, such as those at risk of disaffection and exclusion. It is perhaps revealing that this "group" is placed at the bottom of their list (OFSTED 2000b), and for whom subsequent guidance about teaching is confined to a few statements that might loosely be termed 'encouragingness' (Kyriacou 1997).

Dunne and Harvard (1992) identified dimensions of effective teaching, exemplified by competences acquired as teachers become more experienced. This is a notion that the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) has refined year on year through the definition of standards to which teachers must be trained, and listing examples of evidence that describe the extent to which a standard has been met (TTA 2002). Standards include areas such as behaviour management, the meeting of needs for pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties. They also require

teachers "to teach in an inclusive way that recognises pupils have different motivations to learn ..." (ibid. p.21).

Gipps' (1992) review of the literature on effective primary practice reveals an emphasis upon teachers matching tasks to the child and securing high levels of interaction. Tasks must be varied, plentiful and well matched to pupils' understanding. She also argues that:

> Important too is a good, positive, atmosphere in the classroom with plenty of encouragement and praise, high levels of expectation for all children and high levels of work-related talk and discussion.
>
> (Gipps 1992:19)

Outside of this ability to be a positive communicator, researchers emphasise what good teachers do, but rarely tell us *what they are like* as people engaged in relationships with learners. This is an important omission since teachers must be more than technicians or the management of challenging pupil behaviour would be a more easily mastered task. The TTA website tells prospective entrants they should be passionate for their subject, enthusiastic, committed, responsible, willing to learn and communicate in such a way as to be inspirational to others (http://www.canteach.gov.uk/home.htm 30.10.02). It omits reference to the need to relate to pupils on a personal, as well as a professional, level. It seems likely that all of our ideas about effective teaching are, of necessity, 'value-statements'. Nevertheless, similar themes recur with consistency when we consider primary school teaching and this position is helpful in drawing the conclusion that good teachers are effective for *all* pupils, an idea that had its origins with Mortimore et al. (1988) who found that where there is good quality in classroom teaching, *all* pupils, irrespective of differences, made better progress than in ineffective classrooms. It is also encapsulated in the requirements of the National Curriculum handbook (DfEE / QCA 1999), which emphasises that teaching must overcome pupils' barriers to learning, and is further emphasised by the TTA guidelines (op.cit.).

Nevertheless narrow views about effectiveness are encouraged by demands to meet academic targets in tests at the end of each key stage. As teachers consider outcomes for their children with emotional and behavioural difficulties (EBD) they frequently believe that the problem is the child who both underachieves and is perceived to cause others to underachieve, through disrupting learning and teaching. Where the child is seen as the problem, the answer is often viewed as their removal. This becomes a trap of circularity, since it limits other responses, such as the development of teaching approaches that might better provide for the child with EBD and for other learners too. However, we cannot blame teachers for this view, since teaching such pupils is an area "about as human as they come" (Gray 1997: 35). As Harris points out, the momentum for effective teaching and learning

> ...has encouraged schools to define and re-define roles and responsibilities, introduce monitoring systems and generally concentrate their efforts upon infrastructural change. This approach has stressed the administrative arrangements rather than the human factors...
>
> (Harris 1999:1)

Successful work with pupils who have difficult behaviour requires those human inter-personal skills. These would include involving parents, developing social skills through group work which includes turn taking and awareness of body language and teaching, as well as supporting specific strategies that change behaviour (Hallam and Castle 1999).

The broad consensus that defined effective classroom practice in the past decade of research has paved the way for centralised curricular interventions such as the Literacy and Numeracy Strategies (DfEE 1998b and 1999b respectively) requiring effective teachers to become even more effective in a highly specified curriculum and *at the level of each individual pupil*. This risks a tension in the match between the prescribed curriculum, whole class pedagogical practice and individual children. Corbett (2001) proposes the concept of a connective pedagogy as an inclusive education:

> Pedagogy is now increasingly about learning from the learner. What works best for them? How do they like to learn? The

> connectiveness extends to emotional literacy, to understanding
> the connections between our feelings, our reasoning and our
> motivation. It is about making learning fun.
>
> (Corbett 2001:115)

Corbett's view is that inclusive education should have an increasing focus upon pedagogy. Thus effective teachers find out how each learner learns best and manage the match of pupil, pedagogy and curriculum, balancing the complexity of the task.

This chapter's opening concern was that while our pedagogical practices are expected to be inclusive, outcomes might be exclusionary. In spite of teachers' efforts to try to include all pupils, there are those individuals on the margins of exclusion from school communities. In his study of teaching in five countries carried out in the mid-1990s, Alexander (2000) found that classrooms in Michigan and England had more focus upon behaviour management and discipline than on the structuring of knowledge and communication. This was the opposite emphasis to teaching in Russia, India or France. He observed that British and American classrooms expect children to find their "own ways of knowing, understanding and communicating" and are complicated by the overt "regulation of behaviour" and "the contrary ethic of collaboration and sharing" (ibid. p.537). Alexander views much that is problematic in our culture of democratic pedagogy, which aims to differentiate learning and teaching:

> ...classrooms that are organizationally complex, which focus
> on group and individual activity, and which are framed by the
> values of individualization, collaboration and negotiation,
> inevitably open themselves up to a greater risk of pupil
> restlessness and challenge.
>
> (ibid. p. 537)

In his analysis, oppositional classroom behaviour may be a culturally specific price to pay for the values of independence and individualism that our society expects teachers to uphold. Alexander suggests a greater focus on developing curriculum and improving teaching and learning in order to manage behaviour. In contrast to other research (e.g. Hallam and Castle 1999, Corbett 2001) he is suggesting that effective pedagogy

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always has the collective group in mind rather than retaining a focus upon the individual pupil.

Ainscow (1991) drew significantly from research into effective teaching to pose the question that remains apposite more than a decade later "how do we feel about the fact that we are not successfully teaching *all* children?" (ibid. p. 15). Ainscow (1993) suggests that differentiating the curriculum to the individual is not only impractical but also undesirable in that it encourages a view that 'the problem is the child's' and discourages questioning about the appropriateness of the curriculum. The implication is that appropriate responses to individual pupil needs arise from a focus upon engagement with and by the whole class; personalising rather than individualising what is taught and learnt (Ainscow 1998 and 2002). The curriculum in its widest sense is central to our concern for effective teaching, both in terms of what is taught and the way in which it is taught. Thus effective planning has all learners in mind and connects ideas of individualism and collectivism.

Unravelling Change: Teachers' Professional and Personal Responses

This study of teachers' interpretations of inclusion seeks to understand more about what happens within the change process to meet the demands on teachers of pupils presenting behaviour challenges, *at the level of the individual teacher* rather than at school level. One of the assumptions of this study is that change must permeate the individual teacher's actions, not merely the institution's. This process needs to be more fully understood if school leaders are to capitalise upon the existence of sameness and difference in teachers implementing school development and improvement. Harris (1999) found that features of effective school management have much in common with effective classroom management. The work of teachers, both collaboratively and individually, is crucial to ensure that schools improve at the micro-level of the classroom.

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There appears to be a consensus that inclusion is a process, which explicitly involves changing practices, a concept which, in itself, is often threatening for teachers. Both Gipps (1992) and Kyriacou (1997) make the point that change can be threatening because it

> ... means having to leave behind the security of tried and tested routines and practice. At the same time, change may carry with it a hint that previous practice was unsatisfactory (hence the need for change) ...
>
> (Kyriacou op. cit. p.158)

> The problem with externally imposed change is that it devalues people's previous practice – they cannot have been right, otherwise there would be no need to change.
>
> (Gipps op. cit. p.23)

In order to adopt more inclusive practices, teachers are expected to foster new ways of working, adopt new philosophies and possibly even new ways of considering pupil entitlements. Acker (1989) and Ball and Goodson (1985) argue that teachers meet new demands with attitudes and actions influenced by their past experiences both from within their professional and personal lives. Teachers invariably import or *transfer* autobiographical details into their understandings and explanations of practice which suggests they interpret different situations according to the events of their lives. If we want to have impact upon teachers' professional development, we need to understand this process. Teachers' autobiographies influence how they respond to pupils' behaviour (Weiss 2002a and 2002b). Thus for teachers to change their practices and hold new perspectives and values, it is necessary for them to understand their own emotions in respect of hard to teach pupils (Hanko 1999 and 2002).

In the context of dealing with challenging pupils, 'critical incidents' may significantly change the practitioner (Sikes et al. 1985). New teachers often have a 'critical incident' involving the discipline of one or more pupils early in their career, which challenges and thereby changes the teacher's identity, because it causes the teacher to make " a series of choices, as the individual sorts out which kind of behaviour, and which

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parts of the self are appropriate for display in the teacher role" (ibid. p. 69). This becomes part of a critical phase of teachers' career cycles as they progress through the profession. Pollard (1987) and Goodson and Walker (1991) suggest that teachers invest much of their 'self' or identity into teaching, although this may be projected rather than real,

> ...the teacher in the formal situation is constantly 'on stage', having learnt those ways of becoming and remaining the centre of attraction for the class which best suit his/her own abilities and social skills. At the centre of this performance is the ability to 'control the class', which appears to involve both classroom organization and a strongly projected social identity, a social identity that may be markedly different to the personal identity of the teacher 'off stage'.
>
> (ibid. 21-22)

This has many implications for professional development as teachers make choices about which identity and parts of the self they select for use in their role and has a particular bearing upon classroom management. So, teaching can be 'an act'. Thomas (1995) supports a similar notion for teachers' professional development.

> There is strong evidence that what teachers 'know' about teaching derives from the links between personal life history and professional career. In this way, 'experience' and 'self' become key ...
>
> (ibid. p.11)

Thomas proposes that dilemmas about pupil autonomy and teacher control are handled through the exercise of professional judgement and autobiographical tensions within the self. Who teachers are has a significant bearing on what they do.

Fullan (1992) identifies three necessary components for teachers to implement change: the use of new materials, the use of new teaching strategies, and the consequent alteration of individual beliefs.

> It is clear that any individual may implement none, one, two, or all three dimensions. A teacher could use new curriculum materials or technologies without altering the teaching approach. Or a teacher could use the materials and alter some teaching behaviors without coming to grips with the conceptions or beliefs underlying the change.
>
> (ibid. p.37)

Within an individual, deep-rooted change can take place or be resisted at any given moment in time but altered beliefs are *essential*. Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) found that demands for change might result in "cynical, contradictory or resistant voices within the lives of teachers themselves" (ibid. p.2). This seems a particular issue when faced with a demand to include disruptive children. Teachers who become disheartened about teaching challenging pupils can become despondent and misread the problems they face.

> Once overwhelmed by the complexity of uncontained emotions
> ... it becomes more difficult to *think* professionally.
>
> (Hanko 2002:27)

It then becomes problematic to be lifted out of such a cycle of beliefs and teachers may resort to "fear, blame and shame as coping strategies" (ibid. p.27).

Fullan and Hargreaves (1991) argue that it is not possible to "change the teacher in fundamental ways, without changing the person the teacher is" (ibid. p. 36). The importance of recognising that teachers come from a wide range of backgrounds is to realise that there are many ways to become and to be a good practitioner. They advise against the notion of teacher development opportunities that assume all teachers are striving to achieve the same. Nias (1989) also suggested that in order to develop a teacher it is necessary to develop the person who is the teacher. She too, found that teachers' development was significantly connected to their preservation of the sense of self and identified career phases. Young teachers seek to survive the classroom and are plagued by doubts about their adequacy. They then try to find a reference group, often by changing school. Next they want to master the task and where this fails they may leave the profession, or pursue a parallel career, such as parenthood, locating themselves principally in this role. Nias says that while "the personal concerns of teachers do develop ... in a fundamental sense, they remain the same" (Nias 1989:79). From longer serving teachers who are more assured of their job satisfaction and competence, development arises from 'impact concerns', or a deep desire to influence

pupils or peers " ... in other words, although teachers can and do develop, they will not change professionally unless they also change as people" (ibid. p.79).

Parallel research to Nias is that by Huberman (1993), which investigated teachers' career cycles in Swiss secondary schools against the background of a major educational reform. Typically career cycles were characterised by feelings of survival and discovery in the early years, followed by a period of stabilisation. Teachers then sought further responsibility to have more impact in the classroom. Whilst most teachers in this phase did not suffer from self-doubt, there was evidence that around forty per cent experienced this phenomenon, either as a result of boredom with routine, or disappointment about ambitions not being achieved. Teachers then moved into a period of "serenity and affective distance" when they were less engaged with pupils and their energy became displaced. These teachers often believed that "changes rarely bring improvements to the system" (ibid. p. 246). Teachers, who were at first deeply committed to reforms, fell into two groups: those who became disillusioned and critical, and those who withdrew, becoming quietly more traditional in their practice, keeping their heads down, away from outside involvement. Huberman uses this evidence to ask whether the institution itself has a role to play in influencing teachers' career phases.

In summary, the literature suggests that teachers' lives strongly influence their work. Teachers invariably import or *transfer* autobiographical details into their understandings and explanations of practice to interpret different situations according to the events of their lives. If we want to have an impact upon teachers' continuing professional development, we need to understand and influence this process. Their autobiography influences how they respond to pupils' behaviour (Weiss 2002a and 2002b). Critical incidents and phases throughout their careers affect their images of 'self', which are invested into classroom practice, including those practices used to include and entitle challenging pupils.

Summary of Key Themes and Research Questions

In this chapter's discussion of inclusion it has emerged that there are multiple concepts of inclusion. It is important to retain a specific focus upon the target group that is to be included, as well as on the discourses that are being used. With this in mind, a number of themes have emerged from the literature review. These are summarised as follows:

1. Political and cultural climate. There is an apparent conflict in Governmental policy trends, which explicitly promote social inclusion along with a market-led approach of raising standards. The implicit result is exclusionary practice.

2. Our societal values for a democratic education system may contribute towards difficult pupil behaviour by over-valuing individualism.

3. Defining inclusion. Inclusion is generally agreed to be a process through which the model of considering special needs or barriers to learning (including social, emotional and behavioural difficulties), as 'within-child' deficits, is being replaced by an emphasis on 'within-community' deficits. This fundamentally affects school provision at a number of levels. Pupils with emotional, social and behavioural difficulties are those who are 'least wanted', in terms of inclusion and they are often discussed in exclusionary terms that suggest the needs of the few infringe the rights of the many.

4. Professional / personal challenge. Teachers find problematic the inclusion of pupils with troubling behaviour, not least because such pupils challenge teachers' identities. There is an emerging lobby from the teachers' professional associations that teachers too have rights in respect of pupil behaviour.

5. Change. Inclusion demands teachers to change in order to teach increasingly diverse groups of children in mainstream schools. Change can be threatening as it makes demands that affect and are affected by teachers' professional and private lives. The understanding of the interplay between personal / professional life is critical to teacher development at an individual level.

6. Defining effectiveness. There is general consensus about the characteristics of effective teaching, but some lack of clarity about how teaching processes and content might be effective, participatory and inclusive for all pupils, and specifically for pupils with emotional, social and behavioural difficulties. The notion of teacher as competent technician focuses on what the teacher does and leaves out the question of what teachers are like, and what values and beliefs they hold about their work.

These themes give rise to research questions that develop the starting point outlined in Chapter One, form the basis of the study and guide the research design and selection of enquiry methods. The importance of asking these questions is to enable teachers to talk about their personal and professional challenges in the context of changing and often contradictory demands.

- **What perspectives do classroom teachers hold about inclusion of the pupils with challenging behaviour and how are these influenced?** Gathering the views and attitudes of teachers will enable an analysis of the discourses and claims to knowledge expressed by teachers, both collectively and individually.

- **What behaviours do teachers claim as challenging them, and what do they say they do to include children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties in their classrooms?** This will require the collection and interpretation of what teachers say about their practices in managing these pupils, and the pedagogical approaches and aspects of school culture that teachers identify as supportive or restrictive of inclusive classroom practices?

- **How do teachers' say their personal and professional lives are affected by the inclusion of pupils who present challenging behaviours?** Gathering information about teachers' experiences of 'critical incidents' will contribute towards an analysis of the meanings teachers make of their experiences, and the consequential change and the effect upon them as people, both professionally and personally.

A fourth question arose from the review of methodology that further determined the research project (see p. 38 and 47.)

The purpose of the research is to gain insight into teachers, both as people and professionals, according to their own self-perceptions and in the context of their schools. It was undertaken at a time when teachers were faced with an increased demand to include pupils with challenging behaviour, who might formerly have been in special provisions. I hoped my findings would suggest factors to assist with more effective practice to include children with challenging behaviour in mainstream classrooms.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

In the last chapter, three research questions emerged as a result of the review of literature, which are explored in the study. This chapter will describe the methodology that influenced the research design and describe the techniques that were chosen to collect and analyse data to respond to those questions, which were set within the context of the six key themes identified in Chapter Two.

Scope of the Study

This research focuses on how teachers interpret, experience and manage the inclusion of children who they perceive to have challenging behaviours in their classrooms. Implicit within my enquiry is the need to come to grips with the individual understandings teachers have of pupil behaviours that challenge them, both professionally and personally. I am seeking to uncover teachers' *perspectives*, the ways in which meaning is made of their experiences with challenging pupils. Prosser (1990) adapts Becker's definition of perspectives, describing them as "situationally specific … patterns of thought and action which have grown up in response to a specific set of institutional pressures" (ibid. p. 344). Solas (1992) cites the following definition of a perspective, describing it as a

> reflexive, socially derived interpretation of experience that serves as a basis for subsequent action. The teacher's perspective combines beliefs, intentions, interpretations, and behavior that interact continually and are modified by social interaction … this perspective serves as the frame of reference within which teachers make sense of and interpret experience, and act rationally.
>
> (ibid. p. 207)

The former definition suggests that perspectives allow an individual within their own context to make sense of a particular issue, while the latter suggests that perspectives are existing shared ways by which to make sense, and are actively at work *upon* the person, as well as *within*. What unites the two definitions is an idea that perspectives are active ways of sense making. In this enquiry I define perspective as the way in which a

teacher actively interprets *and* understands a given situation, both individually and as a member of a collective group.

My research methods are qualitative in that they are

> ... multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter ... qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials ... that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives.
>
> (Denzin & Lincoln 1998:3)

The outcomes of this research depended upon the collection and interrogation of data in order for me to make sense of the real life experiences or 'stories' of my participants. Mertens (1998) suggests that there are three reasons for the selection of a qualitative methodology:

1. the researcher's intention to be interpretive.
2. the research questions lend themselves to such methods, (for example by focusing upon the processes, implementation or development of an initiative).
3. pragmatic considerations, such as there being no quantitative measure for the desired outcome.

These points applied to my research in that interview data required an interpretive approach, enabling findings to emerge from the enquiry. The interpretive methods I chose were aimed to

a. be illuminative of my research questions and the interpretation of data;
b. group participants' responses in order to look for similarity and difference;
c. present findings that could be insightful to develop practitioners' responses to teach pupils with challenging behaviour; and
d. suggest further areas of study.

Phenomenological Influence

Phenomenology is described as

> the study of the way in which members of a group or community themselves interpret the world and life around them.
>
> (Mertens 1998:169)

Its concern is to question and describe both surface phenomena and hidden assumptions and meanings, to examine them critically, thoroughly, openly, and from diverse perspectives. In order to carry out phenomenological research it is necessary to *bracket*, or suspend the researcher's own presuppositions about the topic in order to be fully immersed in the data and perceive things as they have been experienced. This idea of bracketing was important to me as a researcher with practitioner experience in the very issues I was investigating. Individuals operate in their 'life-world' with a stock of knowledge, which comprise the resources to understand and interpret their own experiences as well as those of others. The articulation of this knowledge is facilitated by our use of language, which gives us a store of labels or 'types'. These 'types' come from our continual experience of the everyday social world. We consequently understand the actions of others within our *typification* of real-life experiences.

> ... typifications are indeterminate, adaptable, and modifiable. Stocks of knowledge are always essentially incomplete, open-ended. Meaning requires the interpretive application of a category to the concrete particulars of a situation.
> ... Accordingly social phenomenology rests on the tenet that social interaction constructs as much as conveys meaning.
>
> (Holstein and Gubrium 1998:138)

In making sense of situations we tend to typify, and each new experience may cause modification. As social beings, people experience events similarly so that interpretations of phenomena are not simply subjective, but are shared and intersubjective. Thus my research questions were phenomenological in nature, with their focus upon the sense that teachers make of their work. This concept encouraged me to look for typifications shared by teachers, as well to look for those that were unique.

In order to elicit teachers' perspectives about the inclusion of children in their class presenting challenging behaviour, I planned to ask standardised questions of a representative group of teachers. I did not plan to check for real whether my subjects actually put into action what they said they did, as this was unnecessary. I wanted to interact with the emotional responses of my teachers, both as people and professionals. My aim was not to look at, and make judgements about, the inclusiveness of teachers' classroom practices. My purpose was to investigate *their* thinking through *their* beliefs and values about the subject.

Literature describing case studies was helpful (e.g. Merriam 1988, Yin 1989). However, in order to contribute new understanding of the phenomena in which I was particularly interested, I imposed more limits to my evidence collection than would be acceptable for a case study. My own teaching background in a variety of schools assisted naturalistic enquiry within the real-life context of schools. This meant I could find out how teachers feel about the research topic through an exploration of their experiences, with the knowledge that I have had similar experiences. Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that a case study researcher requires

> some familiarity with the phenomenon and the setting under study: strong conceptual interests; a multidisciplinary approach; ...good investigative skills, including doggedness, the ability to draw people out, and the ability to ward off premature closure.
>
> (ibid. p.46)

I felt I had most of these characteristics, and planned multi-methods of interviewing that would be sufficiently investigative of my participants.

Denzin (1989b) proposes six steps in the interpretive process, four of which were important for defining my research methods – capture, bracketing (see p.31), constructing and contextualization. Capture would involve the collection of teachers' narratives about their experiences. Bracketing would involve looking at the narratives as data for analysis. Construction would reassemble the data into a coherent whole, enabling

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me to formulate typifications. Contextualization would determine implications by relocating the findings back into the natural world, giving insight to more inclusive practices for teaching challenging pupils.

Two main ideas arose from the study of methodology that enabled the means to capture and bracket the enquiry – the use of biographical method, with interpretation of narratives and discourses, and the use of personal construct theory.

Biographical Method and Epiphanies

The importance of biographical method is not its scale but its purpose (Erben 1996). "The small-scale piece of research can provide efficacious insight into a practical issue or question" (ibid. p.172) and this was precisely my aim. The use of biographical methods was relevant to this research in order to collect contemporaneous life histories, or narratives that recall recent incidents in participants' lives and reveal their typifications. Life histories also allow for autobiographical transference, by which I mean "the unconscious projection of attitudes and feelings from past relationships, particularly with family, onto other persons in the present" (Weiss 2002b:109). Narratives are constructed intersubjectively between the subject and the researcher, making it important to establish empathy at an early stage, and prior to the interview. Equally, biographical methods allow the narratives of the participants to be heard and afford transparency in the data presentation, if not in the interpretation, which Erben (1998) reminds cannot be endless. The fact that "it will often be the case that more can be said" (ibid. p.12) had an appeal inasmuch as the research project aimed to be ideographic, seeking to increase understanding of and explain both generic and individual experiences of the particular topic.

A detailed account of the implications of using autobiography with teachers and coupling this method with personal construct theory (see p.39) can be found in Solas (1992), who says that the two methods

complement each other because they allow us to understand views from an insider's perspective, rather than an outsider's.

> The aim of these methods ... is deconstructive – to displace the power of truth to circumscribe reality and to expose a teacher's or student's version of reality to critical scrutiny.
>
> (ibid. p.219)

Solas suggests that the combination of these methods gives voice to "otherwise silent thoughts" (ibid. p.220). This was my intention too. By exploring the discourses to which teachers have access, I planned to give "voice" to my set of participants. My notion of voice was to represent both what and how they described their experiences in relation to the research phenomenon.

In Chapter Two links were made between teachers' personal and professional lives, with considerations of how teachers' biographies influence their values and attitudes towards their practice; and of how 'critical incidents' in the classroom affect their very notion of 'self'. In this sense critical incidents were taken to mark a significant change in a teacher's life and career. However, Tripp (1993) distinguishes an incident as critical because of the interpretation of the significance of an event. In other words, ordinary, every day incidents become critical because they are rendered as such through the analysis of the person who experiences them. He describes autobiographical critical incidents as often highly emotionally charged, over time becoming 'war stories', which articulate and modify values, affecting the subject's current professional practice. Rosen (1998) uses the term 'framed episodes' to describe a similar idea of stories that leave their mark on the teller.

Stories with greater significance to people's lives are identified as 'epiphanies' by Denzin (1989a and 1989b). Specifically these are "interactional moments and experiences which leave marks on people's lives" (1989a p.70) revealing personal character, often representing a crisis, and altering "the fundamental meaning structures in a person's life" (ibid. p.70). Denzin studied recovering alcoholics and noted the determination and inner force that successful patients found in order to

piece their lives back together again, often after failed former attempts, loss of partners and jobs. He defines four forms of epiphany, which I have elaborated to illustrate how these might be manifested:

- **The major epiphany that touches every aspect of a person's life**, such as a personal trauma that impacts negatively upon work or when work adversely affects relationships at home, e.g. an acrimonious divorce or struggling with a new job.

- **The cumulative or representative epiphany that is a reaction to experience over time**, illustrated by the sense of not being able to go on any more, such as might be felt by persistent overwork.

- **The minor epiphany that is a problematic moment in a relationship or life**, such as a trauma of limited impact e.g. moving house.

- **The relived epiphany, experienced again through the recall of an event.** This would be characterised by a reminder of a trauma that continues to cause physical symptoms of distress.

In order to uncover whether my participants experienced epiphanies in relation to their personal and professional lives it would be necessary to obtain teachers' stories. Denzin (1989a and 1989b) defines "self stories" and "personal experience stories", which became evident in the data collection. The former is "a narrative that creates and interprets a structure of experience as it is being told", allowing the teller to make sense of a significant story as it unfolds and simultaneously referring to past, present and future. These would be the narratives to which teachers keep referring as experiences with which they have not yet come to terms. Personal experience narratives relate "the self of the teller to a significant set of experiences that have already occurred' (Denzin 1989b p.38) and deal exclusively with the past. These are events that teachers recall as experiences they have survived.

> Personal experience narratives ... do not necessarily position
> the self of the teller in the centre of the story, although they
> may. Their focus is on shareable experience. Personal
> experience narratives are more likely to be based on anecdotal

everyday, commonplace experiences, while self-stories involve pivotal, often critical life experiences.

<div align="right">(ibid. p.44)</div>

The selected research methods gave opportunities to probe for both types of story in relation to my subject.

Earlier in this chapter I referred to typifications, which I interpret as a similar concept to that of frames – ways in which we collectively (rather than individually) look at ordinary, everyday phenomena. Frames are "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time" (http://www.frameworksinstitute.org/products/issue8framing.shtm 02.02.03). The collection of stories from a number of sources and told about the same issue, i.e. experiences with challenging behaviour, would enable me to identify themes arising from the participants. Morgan and Bales (http://www.frameworksinstitute.org/products/issue11framing.shtml 28/08/02) propose three metaphors of frames – *competition* where an issue is viewed as one entity versus another, *cooperation* where separate entities must work together to reach the goal and *connection* where an issue is seen in the context of its equal and interconnected parts. Where frames existed, it would be interesting to understand what metaphors are used and the extent to which the prevailing political competition frame of standards versus inclusion was evident in teachers' everyday work.

Discourse

Social groups invariably have discursive practices that are particular to a community and are drawn from the many influences that impact upon them, so that "even when we talk 'in our own words', these words may not actually be 'ours' at all" (Cameron 2001:15). From the outset I expected my teachers to describe their experiences and perspectives with some similarities, since all teachers draw on a number of available discourses of teaching and learning and of professional behaviour and share these within their institutional culture. For some teachers and at some times, certain discourses will be foregrounded, others backgrounded. Difficulties often exist where there are no available or

<div align="right">36</div>

legitimate discourses to solve a particular problem. At these times discourses are drawn from other sources, such as from autobiographical sources of childhood or parenting, and these may or may not prove helpful.

The definition of discourse that is used in this research is the

> ... practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning
>
> (Fairclough 1999:64)

It is *the interaction of language, thought and social action describing how reality is constructed*. Discourses are important because of their relationship with social, political and cultural orders (Jaworski and Coupland 1999), both representing experiences and reproducing them as real and influential for others. Discourses can compete with each other, as well as be mutually reinforcing. For example, when teachers complain of work overload, they often cite pupils with challenging behaviour as one of the causes, and the work overload as the reason why teachers cannot teach their class more effectively. Discourse links with "narrative" and "voice", the former being a story illustrative of experience, the latter being the means by which it is explained. The notion that interview subjects use key recurring terms and phrases in their stories and statements when talking about the same subject, is a means by which researchers interpret the data they collect (Denzin 1989b). The process of bracketing narratives draws attention to participants' use of discourse, or how they express knowledge and perspectives about negative pupil behaviour.

I made use of the analysis of discourse as a means to understand my subjects' practices in respect of the research phenomenon. Its significance is deep in that, through the discourses they use, teachers can become locked into beliefs they have construed about pupil behaviour that bring closure to their implementation of skills, development of professional experience and ultimately to their own positions as learners. Thus discourses can be both derisory and exclusionary (Ball

1990), but can also provide opportunities for change and to develop inclusive practices.

> Discourse is central to integration struggles. This is because 'Discourses articulate the world in certain ways: they "identify" problems, perspectives on those problems and thus "solutions" …'
>
> (Fulcher 2000:97)

The analysis of discourse enables challenge to what is said, written and read about inclusion and adds 'new' knowledge to what we think we know, especially when it allows for new voices to be identified (Corbett 1996, Corker and French 1999). Foucault explains that discourses are "practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault 1972:49) and argues that discursive practices are embedded in the use of knowledge and power, exercised through experts who define, describe and classify the people or issues of which they speak (Foucault 1991). Teachers wield 'expert' voices about inclusion and their knowledge / power is exercised through these. This means that,

> Words can be powerful: the institutional authority to categorize people is frequently inseparable from the authority to do things to them. Thus for instance, experts define mental health and mental illness, and on the basis of their definitions, individuals can be classified as mentally ill and detained in psychiatric institutions …
>
> (Cameron 2001:17)

I was interested to identify which discourses teachers drew on most frequently when talking about the research subject, which were most useful to help them meet the challenge purposefully and which most constraining, and were there any missing discourses that might better serve the needs of teachers to make sense of their work?

The consideration of methodologies led to my fourth research question: **How do the discourses available to teachers through which they express their epiphanies and constructs, assist or restrict them to make sense of teaching children who present challenging behaviour?** Clearly this question drew attention to the need to probe for stories in any form, from my interviewees.

In order to triangulate the data collected through narratives and discourses, I needed to use a further method that would allow me to check the views my participants' expressed when they talked to me and ground them in further data. This was achieved through the use of personal construct theory.

Personal Construct Theory (PCT) / Repertory Grid Technique (RGT)

Kelly's 1955 phenomenological theory of personality published in *The Psychology of Personal Constructs* (1991) assumes there may be any number of alternative constructions of reality. Construing is at the heart of Kelly's theory, and may be regarded as

> an active, ongoing process in which we each constantly try to give meaning to our world and to predict future events by operating rather like a scientist: making hypotheses, testing them out, and if necessary revising them on the basis of the evidence which we collect.
>
> (Winter 1992:4)

Kelly's 'fundamental postulate' is that "a person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events" (http://www.canterbury.ac.uk/xplanatory//Tutorials/PCK/pck2.htm 1/13/01). This can be explained as follows: anticipation of what will happen in a given situation forms an individual's *hypothesis*, and is derived from an individual's constructs, which determine her or his behaviour, or "continuous experiment with life" (ibid.). Kelly's idea was that people seek to make sense of their world and the events in which they are involved by acting as scientists, trying things out to see if they work. The sense they make forms a person's individual *theory*. Understanding occurs through a limited number of *constructs*, which is "our way of distinguishing similarity from difference ... a discrimination which a person can make" (Beail 1985:1). Constructs are empirically tested by each new experience and are therefore revised as necessary.

Personal Construct Theory has been used with children and teachers as an intervention to enable teachers to know more about their practices (Ashley 1991) but my use of PCT was as a tool to understand teachers'

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constructs of pupils' challenging behaviour, and to identify those that Kelly (op.cit. p.109) defined as impermeable, providing explanation for only a small number of behaviours and those that appeared permeable, providing explanation for a large number of behaviours. It is the permeable constructs that are most useful in sense making. Finding the constructs teachers hold offered an opportunity to answer my research questions (see pp. 27 and 38).

PCT been used as a tool to find out about workers (Stewart et al. 1981), a usage close to my interest in it as a method:

> ... if you can understand someone's construct system, you can not only understand his history ... you know something about what that situation is likely to mean to him.
>
> (op.cit. p.7)

Knowing a person's constructs can be a lens through which to view systematically their understanding of given elements. My use was as a checking device to view how a teacher's constructs validated their previous narratives and discourses about inclusion and pupil behaviour.

Kelly defined constructs as being bipolar (when we affirm one thing, we necessarily deny another) and devised the repertory grid technique (RGT) based upon this notion. This technique elicits constructs from elements and rates these according to each construct, producing the data in a matrix in order for further analysis. In my research the element would be a description of a specific negative pupil behaviour. It is beyond the scope of this study to define the many varieties of methods of grid available (for full accounts see Fransella and Bannister 1977, Beail 1985) but their purpose is to present the participant's view of the world at a fixed point in time, according to the given elements. The component tasks of RGT require:

   i. identifying elements, which define the focus.

   ii. eliciting constructs from the way in which the participant compares the elements looking for similarity and difference in their description.

   iii. linking each element to each construct.

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iv.   preparing the grid.

v.   analysis and interpretation

The use of RGT to give some form of structure to the second interview appealed. Having already undertaken the first interview, I felt it would assist me to be equally systematic and non-judgemental at my next interview. It would also encourage me to attend to the participant's various discourses and offer further insights into attitudes shown towards the subject.

Kelly (1991:108) suggested that the poles or ends of constructs could be

- pre-emptive or containing prejudice e.g. 'if this is a book about research it must be boring'.

- constellatory, adding other information of a stereotypical nature and implying many other constructs e.g. 'if this is a book about research it must be long and full of difficult words, and require intelligence to read it' ...and so on.

- propositional, in that it does not exclude and leaves all possibilities open e.g. 'we could look upon this object, among other things, as if it were a door-stop, a paper-weight and a book about research...'

- any combination of the above.

I was interested to find out how the teachers in my sample would use their constructs about pupil behaviour, using Kelly's differentiation. Kelly's identification of a 'commonality corollary' refers to the idea that people may construe similarly as a result of similar experiences and psychological processes. Winter (1992) explains that this concept can be extended to members of a particular cultural group, for whom there "tends to be a marked degree of similarity in various aspects of construing" (ibid. p.7). Would there be typifications (see p.31) of constructs among my teacher subjects and if so, about what? This suggested that I might need to identify teachers in pairs or trios and in similar situations, such as with similar curricular demands and positional roles. This strongly influenced my decision to interview a group of teachers from the same school.   In seeking to find out what was similar and different in respect of individual

teachers, it seemed clear that PCT could deepen the insight gained from the planned semi-structured but more informal interview.

Kelly intended his theory to state its philosophical assumptions explicitly and to be reflexive. The theory is itself "an act of construing which is accounted for by personal construct theory" (Bannister and Fransella, 1993:4), which means that in our understanding and usage we apply our own limitations and possibilities. This idea added to my concerns about reflexivity in the research planning process and how much "I" was actually part of the research phenomenon.

Reflexivity

> Researchers cannot separate themselves from the objects
> of their research ... In effect; they can only hope to know
> the reality they investigate by being part of it. But to accept
> that they are part of it is to accept the workings of reflexivity
> and to accept this is to accept that reality is known through
> their practices of knowing, and that therefore these
> practices are themselves researchable.
>
> (Usher 1996a:41)

As Chapter One identified, the enquiry arose as a result of my interests and work. The research paradigm, methodology, methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation are also my choice. This means that "I" am already a subject of the research right from its inception, a concept that Woolgar (1988) refers to as

> ....constitutive reflexivity; the fact that the author constitutes
> and forms part of the 'reality' she creates is axiomatic to the
> analytic style.
>
> (ibid. p.22)

This suggests that research begins with the assumption that it is not possible to achieve absolute objectivity, highlighting the need for the researcher to interrogate her own part in all aspects of the process. In its simplest form this means the acceptance that researchers cannot "avoid contaminating the data with their own understandings, intentions, perceptions and values" (Siraj-Blatchford and Siraj-Blatchford 1999:103). Yet this can also be seen as a challenge rather than a problem, an opportunity to "embrace the possibilities for learning that are opened up in

educational research" (ibid. p.103). Usher (1996b, 1999) also claims that reflexive understanding can be a resource rather than a source of bias, helping researchers to take a critical stance, so that while my starting point was the subjective experience of an issue, my aim was to apply objective understanding of what that issue meant; to avoid the imposition of my meaning and to listen to those of others, allowing my subjectivity to be adapted through the application of objectivity.

My attention was drawn at the planning stages to considerations of how systematic one researcher's planning and implementation could be; what limitations I imposed not just on the methods of collecting data, but upon how I immersed myself in it, whether 'bracketing' can occur at all in enquiry about human behaviour. I was especially concerned to consider to what extent during interviews my subjectivity might obscure my intersubjectivity. Research is not a value-free process because "the texts we analyse are always 'filtered' or 'mediated'; they are in themselves a form of social (re)construction" (Jaworski and Coupland 1999:13). It was largely for this reason that I kept personal notes of each interview. This demanded an additional layer of analysis, probing my own role within the interview process and the feelings engendered as a result of each interview.

Reliability, Validity and Generalisability – Further Comments

While "I" was intrinsic to the research, nevertheless I was concerned about the extent to which another researcher could replicate the study and whether readers would find in it ideas that resonated with their experience of the same issue. My aim was that another researcher could replicate my enquiry so that findings could be compared, and to be conscious of my own reflexivity. The data collected in this study have been subjected to *my* interpretation and the reflexive nature of *my* writing, and *my* use of discourse. It is conceivable that a new researcher replicating the study elsewhere or at a different time would find a different set of data, although further research of teachers in similar circumstances should reflect my interpretation, typifications and findings.

Cohen and Manion (1994) describe multi-method approaches to data collection, and the need to triangulate 'within' and 'between methods'. The former means that the same techniques are used on different occasions to check the reliability of the study and theories that are generated, while the latter refers to the use of more than one method of data collection. Janesick (1998) suggests that what is important when researching people's lives is to build 'checks and balances' into the very design that include 'data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, methodological triangulation and interdisciplinary triangulation' (ibid. p.53). Within my research I aimed to fulfil these in the following way:

i. data triangulation – the use of a number of teachers in a number of different schools

ii. methodological triangulation – the use of both autobiography and PCT as complementary methods

iii. theory triangulation – the identification of typifications, constructs, discourses, frames and stories in the form of critical incidents and epiphanies

iv. interdisciplinary triangulation – the ability to have multiple views about the participants' lived experiences through different forms of analysis.

The fifth element of investigator triangulation proved more difficult to build into the research because I planned to work alone. Yin (1989) suggests that the researcher should always act as though someone was looking over her shoulder, noting every move and making it clear for another researcher to follow, and for this reason, a reflective diary was kept, recording and commenting upon activities that were undertaken in the research process.

Validity concerns itself with the extent to which the data that is presented represents that which actually took place. My research task was to present the views of the participants analysed according to the chosen methods. The use of more than one method, as well as more than one face-to-face encounter with each participant served as a validity check.

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Furthermore, the phenomenological stance that I took encouraged me to look at the data from diverse perspectives, to look for similarity and difference and to acknowledge alternative explanations.

Generalisability (or external validity) is concerned with whether findings can be applied on a larger scale. My methods were designed to be idiographic and my focus to be upon a small, though experience-rich, sample of teachers. Their perspectives illuminate how teachers in similar circumstances feel about the research topic, but were planned as illustrative rather than generalisable. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) encourage researchers to make conscious decisions about "where to observe and when, who to talk to and what to ask, as well as about what to record and how" (ibid p.45) and the key idea was that my choices would be conscious and explicit. The research design therefore set out to select schools strategically, and thereby increase the study's representativeness, by choosing teachers in schools that have different properties (see Chapter Four). Thus there was the opportunity to minimize differences by investigating a group of teachers in the same school and then to maximize difference by going into other schools.

Given that I was looking for typifications, I planned to identify generalisable constructs from discourses and narratives, as well as to find what was unusual and unique among the participants.
Janesick (1998) suggests, " the value of the case study is its uniqueness" (ibid. p.51) and that generalisability is inappropriate for studies that seek to investigate meaning and interpretation, since by their very nature they seek to be illuminative. My study sought to look for what was same and what was different between the participants' experience of the research subject and it is in this sense that there would be aspects that were generalisable to all teachers and schools.

Summary
The study explored the perspectives of a group of teachers in relation to the inclusion of children who present significant challenging behaviour. It

sought to analyse their discourses as revealed through their narratives and checked by the elicitation of constructs about negative pupil behaviour. Its aim was to identify similarities and differences between teachers with implications for how practitioners might change their practice.

The research questions that I started with in Chapter One were refined during the literature reviews outlined in Chapters Two and Three. For ease of reference the research questions are set out alongside the methods chosen to collect data in Figure 1 (overleaf). The influence upon the research is phenomenological with interpretive methods that are biographical and use personal construct theory as a checking device. My theoretical aim was to provide insights at the level of the individual teacher through the identification of critical incidents (Sikes et al. 1985) and / or epiphanies (Denzin 1989a and 1989b), constructs (Kelly 1955), and discourses. The study acknowledges researcher reflexivity as a resource that was present all stages. Chapter Four explains how the theoretical overview was applied in order to select methods, schools and teachers for the data collection.

Figure 1: Summary of the research design arising from the review of literature and theoretical overview of methodology

Research Questions	Data Collection Techniques	Research Tools
What perspectives do classroom teachers hold about the inclusion of pupils with challenging behaviour and how are these influenced? What discourses are available to teachers on the subject?	Semi-structured phenomenological interview. Analysis of discourses used. Referral to documentation about school, as necessary.	Self-designed prompt sheet. Self-designed identification model, arising from pilot study. OFSTED / LEA reports etc.
What behaviours do teachers claim as challenging them, and what do they say they do to include children with emotional and behavioural difficulties in their classrooms?	Semi-structured phenomenological interview and structured PCT interview / process.	Self-designed prompt sheet. Repertory grid analysis using internet interactive software.
How do teachers say that their personal and professional lives are affected by the inclusion of pupils who present challenging behaviours?	Semi-structured phenomenological interview.	Self-designed prompt sheet. Analysis of teachers' descriptions of critical incidents.
How do the discourses available to teachers through which they express their epiphanies and constructs, assist or restrict them to make sense of teaching children who present challenging behaviour?	Listening to teachers' interviews and selecting the different discourses being used.	Self-designed identification model (as above).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS –
GOING INTO THE FIELD

Chapter Four explains how the methodologies and techniques discussed in the previous chapter were put into effect in the study. It is divided into two parts, describing

1. research methods, including an outline of the schools where the sample teachers worked.

2. how the research tools were piloted with two teachers and subsequently amended to ensure their effectiveness for use in the remainder of the study.

Part 1: Context

The study was carried out in three stages. Firstly, a pilot study was conducted in the summer term 2001 that enabled me to sharpen the research methods and tools, prior to the collection of data during the autumn and early spring terms 2001 – 2002. The second stage was the collection and analysis of data in order to have a body of evidence of which I could make sense, while the third stage carried out in the mid spring term 2002 was planned to 'test' the evidence in order to sharpen my analysis.

Schools were selected from within one LEA (Local Education Authority), on the basis that it was promoting inclusion and reducing the numbers of children in its special schools. The LEA's recent OFSTED report had noted that attainment in primary schools was improving with a sharp reduction in exclusions in all schools. While areas of the Authority were affluent, significant parts of it were deeply disadvantaged. The LEA's strategy for special educational needs meant that it was extending inclusion to meet the needs of an increasing number of pupils in its mainstream schools. Consequently there was pressure upon schools and teachers to include in their classes children who might formerly have gone to special schools. While there was broad agreement for this

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process, it was noted by the OFSTED team that it was not without pain for teachers.

Ethical Considerations

There were a number of ethical issues to consider in such a study: specifically my own role and how that might be perceived by participants, possibly restricting data collection; the participants' own professional development if I did not retain confidentiality; and my very real desire that research should investigate without attributing 'blame' to any individuals or institutions. At the time the research was undertaken I was working as a seconded headteacher for an LEA. It was a powerful position in relation to the enquiry in that my post involved supporting primary schools in managing the inclusion of pupils who presented challenging behaviour. It was a concern that, given my role, teachers may not be honest with me and might interpret my research with the suspicion that I was trying to 'catch out' the schools or even worse, the teachers who participated. However, I had developed an effective working relationship with many schools, albeit different from the one I was now proposing. The informed consent of the LEA and the participants was ensured at all stages of the study, which meant giving information about what I was studying, how and why.

Access

I was able to use my position to assist in gaining access to schools, and through the schools to teachers. I adapted a ready prepared checklist for negotiating access to schools and used the headteachers as initial gatekeepers (Cohen and Manion 1994). In order to counter my fears about whether teachers would engage openly with me, my aim was that they would freely want to be part of the research project. I could not be sure at the time of data collection exactly how controversial my data would be or how I might present it, but assured participants that confidentiality would apply. To this effect the names of all participants and schools were changed. Furthermore I promised that the names of colleagues and children to whom they referred would be changed at the

point of transcription. A further undertaking was that if I presented my findings within the LEA these would be in general and not specific terms, so that individual views could not be attributed to particular schools or participants.

In order to encourage interest, I offered to fund supply cover so that interviews could be carried out during school time. However, I was aware that some schools were not able to find supply teachers without considerable disruption to classes so an alternative incentive of payment in vouchers was offered to teachers where it was easier to talk to me at the end of the school day.

The Sample

For my purposes schools could only be chosen where there were a number of children with significantly challenging behaviours that tested the skills of school staff. It seemed necessary to focus upon a small number of schools, with a relevant cluster of teachers in each in order both to limit the enquiry and be representative of differential factors, such as type of school and teachers' age, experience, gender, background and so on. In order to reduce the number of variables, I decided that the participants would be teachers judged by their headteachers to be effective in meeting the needs of challenging pupils and including them in their class. However, this decision made ethical sense, since honesty in the data collection could best be achieved if teachers perceived no hidden traps in talking to me. Secondly, I determined these should be teachers I did not know and of whom I had no former knowledge and in schools where I had carried out little or no work within my LEA role.

Selection of Schools

In order to identify schools that would welcome involvement, it was necessary to conduct a simple survey of the primary schools in the LEA to find out which schools:

1. had children causing significant concern, as identified by the school itself

2. themselves identified that the inclusion of children with EBD was an issue about which they were concerned, and

3. included a number of experienced teachers, judged by their headteachers to be satisfactory or better in the classroom, who were prepared to share their experiences for the purposes of the research.

Thus the headteachers, to whom I was known, referred me to teachers to whom I was unknown, and acted as gatekeepers for access. Four schools were selected on the basis that they;

I. represented three different primary age phases, so the age of pupils would not be factor in the findings,

II. were subjected to various degrees of support from the LEA on the basis of performance, and

III. were in different parts of the region, so that findings could be more generalised than if schools were geographically close and in the same category of need.

These features were designed to maximise the range of teachers' perspectives in the study, to increase its external validity and to indicate whether there were features of a school's culture that might support or restrict inclusive classroom practices. Thirty four schools responded to the request, with twenty giving a positive response, the comparatively high number indicating that the subject of challenging pupil behaviour is one that has an high level of interest for teachers. Four schools were selected on the basis that they included a range of factors that could explain teachers' differing perspectives of including children who can be hard to teach. The selection of the schools was influenced by:

a. the socio-economic background, as indicated by free school meals and surrounding housing

b. percentage of children with special educational needs

c. LEA support category

d. age range and size of school

e. other factors which may affect the school's ethos, for example the appointment of a new headteacher, denominational school.

The schools chosen, a brief demographic description of their features and the numbers of teachers studied in each are detailed in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Summary of schools involved in the study

Stage 2 of the study

"Cutlers Lane Junior School"
Age range 7-11. Approximate number of pupils: 300. 34% on SEN register. 27% of children entitled to free school meals. The school serves a large local authority housing estate and was regarded by the LEA as requiring intensive support.
3 teachers were selected by the SENCo.

"Woodham Junior School"
Age range 7-11. Approximate number of pupils: 400. 33% on SEN register. 25% of children entitled to free school meals. The school mostly serves a local authority housing estate but with some owner-occupied housing within its catchment area. It was regarded by the LEA as requiring medium support. A new headteacher had recently been appointed.
3 teachers were selected by the SENCo.

"Seagrove Infant School"
Age range 4-7. Approximate number of pupils: 200. 18% on SEN register. 18% of children entitled to free school meals. The school serves a diverse community of mostly owner-occupied housing, but includes some local authority high-rise flats. It was regarded by the LEA as requiring light support.
2 teachers were selected by the headteacher.

Stage 3 of the study

"Handley Green Primary School"
Age range 4-11. Approximate number of pupils: 450. 46% on SEN register. 25% of children entitled to free school meals. The school is denominational, drawing from a wide catchment area but geographically situated at the edge of a large local authority housing estate. It was regarded by the LEA as requiring light support.
4 teachers were selected by the headteacher.

Selection of Subjects

It was necessary to secure teachers' commitment to describe their experiences, so they were prepared openly to express what they wanted

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to say about the subject. I felt that an advantage of studying a topic that carries with it a degree of emotional charge, meant teachers would be more likely to want to talk about their experiences. The use of gatekeepers proved interesting. In two schools headteachers delegated the choice of teachers to the SENCos, giving me access to teachers on a slightly different basis, since one chose colleagues who were 'friends', while another selected the widest range of teachers' practices she could conceive for my data collection. It also limited access to only one male teacher, although in primary schools the number of male teachers is low and this was perhaps unsurprising.

The use of only a few schools meant I formed a relationship with the staff, which allowed access to more information and reliability checks than would have been possible by sampling the same number of teachers, all of whom worked in different schools. In addition, it enabled me to identify common prevailing discourses particular to a school. I contacted the headteacher of each selected school with the request for me to conduct two interviews with between three or four teachers who

i. they identified as having successful practices to teach challenging pupils in their current post.

ii. had prior experience of teaching within their current school during at least the past academic year. I wanted to avoid data collected from supply or newly qualified teachers.

iii. felt the research topic was of importance to them and were therefore interested to contribute towards my enquiry.

Collecting Data

Erben (1998) advises that researchers know they have gained enough data through interview when there is no new information about the subject emerging from further work *and* the respondents have had the opportunity to make all necessary observations. A pre-meeting and a questionnaire, two interviews and the respondent validation of the semi-structured interview transcript provided numerous opportunities for teachers to tell me all they wanted to about the research topic. I planned

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for my methods to allow for saturation to be reached with each participant and across a sample that could have significance for a wider group of teachers. The research methods were piloted prior to the main study so that I could ensure the data collection was appropriate to my purposes (see Part 2 of this chapter).

For the purposes of this enquiry, my first interview was semi-structured using open, pre-determined questions. I planned to modify their order, the wording, omit, add, probe or provide explanation in the context of the conversation. My aim was to enable the participant to "reconstruct his or her experience within the topic under study" (Seidman 1991:9).

As the collection of personal experience narratives and self-stories was a goal of the first interview, it was important that I had met the teachers informally prior to the data collection. I planned for interviews to be conversational, in order for the interviewees to feel comfortable. The advantage of this in interviews is to equalise power and status so that information is self-generated (Shuy 1998). A short questionnaire elicited relevant focused life history, asked participants about their past and, in particular, how they came to be teaching in their current school. The interviews were devised as follows:

1. 45-60 minutes' reconstruction of current experiences in relation to the inclusion of pupils with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties, including questions about how they are affected by their work in this area, both professionally in their classroom and in their career. If the participants chose they could elaborate upon this by talking about effects upon their life beyond school.

2. 45 – 60 minutes of construct elicitation in an interview when teachers were asked how they defined and interpreted challenging situations involving pupil behaviour with the aim to provide triangulation of data. In this way an additional layer of meaning illuminated the experiences already related and allowed for the exploration of the values that underpin the perspectives teachers use in the classroom. Finally teachers were invited to reflect upon

their hierarchy of constructs to describe how children presenting

challenging behaviours are supported.

Before I left the school participants had an opportunity to add any further information in respect of the research topic.

The two interviews were separated by a time span of between two to three weeks. The first interview was audio-recorded in its entirety and was transcribed in full as soon as possible after the event. The transcripts were subsequently returned to the interviewee for their comments or questions, for the purpose of establishing that my account was acceptable to them and to increase the reliability and validity of the data. Interview notes were not made during the interview because I did not want to affect the natural flow of conversation. The second interview was recorded in part, in case I wanted to check aspects of the elicitation of constructs and repertory grid process. An interview of one hour at most and on two occasions, seemed the minimum that could be expected to interact with the participants, and yet was the maximum that busy schools were likely to release experienced class teachers. Field notes were kept for other data, such as recording information specific to the interview context, details of conversations outside of the interview, reflections on my initial impressions of the participants, my own attitudes and responses.

The second interview used repertory grid technique, as described in Chapter Three (p.39) with methods adapted for my purpose from an Internet source that suggested the use of problem classroom behaviours (http://www.canterbury.ac.uk/xplanatory/Tutorials/PCK/pck4.htm 1/13/01). The elements were behaviours that could typically be defined as challenging by teachers in the schools where I was to work and were tested in informal discussions with teacher colleagues and in the pilot interviews. They described sixteen typical problem situations in classrooms, illustrating the 'challenging' behaviours listed below.

Figure 3: List of pupil behaviours comprising the elements for the triadic elicitation of constructs

Throwing objects	Pushing / shoving
Ignoring teacher prompt	Not listening to instructions / teacher input
Damaging furniture / books	Name calling
Running out of the class	Stealing property
Calling out / interrupting	Hitting / poking / kicking
Swearing at someone	Making rude gestures
Frequent pencil sharpening	Frequently moving out of place
Refusing to work	Laughing when someone is hurt

During the interview teachers were presented with a set of sixteen cards. Blank cards were available so that the participant could add a negative behaviour if there was one they noted as absent from the group and they could choose to leave out a behaviour if they felt it was not typical in their experience. The precise methods used to elicit constructs are as follows:

- Select two behaviours that are similar in some way.
- Use an adjective or phrase to describe these, thus forming the emergent pole of a construct.
- Suggest how the opposite pole would be described.
- Change the descriptions if wished.
- Repeat the elicitation until saturation is reached i.e. all of the cards can be encompassed and the constructs begin to repeat themselves.
- Give each behaviour a rating between 1 and 5 on each construct. This was recorded on a chart designed specifically for the purpose.

Teachers were invited to think and talk about current experiences with children when eliciting their constructs. Finally they were asked

A. Which of these constructs explain behaviour that particularly hinders effective teaching and are therefore pre-emptive and contain the interviewee's prejudices (see p.41)?

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B. Which constructs explain behaviours that might have a single reason and are therefore constellatory and comprise the interviewee's stereotypes (see p.41)?

C. Which constructs explain behaviours that would be most likely to encourage the interviewee to explore why the child is displaying them and are therefore propositional and open-ended (see p.41)?

During the interviews I focused upon conversations that would link elements with constructs, drawing from the participant's own descriptions. I aimed for them to define *in their experience* what was challenging and why, out of the given set of behaviours. Grids were completed later in the analysis. I wanted to remain true to Kelly's notion that the grid should remain less important than the construing (Fransella and Bannister 1977). Later, I formed the constructs into repertory grids in order to look for typifications among teachers and to view each individual's responses to the negative pupil behaviours. Further purposes of the grids were to show the behaviours the teachers deemed to be most negative or most positive, and to determine whether the discourses were supported or not by the constructs. The repertory grids formed as a result of the pilot interviews can be found in Appendix One. In order to devise the grids an interactive website available through the world wide web proved the quickest and most effective means by which to display findings and "eyeball" the relationships between behaviours and constructs (WebGrid II). This programme offered the opportunity to input my data and return grids in various formats, as well as to show matches between constructs and behaviours. Much of the information that could be returned through the programme proved not to be useful for my purposes and I chose to use only the "display" grid which simply inserted the ratings into the constructs as given by the teachers and the matches between constructs, as these contributed to analysis about discourses.

Transcribing

The early transcripts were used to formulate the discourse typification model (see p.124) and as it evolved, this became the means to analyse all of the transcripts, so that the precise method arose from the data. In

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some instances, I chose not to transcribe a section of an interview where it was apparent that an interviewee repeated something said on a number of prior occasions, or said something unrelated to the data collection. I made sure to note in the context of the transcript when a narrative was repeated, as this indicated the teacher wanted to emphasise either its impact or their opinion on a particular issue. By the time I came to the final school where I was checking findings, I was tuned to hear the different discourses and recorded these using field notes.

In the pilot, repertory grid interviews were not tape-recorded, and this was rectified in the main study because it proved useful to have data that reminded me of some of the processes. On occasions the participants struggled to find new constructs after the first few were elicited, and often repeated themselves with synonyms of descriptions already chosen. I decided not to transcribe these interviews, since they were undertaken specifically to check the narrative data.

The transcripts from the pilot study contained a significant amount of personal information that gave me insight into the teachers as people as well as professionals. It was important that I knew who and what was significant in the subject's life in order to understand the narratives. For example, one classroom behaviour management strategy arose directly from the teacher's role as a parent.

> David often goes for major blow outs and everything and gets really, really upset and angry and shouts at you and screams at you ... and it took me a long time to figure out that he had to actually walk away from me, and calm down before he could come back to me, and my reaction to him as a mother was "he isn't walking away from me, get back in here now", and we had some pretty major arguments where I made him stay and confront me ... (Diane:54)

I collected biographical data within the interviews during the pilot study but found that too much was given, taking unnecessary time away from the main purpose of the interview. In the main study I subsequently chose to collect such data through a questionnaire requesting brief biographical information that proved useful for interpretation.

Part 2: The Pilot Study - Sharpening the Research Tools

Two former colleagues of mine, who taught in different schools, agreed to assist with the trial of my research instruments. When I had worked with them I had observed both teachers to be effective at managing behaviour, although there were differences in the teaching methods that characterised their approach. In addition there were differences in their backgrounds and routes into teaching. This was important because it gave an early indication of commonalities of constructs, discourses and stories from teachers I knew to be different in many other respects. These teachers were as follows:

> Diane
> *Age* – 46 *Professional experience* – 7 years teaching in 1 school
> *Current role* – Senior Teacher

> Helen
> Age – 34 *Professional experience* – 12 years teaching in 4
> schools, one of these overseas *Current role* – Deputy headteacher

Two interviews were conducted with each of them, at two weekly intervals. In planning precisely for the first interview, its aim was to explore my three research questions and specifically to enable the participant to:

1. give a career history.
2. explore views about inclusion.
3. define and describe behaviours of children that are challenging.
4. reconstruct experience of including children with these behaviours, including a contemporaneous 'critical incident'.
5. describe the personal / professional effect upon them.
6. identify what helps them with this aspect of their work.
7. identify barriers that cause further difficulty.

A set of prompts and questions was devised that would facilitate responses. I found that conducting these interviews was challenging, because there were occasions when I asked a question or probed in a way that suggested a particular term or phrase of a leading nature. Knowing these teachers also meant there was a taken-for-granted nature of shared assumptions, for example when they described challenging

incidents of pupils in which I had also been involved. Thus, interpretation of the interviews showed there was too little information collected about their actual views on the research topic. Whilst effective teaching and inclusion were strongly maintained themes by both teachers, along with that of school / classroom culture and behaviour theories, interview questions needed to be asked that enabled me to have access to *their* discourses about inclusion and pedagogy. On the other hand, the pilot interviews succeeded in penetrating personal experience narratives and self-stories in relation to children with challenging behaviours, at least from the teacher's perspective.

Analysis of the transcripts of both interviews further sharpened techniques for the main data collection. Whilst some of the content was similar, the way it was voiced was very different. Both teachers claimed their confidence to meet the challenges of pupils' behavioural needs was the result of previous experience. They sought to give reasons for children's negative behaviour as well as explain their own reasons for managing it as they do, and how they make sense of it to the remainder of the class. The interviews gave an insight into their classroom culture, largely by answering an implicit question "what is going on here". Both teachers focused upon general issues of managing challenging behaviour, rather than the inclusion of particular individuals who present challenge and this was evidenced by their talk, which ranged consistently from the specific to the general. They held fairness as a core value when dealing with children and made reference to characteristics of effective teaching in the strategies they use to manage behaviour.

Both teachers talked about the same child, Jemma, who they had taught during successive years when recalling their critical incident / experience, but it was here the similarity ended. For Diane the experience of teaching this girl marked a cumulative epiphany because of the ongoing nature of Jemma's behaviour and the constant day to day challenge, knowing that there was no school or class more suitable for her needs, and never being able to rely on her cooperation. This connected strongly with

autobiographical experiences in Diane's parenting, and she imported the past into the present, alternating from a personal experience narrative into self-story (see p.35). This was an example of an epiphany as a life-affecting experience, to be drawn on as a resource for future similar occurrences. For Helen, teaching Jemma did not represent an epiphany and this surprised me, since I too had experienced a cumulative epiphany in coming to terms with Jemma's inclusion – times when I would go home and agonise over what the next day would bring. The fact that I identified with one teacher and not the other made me aware of the intersubjectivity between interviewer and interviewee. Indeed, what struck me from Helen's interview was that there were no epiphanies either in her career or in her personal life that related to my subject matter. She expressed none of the emotional experiences and turmoil of Diane.

Diane talked mostly about pupil behaviour in terms of her own current management of it. Her speech was reflective, owning up to approaches she now admitted were incorrect and showing how she has developed over time. Helen's interview revealed a teacher who seemed defensive in her own ability as a behaviour manager, showing no evidence of self-doubt, even when she might have reason to do so, for example in an incident where a restraint was used. I considered what impact my own reflexivity might have upon this observation because it did not seem to fit with the Helen I had previously known. A further example was her use on three occasions of the term "behavioural children". This was not a phrase I had heard her use when I worked with her. It seemed to say something about how children presenting challenging behaviours were viewed in the new environment in which she now worked and implied that discourses could be influenced by institutional factors.

Diane and Helen explained how systems in their current schools helped to support them with pupil behaviour although this information seemed superficial and proved difficult to probe, indicating weakness with my questioning. Thus the pilot study proved that my research tools

generated adequate data but required me to respond to the following issues:

1. Interviews must elicit adequate information to understand the effects of school culture upon participants.
2. I needed not to know anything about my participants prior to the research, so that data was objectively understood.

I rewrote my prompt sheet to include questions that would inform me about the school's culture and I also set myself strict rules for selecting schools and participants.

My interviews had to enable an understanding of each participant in relation to the subject and in the context of their school and I welcomed the decision to make successive visits to the same school to work with different teachers. This would allow me to glimpse the cultures in which the teachers work in a way not evidenced in the pilot study.

Constraints of Self-report

One further concern arose from the pilot study – the constraints of self-report. My methods were subject to "the extent to which questions of truth and lying pervade all that is said or left unspoken in research situations" (Burgess 1984:201). During the pilot interview both teachers talked about some of the same children and I knew some of the incidents, so there was the opportunity to be certain I was hearing narratives about real events of significance. In the main study I could only have access to the narratives my participants chose to divulge and I was reliant upon what was said by each person on the day.

In an overview of the literature concerning self-report in relation to occupational stress, Razavi suggests that perceptions in the form of "values, attitudes and affective responses to the work environment" are appropriately measured by self-report (http://www.management.soton.ac.uk/Research/Publications/Documents/ 01-175.pdf 05/01/03). This is because people can just as accurately

describe for themselves what is apparent to them in their workplace as a researcher can ascribe to them through observation.

My methods ensured that the constraints of participants' self-reports were reduced by:
   A. The formulation of a trusting teacher – researcher relationship.
   B. The use of the PCT interview two or three weeks following the first interview.
   C. Interviews with more that one teacher in a school, allowing for actual incidents to be told from more than one source.
   D. Attention to the way in which narratives were related, listening to the way in which these were told, as well as what was told.

One final point about my methods arose, which was unplanned. Certain narratives affected me so much both at the time of the interviews and during the bracketing of the data while it was analysed, that towards the concluding stages, I made follow up enquiries of the individuals / schools. These were the deeply human stories that showed glimpses of real lives in turmoil and I needed to know if they were resolved before I completed my interaction with the data. Mention of these is made is Chapter Eight.

Summary
Part 1 of this chapter has given details of the two main methods of data collection, interviews and repertory grid technique and described the tools that were piloted and consequently amended so that they were better fitted to my purposes to identify personal constructs, discourses and stories in the form of critical incidents and epiphanies. The schools in which the research took place were carefully selected in order to maximise difference among the range of schools within the locality that would have experience of pupils with challenging behaviour. The teachers who became my participants were selected according to given criteria either by headteachers or a senior teacher to whom the task was delegated. Part 2 outlines how the pilot study contributed to the main

study, allowing for the research tools to be tested and refined in order to fulfil my purposes.

I have described that the research enquiry comprised three stages

- *the pilot study* described in this chapter and designed to test research tools.
- *the main study* in three schools (Cutlers Lane, Woodham and Seagrove) that enabled the collection of a body of empirical evidence that would suggest findings.
- *the further exploration* that took place in one school (Handley Green) in order to sharpen my analysis of the findings and add to the core body of evidence.

The pilot study enabled me to establish that sufficient data could be collected for analysis and ensured that in the remainder of the study there was some focus upon how the school's ethos contributed to the teacher's perspectives. The interpretation of the data from the pilot study assisted me in the consideration of my own reflexivity, specifically in respect of the researcher / participant relationship. The pilot study yielded findings that were separately recorded; the main points of which are referred to in Chapters Eight and Nine, with repertory grids of the two participants comprising the first two grids in Appendix One.

CHAPTER FIVE: VOICES AND STORIES FROM CUTLERS LANE

N.B. Extracts from the transcripts used in the following chapters have been abbreviated to remove repetitions, excursions and hesitations of normal speech for the sake of clarity for the reader. The numbers in brackets that follow an extract refer to the utterance in the full interview transcript.

The following two chapters present in some detail the data that was collected from those teachers at Cutlers Lane, Woodham and Seagrove Schools, who expressed an interest in talking about inclusion and behaviour. The fourth school, Handley Green, is referred to in Chapter Seven as the school where findings from the first three schools were further explored.

Data is analysed according to the *discourses* accessed by the participants (i.e. the interaction of language, thought and social action describing how reality is constructed), the narratives and *forms of epiphany* defined by Denzin (1989a) and is supported by the *descriptions of constructs* as identified by Kelly (1955) as a means of triangulating findings. Interpretation of the repertory grids is largely located in Appendix One. Examples of the transcripts can be read in Appendix Two, with a full transcript of three teachers in different schools providing different usage of discourses, narratives and epiphanies, and constructs.

Chapters Five and Six reveal how the teachers appeared as individuals and are organised school by school. The perspectives of each teacher were considered in terms of what they said about inclusion, behaviour and the contribution made by the culture of their school and of their personal life and epiphanies, where relevant. This presentation of data keeps the teachers' own voices at the forefront of the study, rather than the researcher's and gives insight into the emotions revealed by participants about the subject matter. It also helps the reader to have a sense of the markedly different cultures of the schools in which the teachers worked, which proved a key theme in the findings. Chapters

Seven and Eight synthesise the data in order to generalise and test findings, which are grounded in the data.

Interviews at Cutlers Lane took place after school and my field notes record that being a school designated as in need of intensive support certainly seemed a pressure for teachers. Two notes particularly emphasise this impression. On one occasion when going into the school a member of staff said to me "you're the lady who's come to help us with our problems", as if just talking about behaviour might actually help. By the second round of interviews I learned from staff that the Headteacher had given sudden notice to leave.

Nicola[2]
Age – 27
Professional experience – 4 years teaching in 2 schools
Current role – Class teacher / Literacy Coordinator
Personal experience of related issues - Biographical information states that she wanted to teach history at secondary level but chose primary, as "second best" because she did not feel she would handle older pupils.

Nicola believes that inclusion works for some children but not others, as exemplified in this narrative about Malcolm, an autistic child, and who is one of a number of children she is finding hard to teach.

> I can see why people may think inclusion is a good idea but my experience of it with Malcolm certainly is that I don't think it's right for all children. Some children I think will probably benefit from inclusion but I think other children need specific help, they've got difficulties and I think it has to be addressed and I don't always think that that's appropriate in the classroom … I genuinely think that all children, with all the will in the world, aren't going to progress and make any achievements or attainment within mainstream school. (72)

Inclusion was not deemed to work when behaviour impacts upon teaching and this concern is exemplified by feelings about a number of children in her current class who refuse to do as she says.

> … it's a refusal to do something. If you ask a child to do something and you try to reason with them and there's still the refusal there. I find it difficult to get over that, the strategies to use when there's a definite "no, I'm not going to do that". I think at the moment that's probably the biggest difficult behavioural problem I've got in my class … it undermines me in my authority, the fact that somebody is saying no and is not going to do something for me and the fact that other children are in the vicinity and they can see somebody flatly refusing to do what I say … other children might

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[2] The transcript is included in full as one of the examples in Appendix Two

> have the opinion that if they're saying no and she can't do anything with them and they're refusing to do what she's saying, then perhaps I could get away with it ... there's a couple of very difficult children in my class who've already got into that frame of thinking before they got into my class that if they refused to do something then they get lots of attention from other people and they don't have to comply (3-5)

At present the challenges presented by Nicola's class are critical in their effect upon her identity.

The interview is spoken with clear and rapid speech, almost spitting out words at times. This added to other evidence from her narratives, led me to conclude that on the interview day Nicola was feeling angry. "Emotionally charged speech is often spoken quickly" (Shuy 1998:70) and the high intonation (pitch level and stress pattern) during Nicola's interview suggested negativity (ibid.). A further emotion suggested distress, when speech was interspersed with short laughs and her voice dropped in tone during the recall of some incidents.

She felt the assistance from senior managers is not always appropriate and was undermined and frustrated when they (in her view) rewarded a child who should be punished. Nicola described in detail an incident that she felt bound to follow up when taking over from a supply teacher that afternoon and which subsequently escalated, leaving her to refer to a senior member of staff.

> ...I felt quite angry. I mean he was deliberately refusing to do what I said and he ... refused to be moved when the Senior Management said ... but then later on Tom, although removed from my class, was sending messages around, or letters around to the rest of the teachers ... It wasn't giving him the right messages. I mean he'd been removed from my classroom for refusing to do as he was told and then he was taken off to do a job ... it's what happens to him after he's been removed from my classroom I think is the problem at the moment. I mean I just think now he's seen that he's been removed from the classroom and he's doing a job that it might trigger him "well, I don't want to do this, this afternoon. If I kick up a fuss, I'll be removed and then I can go and do something a bit more fun" ... (40)

For Nicola successful teaching gives her pleasure and satisfaction:

> it did make me feel really good and seeing her mum yesterday, and being able to say to her, Sarah's had a fantastic day (62).

Nicola manages children's behaviour by having a positive relationship with them referring to this on eight occasions and indicating that the

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relationship is a tool for negotiation. This is her main strategy for including children with challenging behaviour. When relationships are ineffective, her pupil management is diminished, as the following response shows:

> "I obviously haven't prevented the problem because they've arose but ... personally with the relationship I try and build with children, then that usually is enough. For the majority of them to see that I'm disappointed with them, then that's enough for them to check themselves and think, and that ... will stop the problem, but when it gets to something as severe as refusing to do what I tell them I don't know how I can stop that problem arising. I don't know obviously because I've got that problem." (42)

She likes pupils to please her. Whilst Nicola says that the function of negative behaviour is to gain her attention, its result is to hurt *her*, even when she links the reason to pupils' home circumstances, for example,

> I know he's got a lot of problems at home at the moment ... apparently a young niece died or a nephew died, a five year old, which has put them all under strain and I think they're under attack at home, bricks through window and I don't think mum will go out at all because she's scared to go out ... the pressure's building up with Tom ... I mean I know he's got a lot of problems but there's got to be a point in the classroom I think where it's "yes, I know you've got problems but you've still got to come in school and do" (56).

Nicola's repertory grid (see Appendix One) revealed that negative behaviour is largely understood as a personal affront. When she explained that pupils lack empathy, she meant that they lack empathy with her. Her constructs showed that children who are social and acceptable in her classroom are also polite and cooperative. They may behave badly as long as this is impulsive, but may not do so deliberately. If they are conscientious, they are also respectful towards her.

In talking about her authority as a teacher, her relationships with pupils and the reason why pupils challenge her, Nicola is drawing largely upon pedagogical practices to which she has been exposed as a young teacher. For example, she knows she should get on well with her class so children want to please her, that she should be in charge and also that because a large number of children share her attention, she must try to distribute it fairly. Having experience of the inspection model through OFSTED and through local inspectors, she also knows it is her responsibility that all children should learn and make progress as a result of her teaching. There is also awareness that a teacher is expected to

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take control, a discourse enhanced for her by the hierarchical nature within the school's organisation and culture.

Nicola accessed few discourses, with the main emphasis being practical and pedagogic, with an awareness of a "moral imperative" about her role as teacher. This means she has a strong sense that pupils should do as teachers say and that she should control the class. She did not access political discourses and made one reference to an "external expert" discourse – that of the school's policy for the management of behaviour, an *'expert'* behaviour system of Assertive Discipline (Canter and Canter 1992). She made few references to discourses that are more intrinsically personal and had few life experiences to help to lend perspective at the time when her professional skills have fallen short of her self-expectation. The school's culture is an influence to which Nicola keeps returning and she talks about this from a number of angles – the behaviour policy and its system, the building, the pressures of inspectors on site, her teacher colleagues, supply teachers, the support staff, senior management, pupils, parents. These are influential upon her discourses inasmuch as she has found out that aspects of the school's culture are in conflict. The rhetoric of the behaviour policy is a case in point, contrasting with practice. Nicola has discovered that follow up by senior managers of behaviour regarded as severe is often poorly implemented and lets down her expectations as a classroom teacher.

Epiphanies are "interactional moments and experiences which leave marks on people's lives" (Denzin 1989a:70), so for the purposes of my analysis an epiphany had to be recalled or shown by some emotion and therefore to have drawn upon a teacher's personal reserves, initiating some form of coping strategy. I linked epiphanies with the notion of critical incidents (identified by Sikes et al. 1985). These are events that challenge and change the teacher's identity. Nicola's interview revealed critical incidents and a relived epiphany from a former school in which she taught. Tristan "caused absolute chaos", was aggressive, confrontational, accusatory and put himself at risk of injury.

> ... he was violent towards other children, blatantly in front of me. I think it was just the accusations that I was hitting him ... there was always that constant threat there ... the occasions he said, "I'm going to sue you, you shouldn't touch me". I obviously hadn't touched him because, the way he was I made sure I kept quite a distance from him but I think that's probably one of the hardest children I've had to deal with and one of the hardest situations. (24)

Again, her voice dropped in tone and some nervous laughs were evidenced as she recalled the incident, regaining its usual strength when she tells how an OFSTED inspector validated her action. This epiphany was marked by her decision to leave that school.

Nicola seemed to be on the edge of a potentially greater cumulative epiphany with her current class where her authority was again being called into question through those children refusing to comply, the theme to which she repeatedly returned. Indeed, when the formal taped interview ended, Nicola stated that she did not know whether she could continue any longer in the job.

Nicola's ideal pupil is one who can apply moral reasoning in the classroom. This means that Nicola is coping by working with her colleagues to make environmental changes to her class and her organisation, moving children into other classes to reduce her challenges, a "scene-shifter" in terms of her space, in order to make her professional life more stable. The pressures for Nicola are considerable – she is aware that she lacks strategies to cope with challenging behaviour but believes that such strategies exist. She believes she operates her part of the agreed school behaviour system, although her view is that senior staff do not always operate theirs. In addition Nicola has difficulty empathising with children in crisis if they cannot verbalise their difficulties. When she gives the attention she believes the pupil seeks and this does not address the problem, she perceives the teacher – child relationship is at an end. The effect of these concepts is that she is trapped within her own current level of skill and moreover, feels isolated. Her current epiphany is therefore told through personal experience stories (Denzin 1989a, 1989b) about her class. Given her apparent distress, the environmental changes

she is making are too small and it is hardly surprising that she is considering leaving the school.

Nicola was interviewed *because* she was seen as an effective teacher within her school. Nevertheless, her four years of teaching experience have not equipped her to feel confident in respect of managing children who present challenge and she worries consistently about her identity and the cohesion of her class and this is evidenced in both interviews. In Chapter Two I cited research providing evidence that young teachers are plagued with doubts about their adequacy (Nias 1989) and Nicola's self-esteem is certainly very shaky. Nicola has already moved schools in the hope of being more effective and may well do so again unless she can be helped personally or professionally to find other ways to project her identity. Nicola appears stuck within her discourses of pedagogy and behaviour, which restrict the development of constructs and this is contributing to her current epiphany. The culture of her school with all of its competing pressures is not enriching enough for her career development or to enable her to do the job she expects of herself.

Sandy
Age – 43
Professional experience – 7 years teaching in 3 schools
Current role – Class teacher with responsibility point for behaviour / PSHE
Personal experience of related issues – Own child has learning difficulties at School Action + of SEN Code of Practice.

Sandy greeted me by saying "I don't know if you still want to interview me because I'm leaving at the end of the term". It is perhaps for this reason that Sandy was so good humoured throughout the interview, in spite of revealing an epiphany. My field notes record an impression that her proposed move to a rural school was her response to this. At present, Sandy is therefore also a "sceneshifter" but in contrast with Nicola, she is heading for a complete change of scene, rather than the cosmetic shift of a few pupils to other classrooms.

Sandy also believes that inclusion is right for some children and not others.

> I tend to think of behaviour linked with inclusion rather than other learning difficulties and I tend to think very challenging, the whole idea of inclusion obviously getting children with very challenging behaviour back into mainstream. I'm actually supportive of that but within limits, I think the idea of a revolving door, which was introduced to us when we had a meeting here some time ago, I thought that was an excellent idea ...so that teachers and children know that there is an escape route, so to speak, if there are difficulties ... (6)

This view is largely explained by the effect of behaviour upon her and the class but unlike Nicola, her constructs (Appendix One) reveal links between an individual's behaviour and the emotional needs it expresses.

Sandy claimed to be finding her work during this school year to be much easier due to the arrangements in her year group, which gave respite from the pupils with most difficulties, because they were 'set' together in a supported special needs group for English and maths. In her class was a pupil with a SEN Statement for emotional and behavioural difficulties, and there were identified mental health needs. At the time of the interview Gillian attended school mornings only, thus seven weeks into the school term Sandy admitted she still didn't know her because of the 'setting' arrangement. Comments about Gillian are contradictory; Sandy wants to help and to give the girl every chance of success, but is wary and "intimidated". In spite of her justification of the current exclusionary arrangements, these have merely bought time for Sandy, a factor she recognises as important.

> ... the set up we've got this year for year 6 seems to work so very well because I think by withdrawing the children and teaching the special needs children separately... it takes the stress off... having to manage their behaviour in the core subjects ... it gives control to ... the SENCo and the Special Needs Support Assistants... they know what their needs are within those areas when they're there and because communication is good they can then feed back to us in the afternoon ... it gives children chance to hone their social skills in the afternoon with us, it gives me a chance to build a bit of rapport because the afternoons tend to be a bit more relaxed, the subjects tend to be things that the children enjoy more ... I'm not against inclusion per se but I think it needs to be managed, I mean the thought of having all of those children together, well 37 children for literacy in the mornings and numeracy, I wouldn't like it, I wouldn't, I don't think I could cope with all their needs, I couldn't do them justice really. (79)

Sandy's main strategy for inclusion is to develop respectful relationships with pupils for whom she identifies time as the necessary resource "I think

I'd like more time actually, to actually sit and talk to those children who obviously have difficulties" (71).

Like Nicola, Sandy expressed discontent with the hierarchical aspects of the school's behaviour policy, for example,

> I think this is the problem with our behaviour policy – is that we don't have any, it just seems to depend upon who's available to deal with it as to what happens, so this is a big area that we need to get sorted here really. (59)

Both interviews revealed that she actively considers possible solutions to the issues in the school. Sandy explained that the school's behaviour policy should more inclusive, which shows that she is changing inwardly, finding a practical pedagogic discourse to meet the inclusive aim.

> ... This is where I suppose that having a whole school behaviour policy and trying to follow it is so difficult because as individuals, teachers have their own limits ... We tend to have a blanket level of what's acceptable for the children but then ... surely if we do start to keep in more challenging children that we have to have a parallel behaviour management policy running alongside our general one because otherwise ... maybe I'm being wrong here in saying I'm expecting them to fail but I would imagine that it would have to be a separate route for them to follow, otherwise they're going to be excluded all the time again ... (35)

As Gipps (1992) and Kyriacou (1997) suggest, such change is likely to be threatening for the tried and tested practices of the previous seven years and she would require support so that she did not feel more threatened than she already feels. Sandy often refers to children with special educational needs being withdrawn or excluded, and this regular school practice is deskilling her from more inclusive classroom pedagogies. She finds most support from her teaching assistant. However, Sandy has a strong sense of responsibility, and to a greater extent than Nicola, she feels part of the solution and of the school's culture.

Sandy's discourses were restricted to her day-to-day pragmatic experience of challenges with individual pupils and there were many similar stories, for example.

> ... it was two lads, one in particular seems to get into lots of different little scraps, he's got partial hearing and I just wonder whether sometimes he feels ... he's only on the outskirts, you know the outer edges of things because he seems to almost force himself on people ... it all seemed just to blow up very quickly ... I had an SNA[3] with me and ... one minute it was

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[3] Special Educational Needs Assistant

> nothing and the next they're both out of the seat, I think something had
> been said, and scrapping, really fighting, kicking each other... (59)

Every time I tried to move along the conversation, she would recall another contributing critical incident, in such a way that suggested she could not quite believe the behaviour of pupils in her classes. The interview proved to be lengthy and very circuitous. It reveals snatches of access to a number of discourses, such as from the teacher unions and from theoretical and practical pedagogic discourses. Nevertheless Sandy is constantly trying to ground her professional experience into her personal experience and to come to terms with her own fears about teaching at Cutlers Lane, compared to teaching elsewhere. She described how teachers had moved children to different classes to make environmental change, justified in terms of benefiting the child. It was also clear that the strategies for literacy and numeracy were interpreted as further pressures, with their demands for teaching content rather than for teaching children. Her access to pedagogic discourses was limited, as are those about her school where she identified a counter-culture "a battle between ourselves and the children and really we need the parents on side as well" (63). It is a battle she faces daily but wins only temporarily.

Sandy was experiencing a cumulative epiphany, evidenced through her personal experience stories about her day-to-day work. She was justifying her escape, for even where she has experienced success she follows the explanation with a current epiphany.

> ... he was permanently excluded and then came back in ... and it was a
> completely different scenario. Yes, so I didn't really have experience of him
> when he was at his worst, so to speak, and causing most difficulties ...
> towards the end ... he started to ... waver a little bit but nothing that wasn't
> manageable really but I can see how ... difficult it is just with one child, I
> mean in the way she *(Gillian)* dominates the class when she is there, the
> way I actually do feel intimidated by her... (13).

Sandy was able to analyse her own part in her epiphany as a result of encouragement by the Educational Psychologist (EP), which reinforced her decision that intrinsically she cannot manage pupil aggression.

> ... In fact I did speak to the EP about my relationship with Carrie. His
> advice was to look back at myself and to see how my attitude to
> confrontation, what my attitude to confrontation was ... at the time I thought

"my god", you know "this is getting a bit deep" but it actually was quite interesting because I don't like confrontation and I mean whether that does go back to my family, my father was … a police officer, very authoritative, you know, whereas my mother was a lot calmer, a lot quieter, so maybe it must have links to how I am now … in some ways I'm quite a control freak … I like to be in control. If I ever think that the children are getting the better of me you know the alarm bells go and I think lots of times last year I did feel that the children were controlling the learning because of the behaviour because I wasn't controlling the behaviour, I couldn't control the learning … (55)

She did not otherwise show insecurities about her teaching, which she separated from handling incidents with children. Her anxiety was of confrontation and not competence.

Sandy's biographical details given to me prior to the interview informed that she wanted to teach because she loves children and wanted to make a difference. She talked with interest and enthusiasm for children and takes the rewards of teaching to heart. However, she feels unable to make enough difference at Cutlers Lane. Sandy will need to change as a person in order to change as a professional and the evidence in the interview is that she cannot do this at Cutlers Lane, adding to the sense of an epiphany from which she must exit.

Sandy openly expressed her shock at the changes in values with which she was confronted at Cutlers Lane and imported her childhood background to describe her inability to handle aggressive challenge. She was secure in her work as a teacher, especially now she has a promoted post for the next term, but she lacked confidence for the behaviour challenges presented by a number of pupils in the school. She has made some intrinsic changes both professionally and personally, as well as externally by moving children. However, she has gone through an epiphany in the process and decided to manage this by moving on, the current teacher shortage making this an easy option. She had coped by arranging respite within the school's organisation so that this year could be a more positive experience for her than last year. Sandy held constructs of behaviour that showed an understanding of pupil development. With strenuous professional support, Sandy could have developed the discourses that would enable her to express and extend

her knowledge and skills, enabling her to meet her epiphany rather than escape it, teaching all children with confidence.

Lesley
Age – 37
Professional experience – 2 years teaching in current school
Current role – SENCo (new in role)
Personal experience of related issues - Biographical information states that ex-husband had mental health difficulties and that her sister was in a special school. All of Lesley's family are teachers and she always wanted to teach.

Lesley became SENCo in only her second year of teaching and was just into her third year of teaching. Given this fact, Lesley had reason to be confident that her work as a teacher at Cutlers Lane was valued, and yet she described herself as "totally reflective, totally unconfident, every time I finish a lesson I think 'I shouldn't have done this, I should have done that' " (52). She talked seriously with a quiet and soft voice throughout the interview and as it continued, she took increasing care to self-regulate her use of language. As a mature student into teaching she confessed "I just think that I just happen to have found at the right time of life, the niche that I fit into, and we don't all find that and I'm quite comfortable with it at the moment" (58).

Lesley came across as very much a part of her school's culture, both belonging to it and able to influence it, which added to the discourses that mutually reinforced the position of expertise, firstly as the coping teacher to whom others could turn for help and subsequently as a SENCo. As SENCo she was part of the senior management team and her teaching commitments gave her access to all classrooms. She held her headteacher in high regard, and given her early promotion, there was little doubt that this was mutual. So great was her sense of belonging to Cutlers Lane that her final transcribed utterances reveal irritation with teacher colleagues *outside of her school* who she perceives as not adopting strategies to include children who present challenge. Her SENCo position has given her access to talk to inspectors, educational

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psychologists and other experts about how to include a widening range of pupils in her classes. Through her position Lesley was forced to access pedagogic discourses to express practical and theoretical knowledge of behaviour, child development, teaching and learning, and she was developing professionally as a result. She talked about curriculum and classroom management but had a different position to the other interviewees because she taught "special" sets in her SENCo role and was therefore less concerned by the wider curriculum objectives and attainment ranges. She was rewarded by how challenging children respond to her, and this is her driving force, being one of the ways in which confidence and expertise is fed.

The contrasting nature of her views was supported by the avoidance of telling *whole* stories of incidents and by preferring to generalise responses. For example, when asked about a strategy used with a specific pupil, she described it thus:

> I demonstrated by being completely honest about the amount of time spent putting effort into it and linked it to the amount of time and effort that they'd put into something, how would they have felt and I shared with them … disappointment and spoke to them exactly as I would want to be spoken to myself if I'd upset someone and … explained to them the effort … and now none of these children can learn" because he'd done this awf … I'd spent so many hours here until late at night, now this is your classroom, and now I mean I'm on a course … an Australian chap a behaviourist … (26)

In the second interview I noted that she struggled to find the focus to fit the behaviours into place. She almost seemed irritable with herself for making the repertory grid task so difficult and this was consistent with her own analysis in interview one that she "intellectualises" everything.

> I'll analyse this for about a week now, every conversation I have. I run a lot and I constantly go over my day when I run and … I constantly think about how I can improve it and as long as I can say to myself that I've done my very best, I deal with it. But when I'm tired and I might have dealt with something incorrectly, then I will probably beat myself up over it (50)

The opening page of the interview transcript is replete with phrases that categorise children in her attempt to come across as the 'expert' SENCo.

> I've got children who are intellectually very bright but have chronic spelling problems and dyslexic tendencies and they're taught in a separate group within that literacy so that they have lots of extra support focussed on spelling strategies and ways to overcome those problems. They're well aware that they're much more able than the rest of the group so are the rest

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> of the group. However, by the fact that they readily ask questions et cetera, it brings the rest of the SEN children up and all of it was done in dialogue with parents. I've got some very, very poor attainers, who work virtually constantly in a small group of 5 with an SNA or myself every day. They're not ready to be independent yet. If they became, were independent the EBD issues would be greater but we're pushing them towards independence as the year goes on. (4)

Lesley claimed to believe "totally, absolutely and completely" (16) in inclusion within a mainstream school with positive pupil role models, although, ironically, she teaches streamed groups. Lesley believes inclusion is both right and pragmatically achievable, an ideology reinforced by importing her life experiences. "You know if, if these children are having to live with the sort of mental health issues I had to live with, well … it certainly taught me" (32). This perspective made her seek to solve pupils' difficulties, and she described a sense of personal failure and blame when she could not, further compounding her role as the 'expert' who should be able to teach all children.

> I had spent a long, long time organising art lessons that were hands-on, lots of fun, lots of paint and it was totally ruined by a child trying to throw a chair out of the window, trying to throw paint out of the window, trying to stab another child with a paintbrush and there was no trigger point, there was nothing. On the management side, I've constantly reflected on the lesson and there was nothing, unless you were a mind reader to have done to stop what was happening … I'd actually been teaching about four months at that point and I was quite despondent … (22)

The message seems to be 'if they are going through what I went through, they deserve my support', and if she cannot give it for any reason, this is hard for her. It is interesting to note that where Lesley described a breakthrough in a relationship with a child, this occurred outside of the curriculum, "we were walking back from Hilldown on Tuesday she just … slowly slipped up and put her hand in mine and we … chatted" (52). Her experience tells her that there is more to teaching and learning than academic success. This is perhaps because her teaching of special groups allowed her to focus on pastoral issues, the hidden rather than the offered curriculum, which she scarcely mentioned.

As with her colleagues she knows teachers make progress with children when relationships are good and this has become a core value in her teaching, but Lesley goes further than her colleagues in wanting to understand children's background as a contributing factor to their

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behaviour. She did not offer explanations of the function of their behaviour, but was self-analytical, describing herself as a desperate "attention-seeker" (32). Indeed the self-analysis has become her chief coping mechanism, allowing her to reflect upon troubling situations and learn from them. Lesley was as concerned as other teachers when her time was wasted by pupils but explained that she does not take this personally and it is clear that while there is a personal cost, she has always been able to implement professional responses. Lesley did not access political discourses for which there was no evidence. It seemed that she was so busily involved in the 'here and now' hustle and bustle of life at Cutlers Lane that she chose not to access the wider picture, thus perpetuating her current position.

Her discourses are grounded in aspects of her autobiography – her mother's influence as a teacher with consequent expectations, her sister with special educational needs, her marriage and subsequent divorce to someone with mental health problems. From these life experiences come beliefs that all children must have the opportunity to develop academically and socially, an aspect for which she showed significant concern.

Lesley's career progress resulted from the particular way in which she had managed the critical incidents that marked her professional experience to date. She described teaching a child who subsequently transferred to a special school. This experience of teaching caused her to put her own life into check and make two professional responses; to prepare less painstakingly so the personal damage to her time was limited and to appeal to the adult within the child in order to renegotiate the teacher – pupil relationship. Another significant incident arose with a child in her next class about whom she talked with emotion, for example:

> There was one child last year... a "looked after child" something like 20
> foster homes and in my first year of teaching he was in a classroom next
> door, and I saw him eat supply teachers for breakfast and when I knew I
> was going to have him in my second year of teaching, I was very "oh my
> goodness, just because I've done a good job this year does that mean?"
> You know I was really worried about it, he was very aggressive, didn't take

> criticism, didn't take eye contact, had no, found it really hard to make
> personal relationships ... he was very, very difficult to deal with ... but by
> the end of my year, although he was asked to go home on the last day of
> school for stapling a child to the wall, I cried and cried and cried, and I
> hadn't cried for about 6 years, literally at all, and the day he was sent home,
> because I'd worked so hard to keep him at school, I'd taken so much verbal
> abuse ... (36)

Again she worked to achieve professional responses to the challenges he presented, thus an expected epiphany is managed, and such management led to career validation. Lesley's major epiphany lies within her personal life and has become part of the self-story that pre-empts her rite of passage into teaching and gives her ongoing rewards.

Lesley invests much of her 'self' into her teaching, complete with a 'strongly projected social identity' (Goodson and Walker 1991). She wants pupils to enjoy the time they spend with her and to be their very active advocate.

> I get so much out of teaching these kids, ... I cannot lie and say that I do
> not get a massive buzz out of making them laugh, making them want to
> come into the class and interacting, I never bore of winding children up in
> the nicest possible way and having fun with them. Whether that's because
> I haven't grown up personally I don't know ... but there are personality
> issues, there are my sister's problems with her learning difficulties and
> watching how much my parents fought for her for years to try and get her
> help and how she still struggles now but she had the most ... strong mother
> behind her who knew the system and she still struggles with life. What
> hope have some of these kids got if they haven't got any of those parental
> supports? (32)

As a mature student with an entire family of teachers around her, she already 'knew' much about teaching and as such, already had the deep desire to influence children identified by Nias (1989). She had gone through a self-confessed ten "horrendous" years marking her personal epiphany, and giving her empathy with the experiences of children she taught. Her discourses were developing and reinforcing each other to support this fundamental desire, and her critical incidents exemplified this ideology. The constructs also showed that she worried over children and wanted to solve their problems.

There is no evidence that Lesley is more or less effective as a teacher than either Nicola or Sandy, but she brings a very different set of abilities both to manage change in practice and *to manage to change* herself as a

practitioner. Unlike her colleagues, Lesley is not shifting the environment only in terms of space, or even time and pace; she is predominately changing her perceptions, as well as the ways in which she operates within her environment, the actions of someone who can change inwardly.

Summary

This chapter has analysed the narratives and discourses of three interviewees, establishing that at Cutlers Lane teachers face many challenges with pupil behaviour. Teachers shared experiences of critical incidents of pupil behaviour in their classrooms and revealed that the school lacked strategies for prevention and clear systems for follow up of incidents. All three teachers relied solely upon their relationships with pupils in order to manage behaviour. The Cutlers Lane participants shared a sense of dissatisfaction and there was confusion about how inclusion and behaviour might be better connected.

Two teachers were managing their epiphanies with urgent considerations of leaving the school. The two more mature teachers drew heavily upon their own personal lives to make sense of their professional world. One teacher was able to make changes to her practice and had access to a wider range of discourses than her colleagues. Their discourses were restricted and were reinforcing their experience of current epiphanies. However, this teacher was in a different position to her colleagues in that she only taught streamed groups for the core subjects of maths and English. The evidence revealed teachers with markedly different perspectives and few opportunities to share these.

CHAPTER SIX: VOICES AND STORIES FROM WOODHAM AND SEAGROVE

The data presented in Chapter Five reveals a school where behaviour incidents appeared to occur from many pupils many times a day. In talking about the school's culture, teachers alluded to systemic issues about behaviour, which lay outside the scope of the study to verify. Chapter Six presents data using the same organising framework as Chapter Five for participants in two schools where the schools' ethos proved more supportive than at Cutlers Lane. Teachers' responses are given according to what they said about inclusion and behaviour, the school's culture and any personal issues of significance. Their access to discourses is discussed and reference made to the epiphanies they described.

PART 1: WOODHAM

This school had recently appointed a new headteacher and was selected to be representative of schools experiencing such a change. The SENCo acted as my gatekeeper, carefully checking that participants fulfilled my criteria but not participating herself. During the research period staff were formulating a whole school consistent behaviour policy for which there was very strong support. There was a belief from all three teachers that the previous headteacher had over-emphasised support to families at the expense of teachers, and systems would now improve. Interviews took place after school.

Angela
Age – 49
Professional experience – 20+ years teaching, including 2 in an EBD school
Current role – Senior Teacher
Personal experience of related issues – Parental experience of teenager with mild eating disorder. Husband grew up in the public care system and was deemed a failure at school. Beyond school he achieved academic success and worked for other young people in care. Angela always wanted to teach.

Angela's constructs showed that she largely described behaviour in terms of its effects upon the class. However, her discourses contradicted this view showing that constructs were adapting to meet new information as a result of recent observations and access to new discourses through the new school leadership. Angela believed in inclusion, supporting a view that this is compatible with effective teaching, in that 'good' teachers include children.

> I think teaching is about including. That's how I think, that what I believe, inclusion is about teaching. (67)

She believes that keeping children with their peer group gives them positive opportunities to change their behaviour, *providing they are deserving of her input.* This perspective was summed up in one impassioned utterance:

> ... it's the change in the pocket thing ... I'm the luckiest person in the world. I had the loveliest husband ... who also worked with children in care so we had, a lot of compassion in our house, so that was my ethos really ... and so my pocket was full of change. I was lucky. He *(the child)* didn't come to school with the same amount of change in his pocket so I could afford to give him some. That's how I feel with all kids, that I just feel I can afford to give you a bit and you know that involves seeing that you're not like this because you choose to be like this, you're like this I think because you've got a lot of baggage ... what happened with the Timothy thing and that's why I didn't like it because I looked at him and thought I don't understand where you're coming from, having known ... his sisters really well and the family, I just thought you're, you're sounding to me like you know exactly what you're doing, you're working the system and you're a spoilt little boy really and you're used to getting your own way. You don't like this when you can't have the attention the minute you click your fingers the teacher doesn't come jumping and so you then get abusive and rude. That's how I felt and it got to me (37)

The child, to whom she referred, does not receive more positive emotions because his background does not warrant her 'change'.

She accessed a political discourse with an emphasis upon social redistribution. It focused upon compensating for deficits in pupils' backgrounds and whilst this was primarily socio-political, its root was in her life's experience and so she drew upon other discourses for reinforcement. Angela used words such as 'devastating' and 'tragic' that indicated personal feelings in her professional dealings with children and she confessed to feelings of failure when she could not teach successfully, such as last year with a challenging class.

> I could never just feel I'll relax a bit this afternoon and we'll have a bit of fun. It was a constant pacy, high expectation lesson, constant to the end of the day and that was really hard ... really, really difficult and I didn't enjoy my job at all. (6)

Conversely, she found rewards from teaching challenging children.

> I love challenging behaviours because to me I feel great when I've made a link with that child and got them doing something. I feel really, really that I've achieved and that's a lovely feeling (8).

However, the importance she attached to the cohesion of her class, and indeed of the school, is at odds with persistently aggressive behaviour and she found tension in the different discourses that describe rights and practicalities.

> Inclusion means education for all. We should be working with children in mainstream school except where I think, violence. Inclusion can't mean children who are violent, outwardly aggressive so others are in danger, that can't happen ... I don't think the situation is right where a teacher has to be abused in that way, having said that Timothy's doing fairly OK I think, so it's worked but that's with a lot of help so if that's called inclusion I'd have to say it's worked but there was a cost there (12).

Her words indicated that she was shifting position, developing her discourses to shape the new knowledge that although Timothy should not be included, given last year's scenario where her colleague was verbally abused by him, nevertheless this year he was successfully being included. As a senior manager, Angela had been at the sharp end of staff responding negatively to pupil challenges and had often been called upon skilfully to diffuse the resulting conflict, so she was prepared to take a child's view of behaviour management. Given the fact that she did not support staff other than where she considered it to be fair, the changing perspective of Timothy's inclusion was significant.

She enthusiastically drew on a pedagogic discourse of behaviour management under the new headteacher, and talked more than other teachers to date about current pressures within the job. She claimed to welcome these demands to raise standards but later re-referred to these to explain how they make the job harder because inclusion was seen as being at direct odds with effective teaching performance.

> I believe inclusion is about teaching ... I will say this though that teaching's so different now to what it was and the pressures to achieve are so incredible now ... I feel now that that is absolutely the most important thing that goes on in my classroom because I'm being measured, being judged

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by these results, I know I'm being judged, I know that's happening and that's quite hard ... (67-69)

Here again the fear is that the teaching time can be wasted on the disruption of the minority. In the final stages of the interview, Angela's comment "If children are very disruptive ... I would probably ... say, if I've got a choice, that child goes" (76), revealed that the pragmatics of teaching win over the pupil's right to inclusion in spite of her ideological stance. It is here where the practical pedagogic discourse is dominant and justifies a view that exclusion may be inevitable for some children.

As befitted her experience Angela was able to focus upon the child's perspective of being in a class when a lesson seems irrelevant and this prevented her from interpreting challenges as personally directed. In common with Cutlers Lane teachers there was a view that teacher-child relationships are key and links were made between negative behaviours and pupil background as a means to depersonalise the challenge. Such discursive practices enabled Angela to be an open-minded professional who can reach the most challenging of children and yet keep her from reaching an epiphany, even when incidents become critical and sustained, wearing her down, as they did during the previous year.

Within the first two sentences of her interview Angela made it clear she is on the rebound from a year with a class from whom she subsequently claimed to have contemplated escape. However, her she subsequently convinced that she was able to stay in control last year. For her the real difficulty was that she had to project herself as Acting Deputy rather than as her 'self'. In saying that those same children continue to be problematic she has rationalised the experience as not to do with her, since "those children have gone on presenting those challenging behaviours elsewhere" (8). At most, last year represented a critical incident, and one within Angela's experience to manage.

As with Lesley, Angela's epiphany is located in her life, told as a self-story acquired from her husband across twenty years of marriage, which drives

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her to want to change some of the lives of children with whom she works. Angela invests much of her self into the way in which she describes what teaching means to her and she imported her autobiography into her socio-political redistributionist discourse about "change in the pocket". She was similar to Lesley in her almost identical efforts to include the child identified as most excluded. Angela wanted Barry to let her "get a bit closer"

> In his past he hasn't had a teacher like me, I know he hasn't ... in year 4 he had a dreadful year with an awful teacher and then a hotchpotch of teachers and then a bloke and I don't know how good blokes are in Barry's life ... I don't feel I've had a fair chance with him ... (65)

In her references to Barry, Angela was self-critical of her work with him. She showed confidence in herself to manage him but there was a strong inference that if she was not successful, this would be due to circumstances beyond her sphere of influence, since he was hardly ever in school for the necessary supportive relationship. This was Angela's most pressing concern but there was no evidence of an epiphany here, even though Angela worried about achieving a positive outcome. For Angela the problem was the child and so was externally controlled. She could therefore respond professionally, leaving limited impact on her 'self'.

Angela was the most experienced so far of the interviewed teachers and demonstrated that she has access to a wide range of discourses and a secure personal ideology that was challenged and reinforced by her discourses. Epiphanies in her professional life were not in evidence and she had a network of support from family and colleagues to discuss her work and be safely self critical, which she admitted doing with regularity. These factors enabled her to respond through her practice without the need to move children out of her class or make other external changes to her situation. One further constant factor was the eleven years she had remained teaching in her current school. Angela claimed to like change and her recent personal and professional life bears witness to the management of numerous and significant changes. She was able to manage change within the security of a school where she was a senior

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and respected teacher whose prevailing discourse connected political and autobiographical ideologies that she should redistribute cultural wealth, putting back into pupils' lives whatever she can.

Carol
Age – 28
Professional experience – 6 years teaching in current school
Current role – Coordinator for PE
Personal experience of related issues – Biographical information states that she decided to teach after she always found herself looking after younger children at her boarding school.

Carol made key links between inclusion and interaction with people. The child who she finds difficult to include is one with whom communication is difficult.

> When I think of inclusion I think of a child who has difficulties in fitting in with the classroom environment, generally, in interaction with other people (16)

Her constructs (see Appendix One) reveal an understanding of behaviour that is reinforced by and put into practice through experiential and autobiographical discourses.

> I even have friends, I do because I don't mind their chatter. I'm quite happy to sit and chat about things that they want to chat about ... a lot of teachers just run and out of class and moan "I've had enough, I need my lunch break" and I don't feel that. It's only on wet days that I might think I need to get out otherwise by the end of the day I think I might have a headache but generally I'm always in my classroom and you know, they can come, they can talk to me and I don't have a problem and I think it's the thing that I do listen and I give time ... (77)

Carol relied very strongly upon relationships with children in her class and often tried to see from the child's point of view. This revealed a unique pedagogic discourse, which also introduced aspects of her own biography, such as in this example:

> ... I'd hate to be a child right now ... it's all intense, intense concentration, concentration, concentration and it's all at such a pace. At the end of the day if that was me as a kid I'd be quite stressed by the end of it all ... and by the time the afternoon came too right I was going to give my teacher a hard time for putting me through all that all morning ... when I think how I felt at 8, I thought English was boring, I didn't understand it, I couldn't do my comprehensions, my spelling was atrocious, I'd no interest in reading books and I think yes, I can understand where they're coming from. (60)

She actively uses this discourse to discern children's preferred learning styles, thereby contributing towards her teaching strategies, as described here:

> ... *(Timothy's)* got a very short-term memory so that you go through
> something and he thinks he's got it then when he tries to do it himself he
> can't do it and even when you sit and explain one example through he
> doesn't always get it and then he comes to do it and then he gets really
> frustrated because he could do it a minute ago and can't do it ... (4)

Carol's most significant epiphany resulted from being unable to make a relationship with a child and for the same reason she repeatedly expressed a current fear of teaching Timothy, with whom his previous teacher struggled. Last year he had proved so challenging within the class that he had been removed and supported individually, so it is hardly surprising that Carol appeared almost nervous of her success to include him in her class.

Seeing through the eyes of the children in her class reinforced Carol's views about her role to teach children as a group. She used the group to support those individuals at odds with her ideological values, by implication interpreting these children's behaviour as against the best interests of the class.

> I feel very much that if you're going to have someone in your class they
> have to follow the same rules as everybody else. I've had ... a class where
> I don't, felt I got the support I should have done and the kids said to me
> "that's not fair" and they were right because you ended up making
> allowances ... (16).

She clearly sought for all children to follow the same code of conduct and this was reinforced by the school's new behaviour policy. Thus, her focus upon class cohesion was very strong and she appeared to go to great lengths to ensure children are secure in her class.

Carol's prepared autobiographical comments state "love children – very responsive – give back what you put in". It is no surprise that her critical experiences were those where her work with children went unrewarded. In spite of her continuing concern for Timothy, so far this term he had rewarded Carol, not least with a hug. Thus personal / professional discourses are simple, overlapping and reinforce each other to justify the view that the child who rejects her care should not be in her class. An example of this was when she talked about a visit by the Educational Psychologist to help her with James, a child presenting consistent high

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levels of opposition and challenge. The visit reinforced what she already *knew*, that the child was the problem in light of the fact that the teacher had done everything possible.

> I'm sorry for somebody to come and say that I'm doing everything I should be doing and it's not working and cannot offer me any other alternative, surely that is saying there's nothing else that we can physically do for this child as part of the class. Therefore why is that child still in the class ...? (82)

This discourse of the within-child deficit was also evident with the success attributed to Timothy, which Carol described as being due to his ability to change. The within-child deficit pedagogical discourse detached her from those aspects of her job which prove most challenging, that of behaviour management, and was a means of coping with adversity.

Like most teachers, Carol worried about having authority over her class and it is here where potential crisis loomed. In her interview Carol relived a major, cumulative epiphany that revolved around James, who she describes thus:

> I'm never going to forget the child because he reduced me to tears. He used emotional blackmail. He went down the route of telling me things, which were confidential and then having made up a lot of stuff about it, so you could never tell whether what he said was true and what he was or wanted but at the same time he had a really, really bad home life. He had, I think, from what I heard the worst home life a child could possibly have and I guess your immediate reaction is oh you feel really sorry for him or whatever. But he used it, boy did he use it and not only didn't he fit in, he was really aggressive to other children and I did not like him in the classroom because if he went off on one of his things, he would take it out physically on other children ... you would know in the first 5 minutes what sort of day he was going to have. He was either on side or he came to school or he was a battle from the minute he got there to the minute he left and I did, I had a terrible time with him (26)

Her use of language changed as she recalled this experience, making more use of direct speech, repetition and on occasions, developing a more incoherent speech style. She said that at the time she shed many tears and reflected that either the child or she had to leave. A contributing factor to her experience was the feeling that she was unsupported. A key perception was that she wanted to feel that there would be consequences for the child.

> ... he didn't have any punishment for it. That again was very upsetting ... I was very unsupported. I mean he even actually at one point slammed the door knowing I stood behind it with the intention of it hitting me and if I hadn't stepped out of the way and again nothing was done and it ... was

> the most challenging behaviour ever. It was something else ... It was just like "hang on a second, this has happened and what are you going to do about it?" You know, and nothing, and I think that's the thing that really got me was that they were allowing this child to treat me and the rest of the class that way, because your lesson was based around how this child would behave. (26-30).

She expressed the view that someone in the hierarchy should have done something, further locking her into the epiphany and stifling access to discourses that might have been offered by, for example, the Educational Psychologist.

Like Nicola, her epiphany ended suddenly when the child moved away. She had no part in its resolution and its closure provoked minimal change. In a sense these sorts of epiphanies are not only re-lived but are also unsuccessfully 'outlived' – the subject moves on but without inner change having taken place.

Carol interpreted pupil behaviour personally, as do many teachers. She is in a school where the culture has not enabled her to develop from the use of personal to professional discourses in this aspect of her work. Her strengthening view is that behaviour must follow group rules and this is reinforced by an absolute belief that the new behaviour policy will work. At this stage of her career Carol wanted to know that there are definite solutions to unwanted behaviours. She was highly committed to her job and achieved success as a result of making good relationships with pupils but had little recourse to alternative methods of managing challenging behaviour. If the pupil rejected a relationship with her, she sought outside help to resolve the issue and for possible removal of the problem. For all the strength in the her views, Carol's discourses and constructs were limited and reinforced each other and her major epiphany was unresolved, leaving future fears.

Neville[4]
Age – 27
Professional experience – 1 year teaching in current school, having arrived mid-academic year

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[4] The transcript is included in full as one of the examples in Appendix Two

Current role – Class teacher / PE Coordinator
Personal experience of related issues – None, decided to teach to work with children and have a stable, varied job

Neville was the least experienced of all my sample teachers and held very decisive views about behaviour, although he found it hard to relate this to an ideal of educational inclusion.

> ... the whole thing about inclusion I think it's good but every case is different, yet we're including them, what are we including them in? Well we're including them being in the site with everyone else, I don't think we're including them in the curriculum, we're including them with being in society and that's the important thing, so that's why they should be here but when it gets so far that it's just every day it's mucking up the other children ... (100 –102).

Whereas, most teachers would debate whether behaviour did or did not fit a construct, Neville's repertory grid interview responses came with certainty. In one sense all behaviour was pre-emptive for Neville because he was quickly able to place it in his constructs and find a means to depersonalise it, as with this example:

> ... on a teaching practice, yes, I had a kid chuck a chair at me, again more to do with things at home than as how he was, the worst thing here has been Barry chucking tables and things like that, not at anyone but whoever gets in the way sort of, and Josh chucking chairs, not at me but physical violence like that, when people blow up ... in those particular incidents, it's been on their way out and they've stormed off, so we've sent the LSA[5] out or put the school plans into action when they run off, which I had a lot of last year but um, the kid in the other school, that was on my teaching practice, it was just calming the situation down, I got in between him and the rest of the kids, took him off to one corner and then sent for another teacher to take him out of the classroom and talk to him. It was just a very angry moment for him. (45 – 47)

Neville de-personalised pupil behaviour and used what almost appeared to be a common 'disclaimer' for teachers: that violence directly relates to pupils' home backgrounds. This 'disclaimer' presented as a coping mechanism for many interviewees. Nevertheless, Neville used it with great ease, perhaps because of his inexperience and an ambition to survive life in school without admission of perceived weakness. Neville referred to behaviour arising from pupils' home backgrounds on four occasions and this acted as a discourse to excuse him from responsibility, thereby validating the detached stance that he took during most of the interview, for example:

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[5] Learning Support Assistant

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> I had 5 or 6, 6 or 7 major behavioural problems ... problems that are
> probably associated with home life that they bring in, no social skills and
> things like that (2)

> I made quite a lot of progress with him up to the summer, and then in the
> summer things were happening at home as well and he just went downhill
> (38)

Neville claimed his role as teacher is an act. This is a projected social identity (Goodson and Walker 1991), which is very different to his colleagues whose relationships with pupils are real, rich and rewarding.

> ... every time I meet my class it's an act and it doesn't bother me at all
> really whereas at the start, definitely I was very stressed out when things
> were going wrong and at the start it was very, very tough and you would
> take that home, I would tell my wife everything and things like that. (69)

Neville is unusual among the sample for the limited stress he placed on the importance of teacher – pupil relationships and contrasts with his colleague, Carol, for whom these are key to her pedagogic practices.

For a teacher at the start of his career it seems unusual that there are so few references to the pedagogic influences from training, and none that are theoretical. Neville has had very limited access to the discourses brought by outside professionals and confessed that he derived his own expertise from the practice of teachers with whom he worked as a student. His was the most limited range of discourses of all sampled teachers, with little reference to his autobiography and nothing given away about how his personal / professional discourses overlap. This may be due to being male, or to his newly qualified status.

He was influenced by the school culture, and especially by the notion that he teaches in a school where there are challenges of school / home values. His opinions about his colleagues seemed ambivalent in that he claimed to have offered them help but it has not been accepted: "they're doing their own thing ... maybe they just think a clean slate you know, don't take the baggage ... (73-74)", but he is positively influenced by the new headteacher, because this has brought direction. For Neville, as with Nicola and Sandy, exclusion was a fundamental component to his discourse about inclusion.

Neville started to respond more deeply about behaviour as the second interview proceeded, and as time drew on. His final elicited construct came as a surprise in that it is the one least related to any others, most descriptive of how an individual pupil might feel in a classroom context and the most permeable or useful, explaining many behaviours he typically sees in his classroom. The increasing depth to his construct responses as the interviews progressed is a sign that there was a process of understanding taking place within Neville and he was professionally open for new understandings of pupil behaviour to be developed. Neville's discourses contradicted this slight shift in perception and reinforced the view that inclusion is right for some pupils but not others.

> I'm saying it's right for certain children but there's an extreme that I don't
> think it is right for, for either party ... I feel it's good but for certain children
> and the extremes, I don't think I agree with. (102)

Neville frequently talked about exclusion and withdrawal and described the child as the problem, which in certain circumstances must be moved from the class to be dealt with elsewhere and by someone else "... when something does go out of the classroom ... it's dealt with higher up..." (47). This denied him the opportunity to develop skills to include pupils presenting challenge and was perpetuating his discourses.

Neville did not allude to any epiphanies either at school or in his personal life, giving no evidence of anything that had touched his life significantly. He referred to his baby as more important than his job, but there is no evidence that being a father had added to his ability to empathise with the pupils whose family lives he acknowledged to be unsupportive.

> Because I was new ... I was trying to impress everyone, get it right. I'd feel
> like I was failing every time somebody does something wrong. When
> you've done it for a while you know it's not you that's misbehaving, it's the
> child who's doing something wrong and I just feel more confidence to let it
> ride over you and I've had a baby and it's not very important. (67)

As with other teachers, Neville interpreted behaviour personally but his discourses were limited and going unchallenged in his school. This allowed him to block any thoughts he might have concerning his practice, as can be evidenced from this statement.

> ... it's funny how you see the children that I had last year now, how I feel 'oh I had them really good by the end, and now they're going mad again', so that makes me feel like I was doing something good. It's a shame I couldn't change them but at least while I had them they were all right ... and they've kind of stepped backwards now so that me feel like 'oh I was doing something right'. (71)

Here he accepted that the impact he made as a teacher would not last. A further example is when he reflected back upon Barry, a child who was unofficially excluded from the school at the time of the interview. The challenge presented by the child was clearly considerable "it was very hard to keep him in the classroom even. He'd come in and hide under the table or something like that" (36) but the resolution of the challenge emphasised vindication of his earlier experience.

> ... the fact that he might be going now is the consequence of having a new head. Before it was a kind of slide and that makes you feel like 'wow, I had to put up with him in my class chucking tables at me' and now something's being done about it. You know he hasn't even been in class for most of the term, so that makes you feel like 'wow that's a lot better now, something's being done'. I mean it was doing him no good being in my class while he was chucking tables around, he was getting a worse reputation, which he then tried to live up to, I mean, so that's a lot better now. (82)

Neville is similar to the two deputy heads who were interviewed, one in the pilot and one in the fourth school. They appeared to adopt a public presence that announced to other staff "I can cope", "I'm in control". This lack of reflectiveness indicates that he blocked the process of being a reflective practitioner. The data is too limited to deduce whether male primary teachers are more commonly "scene-blockers" than female, and whether this has a general or a specific relationship with career ambition. It is possible that Neville is acquiring the public posture that denies emotional involvement. This hypothesis is further analysed in Chapter Nine. Nevertheless, there is a need to probe for deeper understanding of his own and his pupils' individual behaviour, as he currently has limited capacity to think inclusively of all children in his class as learners.

Woodham is a changing school, as a result of a new headteacher, where Neville is well regarded by colleagues, having seen through a year with a class where other teachers failed and when senior management was largely absent. This was not the most supportive context for an inexperienced teacher and it is important at this point in a career to have

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the professional development opportunities to expand constructs and discourses. The absence of experiences that might constitute even the most minor epiphany meant that for Neville "these children" (94) are a cost, with no benefit, and this seems to risk either future cumulative epiphany and / or disaffection from the job.

For Carol, teaching is a personal experience, which does not contribute sufficiently into her wider professional development, while for Neville teaching is almost impersonal, with singular detachment from the professional he is striving to become. With targeted support from experienced colleagues and outside experts, both of these young teachers could become teachers who change their intrinsic practices, such as those teachers interviewed in Seagrove and described in part 2 of this chapter.

PART 2: SEAGROVE

There was an anti-LEA feel at this school, with a strong feeling that support and resources for children with special needs was inadequate. The discussion indicated that problems with managing inclusion were perceived as coming from outside of the school. These teachers were interviewed in school time, as cover was arranged by doubling up within the school. Their focus was children whose behaviour is on the autistic spectrum and they wanted to talk about their experiences believing it would be "like therapy" for them.

Julie
Age – 38
Professional experience – 5 years teaching in current school
Current role – Senior Teacher
Personal experience of related issues – None

Julie was eager to take part in my research because she wanted to talk about the challenges of a mainstream school with a number of autistic children. This experience was at the front of her mind when she looked at my descriptions of challenging behaviour and she asked to add some additional behaviours common to her experience, hence the elements of

behaviour for the repertory grid were a little different to other teachers. Another important difference between Julie and other participants to date was that she accessed a *pedagogic discourse concerning the emotional development of pupils* and extended her talk beyond that of behaviour management, the primary focus of other interviewees. Thus her constructs were expressed through her discourses and her discourses enabled constructs to be re-formed to admit new experiences. This meant Julie could find imaginative solutions to include challenging pupils.

> ... the child in my class is into Harry Potter in a big way and ... I know that will be the case for a couple of weeks and then he might revert back to ... a particular Pokémon play station game, so you've ... got to have this knowledge in the back of your mind consistently to change it *(i.e. behaviour)*, to get the child to sit on the mat, to get the child to do something and say "well done, when you've done it you can go and put Hermione up by the castle now" and ... that is our communication, that is the way we communicate with these children so we've got something in common. I know what he wants and he knows my expectations through the vehicle of the latest obsession. (14)

Julie used a wide range of discourses. She had access to a number of sources of expertise outside of the school – staff from special schools, inspectors, educational psychologists and medical practitioners. For Julie, giving a label to a child empowered her to provide a context within which she could respond to the child's educational needs. For example, recalling a significant episode with a child, she reflected that he was likely to have been autistic and her inference is that had she known, she could have supported him more effectively.

> I would say this child was definitely on the autistic spectrum but, it just hadn't been realised ... very difficult child, no eye contact, wouldn't sit still, rocked, shouted out, echoed, all the symptoms ... were there and ... when we were out playing games he just used to spin round and round and round and round and round and obviously there was no support there at that time, I think there was an early years assistant out with me and basically 2 things, he was spinning round and round so fast he lost his balance and before we could sort of stop him ... he fell into the wall and he grazed all down the side of his face ...and another incident was ... again playing games and he just ran out of the gate and we were legging it after him ... but he'd just gone ... (42)

Her experience of meeting, or more particularly not meeting, this child's needs seemed also to have encouraged the notion that a label empowers a response, thus benefiting the child. This incident is a personal experience narrative (Denzin 1989a and 1989b), epiphanous in that it initiated change in her professional knowledge and skills.

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The interview is replete with references that indicate Julie's school is one that finds solutions to teach all children, with reference to exclusion or withdrawal being absent. Communication is seen as a key factor in teaching and learning, with positive relationships an aspect of this, rather than the dependant means to manage acceptable pupil behaviour. In addition Julie gave a more precise account than other interviewees of *how* she managed to include children and defined in practical terms how her pedagogy enabled learning to be individually pupil-friendly.

> ... to coax the child ... "You've got to sit on the mat for 5 minutes, that's your target, you're going to sit on the mat for 5 minutes" and for example, to use an obsession of the moment, Thomas the Tank Engine, so you make a Thomas the Tank Engine reward chart or you have a smiley face with Thomas on it and an unhappy face with Thomas on it so you're constantly sort of reinforcing expectations through the vehicle of the latest obsession. (14)

A supportive school culture meant that pupils, parents, colleagues and especially the headteacher are all people to whom she could turn to express her own emotions about the job and find inspiration to try another means to solve a problem, so that by her own admission, she tried not to over-burden her family. Julie accessed her own personal discourses less than most other participants, although these were not absent; for example she talked about how she likes to be with children and mentioned ways in which her work went home:

> ... a lot of time spent on one child thinking, thinking, waking up in the middle of the night thinking "oh I think I might have it", which happens, basically "yes, I've got it, I'm going to try this strategy tomorrow when I go into the class of how to unlock the door" ... (12)

Like Angela, Julie was highly aware of the political discourses that made her feel "judged", so that 'a difficult job is made more difficult'.

> ... if any OFSTED inspector were to come in and see that, that would be my fault, that would be my problem, my attainment would be down the pan. As a teacher I would be unsatisfactory. I know I am not an unsatisfactory teacher because the other children do also have to be looked at you know ... (66)

Angela and Julie's utterances on this theme reveal similar tensions and can be compared in Appendix Three. Pupils with behavioural difficulties are felt to be a threat to what is perceived as the 'market force' of

OFSTED expectations of pupil performance and attainment. A further political discourse emerged in the following utterance

> ... it seems to me it's just inclusion, plonk, and you'll be there. Every child is different, you can't treat every child the same ... (28)

The "inclusion plonk" idea is one she mentioned twice and referred to the idea that there are resourcing implications about which she feels passionately, having received training about autism some months after an autistic child arrived in her class. For Julie, this is a top-down deficit of the demands *for* inclusion operating against demands *of* inclusion. Corbett (2001) refers to the same notion in her discussion of a 'dump and hope' model of inclusion.

A further difference between Julie and other teachers in the sample is that her own value systems about being an effective teacher for all children underpin the way in which she operates as a professional and she does not need to keep reminding herself of them.

> ... you're trying to juggle the ball of delivering the curriculum to the 29 children and implementing the behaviour strategies for one child, very, very difficult ... I mean the balancing, I think you do it kind of, you just do it don't you? (16-18)

Moreover, she works in a school where she is encouraged to be reflective of her practice without questioning her person. This means her discourses enable her to be assertive and say when things are "not good enough" (26-28), knowing that her headteacher will listen.

Julie's epiphanies provided an example of how these related to the formation of constructs. In her case, these were minor critical incidents, concerning teaching children beyond her experience at a given point in time. Most recently she had learnt how to teach David, an autistic boy with whom she has acquired new skills in communication. She remarked on a number of occasions that she felt rewarded by his progress.

> He is giving me a lot more eye contact now, which has absolutely filled me with joy to have his little blue eyes stare into mine and to sort of be able to kind of connect at times and that just is a great reward, I feel a benefit for inclusion ... (38)

She reflected critically on incidents with and about David, thus she makes her own epiphanies, even questioning whether the advice she was given by outside 'experts' is effective.

> ... when we did contact some of the outside agencies they came in and they were saying we're under so much pressure here ... it's almost as though you've implemented something and at ground roots level it's just having a knock on effect. So... I really feel that that needs to be looked at and we need to decide you know, where to, who to go to, where to go for decisions about 'is David going to take his SATs?' ... we just left the meeting feeling that we've got another mountain to climb (28)

For Julie, pupil background was not an excuse for behaviour but gave a contextual reason to understand why an incident has occurred. This subtle shift in perspective from many of the other interviewed teachers legitimised an assertive response demanding support and providing a frame within which a solution is to be found. Julie's most recent personal experience narrative is as follows:

> ... I had an incident where just before half term ... where a particular child who's very attention seeking in my class accused me of hitting him, of whacking him in the head and went and told mummy and I was absolutely devastated ... I was very fortunate because I had witnesses I had a student in and an LSA in the whole time thank god and knowing the background of the child and the mother of the child and what had happened in that child's life ... knowing that mummy was expecting another baby and had just had to move back into rented accommodation from a very nice house and so on and so forth, I suddenly thought 'no I'm not taking the rap for this any more, it's not my fault, I've really just tried my absolute, I've given over 100%, I cannot give any more, it's an impossibility, I just can't give any more otherwise that's it, I go because it's been too much ... and I said ... "Amanda I'm not going to be responsible for bad parenting, I'm not going to take the rap for any bad parenting, I can't take the rap for bad parenting skills' ... because I know that's where the problem is lying ... (58)

In an incident where there might have been an epiphany this was avoided because Julie felt secure in her interpretation of the incident. No new constructs needed to be formed as no change to her values took place.

Julie is an "inner changemaker", able to adapt professionally to meet challenges. She is as affected by the pressures of the job as other teachers and more so than Neville claimed to be, in that it clearly kept her awake on some nights, but she continues to enjoy rewards. Julie's school offers a strongly supportive culture with many opportunities for teachers to talk to each other, and her access to expertise beyond the school is allowing discourses to be shared, expanded and challenged

before they become reinforced. The almost anti-LEA feel at Seagrove is scarcely a surprise, since the strong unity between staff legitimises their discourses over others, as also exemplified by Lorna.

Lorna[6]

Age – 29
Professional experience – 4 years teaching in 2 schools
Current role – Early Years Coordinator
Personal experience of related issues – Worked for 18 months with Adolescent and Psychiatric Services and has family members who were teachers. Lorna was 6 months pregnant.

In common with Julie, Lorna had recently come to terms with autistic children coming into school for the first time and their behaviour was uppermost in her mind too throughout both interviews. She chose the same set of behaviours for construct elicitation as did her colleague, and for the same reasons. Lorna's constructs (Appendix One) described either what the behaviour outwardly achieves i.e. attention and / or interruption to the lesson or they described what emotion is indicated, so a child who tests a boundary is likely to be feeling angry. This discourse of behaviour analysis is empowering because it allowed Lorna not to over-personalise the challenges that she faced and to be persistent.

> *(David)* would run out of the classroom, he used to head bang on the walls, he used to bite himself. Every time he was on the carpet he'd be making noises or rocking or flapping, he found it incredibly difficult to follow routines and to have any kind of social interaction really, every interaction was on his terms ... By the end of the last term he could with support ... follow routine just as well as the other children. He wasn't running away, he knew when he had to sit on the carpet, he knew how long he had to sit for, he knew when he had to work with a group or when he could choose himself, he just coped with the school day. When he first came in he, he just couldn't cope with it at all ... Unless he was sat between my legs when I was teaching, I was physically holding on to him, he would be climbing on tables, he'd be really disruptive but he actually managed to cope with a normal school day with support, not every day, things would trigger him off like the rain, so he actually was conforming to mainstream routines. He could sit in assembly whereas before he just couldn't cope with assembly at all. He would be making noises, sliding around, you had to take him out all the time and the other thing was with his social interactions, when he first came in, if any, he wouldn't have any interaction with children at all, the only time he would respond to them is if they touched something that he was playing with, and then he would have a temper tantrum like a 2 year old um, by the end of it he actually made me cry. I think it was 2 days before he left my class and it was in Plan, Do, Review and he decided to create a game out of, with the Compare Bears and he made up a game and

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[6] The transcript is included in full as one of the examples in Appendix Two

he actually asked 3 children to play the game with him and he sat down and he organised the 3 children and they played a game together for about 5 minutes and he had eye contact, he was asking them questions, he was sharing and I just never believed he could ever do that. (18)

Lorna had two views of inclusion. As a teacher she was aware of the tensions it brings, while as a future parent, she knew what she would want for her child.

... ideally inclusion does mean bringing the majority of children into mainstream education and the ideal of inclusion to me is something very positive. If I had a child with very specific needs I would want them included into mainstream school because I've been to ... other schools and I would prefer for children to be included into mainstream. (10)

I often think the people who came up with the idea of inclusion have no idea of the consequences of what it has on the other children. I just don't think they've thought ... I don't think they can appreciate what happens really ... then on the other hand probably my best teaching memory so far would be seeing David do that game ... (42)

The contrasting views arose from the fact that her predominant concern was her practice as a teacher. Lorna was deeply concerned with pedagogic discourse, and this linked with her own values that she should teach all children and not be a "bad teacher", a recurring theme in interview one.

I had to go through like a really difficult time of feeling guilty all the time and thinking I couldn't do it and ... was letting all the other children down because when David came along I actually had 14 other children on IEPs and because he was taking away all their special needs time, they weren't getting any special needs time at all and the guilt that that puts on you is horrendous but it's in the end saying well you can only do one thing, either you contain this one child and the others have to just plod on and do their best or this one child will cause riots and the others get their support but it's coming to terms that you can't do everything and that you're doing your best ... (14)

I was quite determined to get it right. I couldn't bear the thought of having a child in my class who I wasn't doing my best for ... I needed to know that I was trying to do my best for every child in my class ... (58)

These values meant Lorna spoke strongly in favour of inclusion in spite of its effects having made a huge impact upon her both professionally and personally.

Such contrasts reveal that Lorna balanced views and was able to change her own practices by having discourses that subtly interweave personal and professional experiences, giving her the skills and the will to meet challenge. For Lorna the moral imperative was not about what others

expect: it is what she expected of herself. For example, practical issues of teacher time are important because they relate to her determination to be child-centred.

> ... the whole time you're ... trying to cope with the whole class and ... also give David what he needs as well, because ... you've got to try and meet his needs ... so for a long time I just felt like a very bad teacher because I wasn't doing anything right for anybody. (8)

Lorna introduced few references to political discourses that related to market forces but was aware of the need to be effective as a teacher, this being a factor causing stress. In order to carry out her job she referred to the need for resources and indicated the school's "fight" with the LEA for these, and a belief that those higher up have no idea what it's like in her classroom "I often think the people who came up with the idea of inclusion have no idea of the consequences it has on the other children" (56), showing concern that one child's needs dominate the many. She had less recourse to the discourses of experts than Julie but made early use of this, reinforcing the notion that diagnosis at Seagrove was a means to make an educational prescription that, in their view, empowered rather than limited teachers' responses. Thus, the school's culture perpetuated and was perpetuated by its teachers' discourses because of the closeness of the teamwork. Julie and Lorna said that here teachers worked, talked, laughed, cried and drank beer together, which made their discourses similar to each other in a way not evident between teachers at Cutlers Lane or Woodham.

Like other teachers Lorna believed in the importance of relationships, and the challenge of autistic children is consequently difficult because she had to learn other skills to communicate with these pupils. What is significant is the absolute determination with which she worked. There was some resentment of the impact of including Simon "it's just a big additional thing that's been added to my class" (4) and yet she also depersonalised his behaviour, even when he physically hurt her.

> My worst short moment would be with Simon and that was when I asked him to sit down and he just went for me, biting my leg, hitting, scratching, drew blood on my arm and I just wasn't prepared for that so I had to stop him, take him to his work station and I was going to have the last word and

> try and get him to sit down again ... I've never been attacked by a child
> before but my worst sort of memory that will live with me for ever is the first
> month that I had with David because David was my life for a month. (40)

Lorna has been through a cumulative epiphany with David. Teaching him gave her successive sleepless nights and required support both at home and at school. Lorna had to re-evaluate her pedagogy and her values, drawing upon personal and professional determination. Lorna's "fundamental meaning structures" (Denzin 1989a:70) did not change; rather they became the means to cope and to change her practice. Nevertheless the detail with which she relived her four terms with David, the pleasure and the pain and the relentlessness of her work with him left its mark and contributed to the teacher she subsequently became, thus benefiting Simon, who had also recently hit her.

> He understands happy and sad but really many other feelings he just
> doesn't understand very much.
>
> *(researcher) How do the other children react if he hurts you?*
>
> They're quite shocked I think and they don't like it, but young children are
> amazingly accepting of poor behaviour. I mean he's bitten 2 other children
> in my classroom before, quite severely and bruised them, yet those 2
> children will still want to be his friend. They're incredibly accepting of his
> behaviour ... when it happens they don't like it but then they've forgotten it
> by the next day ...
>
> *(researcher) You obviously don't take the physical behaviour personally?*
>
> No, although I did yesterday when he hit me in the stomach so I've given
> his mum a storybook to read to him called 'There's a House in my
> Mummy's Tummy' to try and get him to understand a bit more about what's
> in my tummy and why it's important if he's going to hit me he doesn't hit my
> tummy. But I mean because I am pregnant I do try and stay away from him
> and ... that makes me feel guilty because I'm not giving him what he needs
> ... (2-8)

Even with this incident, she is highly self-critical, and it is this practice that results at times in her own epiphanies. For Lorna there was no choice about coming through as an effective teacher for all by changing her own practices. This was due both to her own moral values about inclusion being "right" and to the very obvious supportive school culture that meant she does not want to contemplate leaving.

The evidence provided by Julie and Lorna is that Seagrove was a school with a culture that supported its teachers through their epiphanies,

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affording the professional opportunities to develop and to see progress, as well the personal space to empathise through mood matching and friendship. Furthermore the "fight" to which both Lorna and Julie refer in order to advocate on behalf of pupils / parents and staff led to a belief that the school does so against all comers, demonstrating that everyone counts *together* at Seagrove. Communication with pupils was the key element to relationships and was seen as the adult's responsibility, so there was less dependence upon whether the pupil pleased the teacher or not. These interviews gave insight into a powerful school culture, different in many ways from that found at Cutlers Lane and Woodham and a theme further explored in Chapter Eight.

Summary

This chapter has presented evidence of epiphanies, constructs and discourses from five teachers. Both Woodham and Seagrove offered a culture that teachers found to be supportive, but Seagrove offered one in which teachers were assisted in their development as a result of their professional experience and without the need to uproot and move children, staff and environments. Inclusion was no more comfortable for Julie and Lorna than for other interviewed teachers. However, their school allowed them to work with confidence towards solutions that worked and shifted the focus from reliance upon relationships with pupils *to the professional skill of communication with them. Communication* among staff helped them also to understand that behaviour is functional and can be managed with persistence and creative pedagogy. The three schools described so far appear to have cultures that impact over time upon the way that teachers think and practise the inclusion of challenging pupils.

A typology of the teachers discussed to date is summarised in the next chapter and is a reminder of their perspectives thus far. This was subsequently tested in a fourth school, and has a number of implications, as described.

CHAPTER SEVEN: A TYPOLOGY OF TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES EXPLORED

The eight teachers whose stories and discourses have been presented in Chapters Five and Six and the two from the pilot study were coping with pupils' problem behaviour in three ways:

1. by moving their environment, their pupils or themselves in order to minimise the effect of the problem behaviour. I have called this scene-shifting.
2. by detaching themselves from personal involvement in problem behaviour. I called this scene-blocking.
3. by changing practices and acquiring new skills to manage or even solve the problem behaviour. I have described this as being an inner changemaker.

Chapter Seven exemplifies this typology of teacher perspectives and tests it in a fourth school, Handley Green.

The sceneshifter. The sceneshifters are Nicola, Sandy and Carol. These teachers' cumulative epiphanies have been or are major, affecting them both professionally and personally, to the extent that it is likely to affect relationships at home, sleep etc. Such a teacher might move school, take leave of absence or otherwise ensure the perceived cause of the problem is moved on. Dramatic change occurs as a result of the experience. At least some teacher / pupil relationships are severed.

At the time of the research many local schools were reporting difficulties with recruitment and teachers could move school with relative ease, making it an easy time for teachers to change scene as a means of coping with their role. Sceneshifters are characterised by actions, epitomised in statements such as …"I didn't actually see that year through at school. I actually left and I moved down here … It was a relief to be out of that situation" (Nicola) or by Sandy, who left her post at the end of the term following the research, or Carol who nearly delivered an

ultimatum to her Head Teacher that either an oppositional child left ... or she would go.

The scene-blocker. The scene-blocker is Neville, and also Helen from the pilot study. Typically this teacher reacts unemotionally and does not acknowledge epiphanies, since they make little mark on the teacher's professional life and none on their personal life. Teacher / class relationships are static but also largely stable. This teacher does not stop so long as her / his colleagues to consider whether an incident has been effectively handled and can readily turn to the next matter in hand. The scene-blocker is characterised by language such as ... "It doesn't bother me, it used to bother me, it doesn't bother me now" (Neville) or "incidents ... don't worry me at all, dealing with them because I find the children interesting and challenging " (Helen). This means of coping with challenge seems either to be coupled with substantial experience and school status, such as with the Deputy Heads interviewed, or it arises when personal life is served by the teacher's professional life, as in Neville's case where teaching is a job that supports his new family, becoming a teacher to seek a "a stable job".

The inner change-maker. The inner changemakers are Lorna, Julie and Angela. Diane from the pilot study also fitted this typology. The cumulative and / or minor epiphany affects the teacher personally and professionally but the teacher responds by a change of professional practice – acquiring training and implementing new methodologies, reorganizing the classroom, re-making relationships etc. Teacher / class relationships strengthen, as in the case of Julie and Lorna. The change-maker often used assertive first person statements such as "I was quite determined to get it right. I couldn't bear the thought of having a child in my class who I wasn't doing my best for" (Lorna) or "I like the challenge ... I'm not ever scared ... I just think I've got bags and bags of empathy and bags of understanding and bags of compassion to give" (Angela).

This typology relates to teachers' narratives of epiphanies and to their access to discourses as summarised in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Summary of typifications of teachers' perspectives

THE SCENE SHIFTER PERSPECTIVE

<table>
<tr><td>

EXPERIENCING CURRENT EPIPHANY (IN PROFESSIONAL LIFE)

Nicola – unmanaged epiphany with current class but environmental changes in process and consideration of escape.

Sandy – managed epiphany with considerable environmental change and planned escape.

Characterised by being "stuck" inside limited discourses and with a tendency towards constructs about behaviour being described in terms of their effect upon the group.
Strongly expecting that pupils will move on as a solution ...
</td></tr>
</table>

... AND ...

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<tr><td>

RELIVED EPIPHANY (IN PROFESSIONAL LIFE)

Carol – expresses wish to teach and to enable individuals to be part of a group. Failure to do so with one child led to epiphany relived in the interview. Claims she would have left school in absence of other option.

Epiphany relived through emotional recall, possibly indicated by detailed retelling of individual incidents and conversations, changes in voice, repetition, justification of route taken by teacher to manage experience. Discourses are mutually reinforcing and draw only indirectly upon those in the personal subset (see Figure 6, p.124). Constructs reveal that behaviour is personally understood.
Requiring that some pupils should move on as a solution, on some occasions ...
</td></tr>
</table>

See Appendix Two, Example One for the interview transcript of a teacher with a sceneshifter perspective.

THE INNER CHANGEMAKER PERSPECTIVE

EPIPHANY (IN PERSONAL LIFE)

Angela – expresses wish to "change lives" of children she teaches and holds innate belief education can contribute strongly, as it did in her husband's life.

Lesley – expresses wish to "do something" for children she teaches and applies personal understanding of living in a past difficult domestic situation.

Diane – draws the analogy between her own children's responses to difficulty and those of her pupils and applies personal learning to her professional competencies.

All teachers have recent critical incidents to relate. These are characterised by mutually reinforcing discourses with significant interface between personal and professional subsets, often involving autobiographical transference. Descriptors of constructs balance an understanding of the individual and the group.
Not asking that pupils move on, but pragmatic acceptance that this may be a solution ...
Most of the development that has taken place is personal.

... AND ...

MINOR EPIPHANIES IN PROFESSIONAL LIFE

Julie – these relate to particular incidents and are expressed as framed episodes.

Lorna – these relate to particular children and are expressed as cumulative experiences.

Characterised by wide ranging discourses, mostly within the professional subset, and an indication of significant professional development, also evidenced in recently expanded constructs.
Not asking that pupils move on but seeking necessary resources to implement solutions...

See Appendix Two, Example Three for the interview transcript of a teacher with an inner changemaker perspective.

THE SCENE-BLOCKER PERSPECTIVE

<u>NO EPIPHANY EVIDENCED</u>

Neville – makes several claims to the effect of "it's my job" and "I don't let it bother me". Has several themes that run through very limited discourses, notably 'the child is the problem' and 'the child brings the problem into school'.

Helen – when describing critical incidents does not reflect that she would respond differently if faced with similar situation, incidents "don't worry" her as it's her job to "keep going".

Discourses distance teachers from being personally involved and reinforce their practice. Little evidence of personal discourses, although a strong conviction is evident of having something to give to the profession. Constructs reveal that behaviour is understood in terms of its effects upon the individual and the group.

It is important to emphasise that the typology describes teachers' perspectives and not the teachers in themselves. In particular the typology shows the following:

1. Teachers experiencing epiphanies in their current practice (sceneshifters) have restricted discourses e.g. Nicola. This means that teachers are locked into competing ideas such as "either I go or that child goes". Teachers talking about a past epiphany and using discourses that continue to perpetuate it, show that limited learning has taken place. Typically their discourses are restricted when talking about the epiphany but there is evidence of a wider range when talking about their current work e.g. Carol, who continues to interpret pupils' behaviour personally and relies heavily upon teacher / pupil relationships.

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2. Teachers who are able to make changes to their professional practice to include pupils with challenging behaviour (i.e. inner changemakers) have access to a range of discourses that might be professional or personal or both e.g. Julie and Angela. These allow the teacher to <u>connect</u> ideas through the discourses and thereby reframe experience. Pupil behaviour is understood as a means of emotional expression for that individual as well as its effects upon others. Teachers who are inner changemakers are so because of their epiphanies and their ability to render incidents as being critical, thereby creating their own epiphany. The importance of critical incidents and epiphanies in teachers' professional lives is not just that they are commonly experienced but that the process of living them reveals the person who is the teacher, and *may* enable them to change practices or values.

3. Scene-blockers did not confess to epiphanies and gave no evidence of rendering experiences as critical, so professional development was limited.

Experiencing an epiphany does not guarantee that professional practices will change and development will take place e.g. Carol, and this appears directly influenced by aspects of the school's own culture. The implication of these findings is that teachers benefit from talking with a range of people and in such a way that their discourses about pedagogy, behaviour, emotions and inclusion are connected and extended. While teachers in all schools talked positively about good teamwork and supported their headteacher, not all of the schools had the leadership that could enable teachers to develop their professional discourses. This is further evidenced in Chapter Nine.

Handley Green

The typology and themes arising from analysis at Cutlers Lane, Woodham and Seagrove were further explored following information given by four teachers at Handley Green Primary School. Uniquely

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among the sample of schools, the headteacher said she would cover classes so that I could have quality time discussing with staff. On each occasion I went into the school, I would begin by having a brief talk with Janet, the head. The teachers revealed strong attachments to this particular school, each of them with roots into it that went back twenty years. Two of them said they would only teach in that school. All had intense loyalty to Janet's vision that their school never turns away children and often represented their last chance of achieving school success, even though for one it was a tough vision to deliver. Shortly after completing the interviews I learned that some local parents were protesting that the school had taken too many new 'problem' pupils, especially in Year 5, where my interview also brought difficulties to the surface. The act of researching in this school sent me home puzzling. Here was a different set of teachers, held together by something I could not easily define. To some extent religious faith provided an over-arching link but what was more evident was faith in the community: the head, colleagues and the school's capacity to provide for its pupils.

Val
Age - 55
Professional experience – 20+ years teaching in many schools
Current role – Class Teacher
Personal experience of related issues – Her own children attended Handley Green when they were young

Val described inclusion as a means of accepting everyone and suggested that it results in more caring attitudes. She added that this view was partly pragmatic given the requirements of the Disability Act. This was a discourse of moral imperative – inclusion is right and proper and now the law, so we have to get on with it. Val found behaviour challenging when children exclude themselves and others from learning and found it difficult to understand why some children go to special schools and others do not.

In her view, the school's link with the church made a difference to the school's ethos, even though most families do not live the faith. Her examples of this included her support for a prayer at the end of the

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afternoon, allowing children to say something good about a part of their day. She said the headteacher is prepared to forgive both children and teachers over and over, which she saw as a positive and inspirational quality.

In the second interview Val was unique in having one construct and no matter how I reframed my questions she remained steadfast. Her construct was simply *having manners – not having manners*, which she justified as "It's not a matter of intelligence". I probed to find out whether an incident involving physical aggression would be of more concern than calling someone a name. Her reply was that she had considered this in her church where she was told that there are degrees of sin but she is struggling to understand this point of view. Val saw part of her job as the need to teach politeness, so whether it is name-calling or hitting she has to respond similarly and claimed that children understand this of her.

Val was aware that there were discourses that she could not access. For example, she said there was inadequate access to outside agencies who could apply different understandings of children's problems and she felt this was difficulty for all schools. The account she gave of teaching a child with Downs Syndrome revealed she is enthusiastic to adapt her own practices and is self-critical. Val frequently drew from professional and personal discourses in talking about incidents in her class and the issues that impact upon families and affect school life. She made significant reference to curriculum, explaining the curriculum is not creative enough for children with behaviour problems. In both interviews she stated, "I don't do stress any more", and she gave no indication of an epiphany. Given the "any more" phrase and her autobiographical details it seemed likely that Val *chose* no longer to "do stress", although this cannot be assumed. The limited construct, avoidance of epiphanies but wide range of discourses gave her a different profile from other sampled teachers. For Val her "fundamental meaning structures" (Denzin 1989a:70) appeared strongly rooted in her faith, which gave her a strong ideological discourse about inclusion and challenging behaviour. The evidence from

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Val's interviews suggested that during her career she might have moved in and out of typologies, changing the scene, changing within and scene-blocking until reaching a point of personal / professional equilibrium.

Toni
Age - 46
Professional experience – 20+ years teaching in 5 schools, although in 4 of these she stayed between 1 term and 1 year
Current role – Senior Teacher
Personal experience of related issues – Recently recovered from treatment for cancer. She always wanted to be a teacher.

Within minutes of talking to Toni it was clear that she was experiencing a major epiphany. She described her class of thirty-four Year 5 children in highly emotional terms, telling me that twenty-two had special educational needs, many with "extremely disruptive behaviour". The behaviours were described in detail with stories of children under tables, refusing to cooperate and throwing objects. One critical incident told how she had recently been threatened with a chair. She explained that she currently feels unable to teach and had been to the headteacher during the previous week to give notice to leave. This had not been accepted and she was put off the idea and claimed she now felt better for talking because there are plans for more staff to be appointed to the year group.

She believed in the vision of her headteacher that no child should be turned away, as they all deserve a chance, but this has meant the school has taken on excluded children and those from special schools. She did not believe that aggressive children can be included and two in her class were being taught separately with programmes overseen by the headteacher. Toni felt confident with lesson preparation and in her ability to teach. The success she has experienced in the past with challenging children kept her going, although she now felt overwhelmed and exhausted. Toni's epiphany was so evident through the interview that I omitted to ask some questions. I simply could not press for more.

Toni's discourses were very restricted with access only to her current situation and pupil behaviour being interpreted very personally. It came as no surprise that she went on long-term sick leave before I returned to school for the second interview. The deputy headteacher described Toni as an excellent teacher, who had taught her own children, but who currently had "a lot on her plate". Other colleagues in school also told the same story of how good a teacher she is and knew that she would return to school in due course and would be strong and confident again. There was a consensus among staff that the school's culture would be supportive enough to nurture Toni through her current situation. Toni was experiencing an epiphany in both her personal and professional lives, with these being in direct collision. In such a situation there was no choice about how to manage, she had to 'scene-shift', taking several months off work and returning to school by degrees to rediscover her skills.

Pauline
Age – 51
Professional experience – 16 years teaching in 2 schools, with some supply work. Spent 13 years in a local primary school in an area of disadvantage
Current role – Senior Teacher
Personal experience of related issues – Recent returnee to teaching. Claims she would not have done so unless it had been Handley Green who asked her. Her children formerly attended the school and she worked there as an assistant prior to teacher training.

Pauline's autobiographical details shared similarities with Val's. Handley Green had enticed her back into teaching a couple of years ago. She was teaching only because of that particular school and had given up her alternative therapy business to do so. In common too was her obvious liking and respect for children and their family situation. Pauline was confident about pupil behaviour and knew from experience that she could do it well, having taught for very many years in a school with significant numbers of challenging pupils. Her discourses connected a number of pedagogical themes such as curriculum, pupil / teacher relationships and theories of behaviour management. The dominant discourse was that of

the school's culture, as led by its headteacher. She left her first post when a new headteacher arrived who changed the culture and she taught at Handley Green because of its headteacher. In spite of teaching in a denominational school Pauline felt this made no difference, since so many 'outsiders' had recently arrived at the school.

Pauline believed inclusion was right and that much could be achieved with children whose behaviour is challenging if managed early enough. She felt that some teachers can do this (including her) but some cannot. She therefore retained the pragmatist's view that children who are very aggressive cannot always be included as these infringe the rights of others. She had limited access to 'expert' discourses but was aware that there were techniques and understandings beyond her own and described a recent incident with a friend's children when she practised an 'expert' method successfully. Thus she had access to or, at least awareness of, a range of discourses that connected one to another.

Marion
Age – 51
Professional experience – 20+ years teaching in 2 denominational schools
Current role – Deputy Headteacher (1 year into post)
Personal experience of related issues – Decided to teach after seeing her own children enjoy being pupils at Handley Green. In interview she said her father's career in psychiatric nursing has influenced her management of children in confrontational situations.

Marion described that part of her role as deputy headteacher was to deal with incidents of behaviour around the school and keep them from the headteacher. She described Janet's very strong vision to include children in the school and even though there had been a recent large influx of children from surrounding schools, unlike Pauline and Toni, she felt that the newcomers had not brought in too many additional problems; Handley Green had plenty of its own. For Pauline her current critical incidents were when she has been asked to intervene in an incident and children refuse to comply with her. At those times she is "stuck". She felt lucky to be tall in stature, as this helped her to be more commanding. It

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was interesting that critical incidents arose, not from her interaction with the challenging behaviour, but from the challenge to her status as the deputy headteacher. The critical incident was impersonally experienced.

Marion seemed guarded during the first interview and discourses were limited. She recycled the headteacher's vision, her awareness of role and described no incidents in depth, which was surprising given the indication that she deals with many in her role. She justified her management of incidents in that "sometimes a child must be removed from a situation". I was reminded of Helen during the pilot interview who described in some detail an incident when she felt there was no choice but to remove a child from a situation. Marion was clearly a scene-blocker but as with Helen, I felt that her role contributed strongly to this typology. My research suggests that teachers in senior management roles interpret challenging behaviour from a different position to the class teacher: one that has a further competitive layer with respect to their hierarchical position. It seems that the role gives the teacher an increased licence to solve problems but less understanding of what the problem actually is.

Flexibility of the Typology

To summarise this data, Handley Green teachers added the notion that teachers can change their perspective type. Val and Pauline appeared as inner changemakers, with a chosen tendency towards scene blocking and by her own admission Val had also been a sceneshifter, moving from a school where she felt negatively about its culture. Pauline and Val were no longer sceneshifters and yet this is the typology where they clearly were once placed, hence Pauline's comment during her interview that she "doesn't do stress". Neither teacher would teach in any other school than Handley Green; they had found their niche to which they were highly committed. Their choice was to avoid schools where they would be less well supported and they could have every confidence in their ability to manage their classes, irrespective of the inclusion of children who presented challenge. They had found a means to teach and to avoid the

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cumulative experience that wore down other colleagues. This is perhaps the goal of scene shifting; finding the scene that pleases the actors and audience and keeping it permanently on the stage, subsequently achieving success. Pauline and Val give evidence to the notion that the perspective types are fluid over time, depending upon the nature of the epiphany, and have a relationship with progression through a career cycle as a means to cope positively with continuing change (Huberman 1993). The model was not therefore one in which experienced teachers were one thing or another, even at a single point in time, but was one in which types related to each other, as shown in Figure 5, and might even intersect on occasions.

Figure 5: Typification of teachers' perspectives showing movement across types
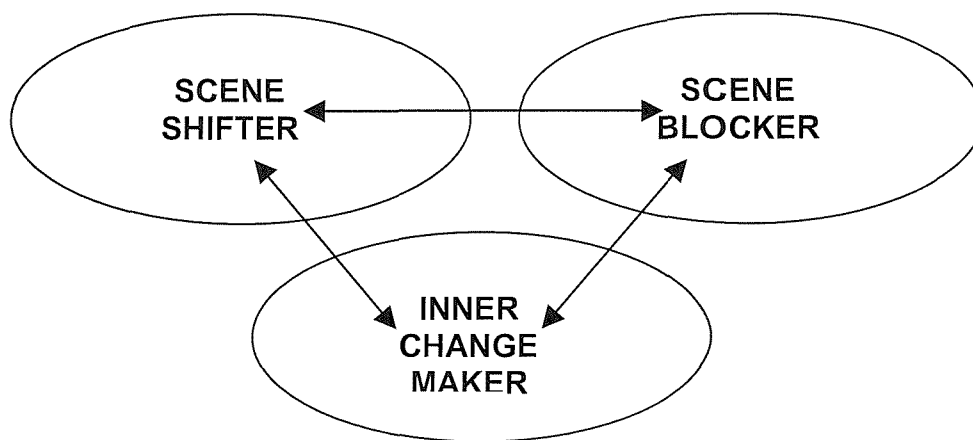
Toni gave a startling example of a teacher with personal / professional epiphanies in direct confrontation, a certain and quite sudden sceneshifter, given her professional autobiographical details and the testaments of her colleagues. The four teachers demonstrated a strong ideological discourse defining a school culture in which children and teachers had an unquestionable right to belong. Where Seagrove came across as a school with pedagogy central to its culture, Handley Green was a school with a culture that held inclusion to be a central principle. Both schools fostered the development of professional discourses, as well as their reinforcement.

Summary

This chapter has presented a typology showing how I have grouped teachers' responses as a result of talking to them about their work with challenging pupils. It shows three types of teachers' perspectives about their work to include children with challenging behaviour. The findings add evidence that schools have a significant impact upon the teachers who work there in terms of developing access to discourses that assist professional development, while also valuing personal development. The findings from my fourth school show there is fluidity between the types and I have suggested this relates to career cycles. The chapter has brought together the differences between the participants and grouped responses to show similarities between them, a theme that is further exemplified in Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER EIGHT: STORIES, DISCOURSES, CONSTRUCTS AND EPIPHANIES – SOME COMMONALITIES

Chapters Five, Six and Seven present interpretation of three strands of evidence that were the focus of this research – *epiphanies*, which are life-changing stories often expressed about discrete experiences; *constructs*, which demonstrate how challenging pupil behaviour is understood by individuals at a point in time; and *discourses*, language that reflects, shapes and conveys shared meaning about the inclusion of pupils with challenging behaviour. These discourses proved to be mutually reinforced, so that teachers referring to concerns about 'effective teaching' often added that inclusion means 'this child is taught at the expense of the many', that 'this means more work for me' and 'this pupil's problem is nothing to do with school and is down to her / his home life'. However, in addition to this evidence there was also a bigger picture – a *story*, on a grander scale, in which critical incidents and epiphanies jostled together and from which I tried to make order. This chapter presents findings in terms of similarities between my participants.

Findings from the Interview Data

1. The Stories

Teachers were asked to make sense for me about their classes and their teaching. They sometimes told well-honed stories concerning experiences with children that had marked them for various reasons over the years. Some were indeed 'war stories' (Tripp 1993), but most represented the story of how the teacher worked through the episode.

Teachers also told an over-arching story about how they perceive the inclusion of children with challenging behaviour. Broadly speaking these stories were framed as follows:

1. *'I agree with inclusion, but a small minority are too aggressive / disruptive, don't respond and cannot cope. The other children in the class cannot be kept safe. Those children cannot be included and need to be elsewhere.'* Here the teacher's principal concern is

with the responsibility to protect the rights of the majority of the class. The frame is competition – the individual vs. the collective.

2. *'I don't agree with inclusion because it means needs are not met. I have to support the individual doing something different and this stops me from teaching the rest of the children in the class. The child doing something different is not included and would be better off in a different placement where their needs can be met.'* Here the teacher's principal concern is with the responsibility to deliver a curriculum. The frame is again competition – the curriculum agenda vs. the perceived special needs agenda of individualism, at its worst, the teacher vs. the child.

3. *I agree with inclusion, although sometimes I have to support the individual doing something different, which may stop me from teaching the rest of the children in the class. At times, I cannot teach this child because he / she will not let me or I cannot teach others because this child will not let me and I need help.'* Here the teacher's principal concern is the moral responsibility to be an effective teacher of all children, with pragmatic concerns for how to achieve this. This frame is cooperation, seeing separate entities but striving that these work together for a solution.

Teachers often told more than one of these over-arching stories, which means the telling does not represent an absolute position, merely a device to make meaning of their experience with this group of pupils on any given occasion. The stories helped to identify the frames for defining inclusion and behaviour. Most teachers revealed the standards and inclusion agendas as competing discourses.

2. The Discourses

Teachers expressed a tension between the many discourses that contribute towards the story to which they subscribe.

The discourses they used are as follows:

1. *Experiential* - Major discourses come from the teacher's own life experience and connect with those of related

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professionals, so that Diane and Leslie, with their past family tensions, brought particular learnt "expert" discourses to their understanding of pupils presenting problems.

2. *Autobiographical* - These are individual and fixed at any point in time. Use of these discourses most often revealed a career cycle e.g. Neville with newly qualified status or Pauline who had deliberately chosen her teaching post.

3. *Ideological* - Teachers also bring a discourse of values, which may be religious faith, such as Val, or the desire to give something to society because they regard themselves as privileged, such as Helen, Lesley and Angela.

The above three discourses are personal; those that follow are professional.

4. *School Culture* - This has significant influence, as with Nicola, Julie and Lorna and refers to the way things are habitually done in a school, e.g. practices for dealing with behaviour or the ways colleagues relate to each other. Pupils and parents also have impact inasmuch as they too have generalised, habitual ways of behaving in and around school.

5. *External experts* – These may be particularly influential because they bring powerful discourses legitimated because they emanate from 'other' professionals. This was very apparent in the interview with Julie who speaks on numerous occasions about "diagnosis" of behaviour, bringing a psycho-medical perspective that commands prescription. These discourses do not always add to the repertoire of teacher discourses and may deepen existing ways of thinking, for example

> "I did speak to the EP about my relationship with Carrie. His advice was to look back at myself and to see …what my attitude to confrontation was …

In this example Sandy's challenge to look at herself became a means by which she understood why confrontation in the classroom had such a personal impact upon her. Unfortunately she used the challenge to fossilise her experiential / autobiographical discourses, i.e. *'I can't cope with confrontation because of my upbringing'.*

6. *Political* - These are often communicated through the media. The contributors towards political discourses are often competing between themselves, for example the Government agenda to reduce social exclusion can be interpreted as at odds with the teacher associations' pressure to reduce teacher workload and increase teachers' rights to teach.

Levitas (1998) defines three closely competitive discourses present in New Labour's early polemic concerning social exclusion:

a. redistributionist, where the focus is upon reducing poverty by the redistribution of wealth – this discourse was evidenced in the study by Angela with her "change in the pocket" narrative and by Helen and Lesley, both of whom wanted to put some of their own cultural wealth back into society through teaching.

b. social integrationist, where the cause is seen to be unemployment and the solution as involving people in paid work – this is evidenced less by individual teachers than by school systems that focus upon standards of attainment to equip young people for the world of work that follows school.

c. moral underclass view, where exclusion is embedded in the culture of the excluded and therefore needs

social change – this is evidenced by teachers expressing the view that the changes some pupils need are beyond school interventions alone. Because of the focus on the causal effects of pupils' home backgrounds, teachers in the interviews most often contributed the latter view.

There are many current political discourses inherent in my subject matter, including those borrowed from marketing about curriculum "delivery" and "value-added" factors.

7. *Moral Imperative* - This is a discourse that expresses the teacher's knowledge of what society expects, such as the need to keep order and enable children to learn positive values as a result of being at school. It is covertly related to the political discourse.

8. *Pedagogic discourse* – This is any occasion when a teacher talked about how they practise teaching, either in *theoretical* or *practical* terms. Bernstein (1990, 1996) argues that pedagogic discourse recontextualises other discourses to constitute its own order. It "transforms the actual into the virtual or imaginary" (Bernstein 1990:184). Put more simply, pedagogic discourse is the rule that embeds a discourse of skills (instructional) into that of social order (regulative) with the former being embedded in the latter and the regulative discourse being dominant. This means that the transmission of skills in the classroom is not different from the transmission of values. Bernstein's theory may go some way to explain why it seemed so difficult for teachers to describe to me *how* they include pupils presenting challenge in their classes and why they so quickly recontextualised the questions into a moral imperative about *why* they do so.

Figure 6 shows a map of the above discourses with the teacher at its centre.

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Figure 6: Model showing types of discourses present in the research data

Subset of professional discourses

THEORETICAL
e.g. values, structuring of
knowledge, curriculum

PRACTICAL
e.g. skills, behaviour

**MORAL
IMPERATIVE**
e.g. what society
expects

PEDAGOGIC
e.g. preferred teaching methods,
influences from training

PUPILS'
BACKGROUNDS

POLITICAL
e.g. Government, LEA
teacher unions

**SCHOOL
CULTURE**
e.g. colleagues,
pupils & parents

often communicated
through the media

**EXTERNAL
EXPERTS**
e.g. medical,
Educational Psychologists,
Inspectors

TEACHER'S
DISCOURSES ON
INCLUSION AND
CHALLENGING
BEHAVIOUR

Subset of personal discourses

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL
e.g. age, class, race

IDEOLOGICAL
e.g. faith, own value
systems

EXPERIENTIAL
e.g. life crises & opportunities

In practical terms political / pedagogic discourses were revealed when teachers in the sample talked about an oppositional culture from some pupils. Typically these are the children with whom adults in authoritarian positions just cannot seem to win. The Elton Report (DES / Welsh Office 1989) found in its enquiry that most teachers were concerned with the cumulative effects of disruption by trivial but persistent misbehaviour, and this remained an issue for teachers in my sample, enhanced twelve years later by the inclusion of an increasing number of hard-to-teach children and current curricular demands.

> I get upset when I've spent ...five hours planning over a weekend and thought out stunning lessons that are totally attractive, which are then ruined by a child having a fight and you haven't got another day to do it. (Lesley:18)

Here Lesley used the pedagogic / political discourse of the curriculum "deliverer" whose key function it is to teach a certain lesson on a given day, with time not on her side. Although Julie agonised over her communicative function as a teacher, she drew her discourse from the same influences as she explained the need to teach certain concepts to unwilling learners with time an ever-present barrier.

> I think not knowing ... how to unlock the door, it's so hard, or if you do find the key one day, another day it just doesn't work and it's that constant thinking up of strategies that takes time and effort and energy of how ... to get through to the children ... waking up in the middle of the night thinking ..."I've got it, I'm going to try this strategy tomorrow when I go into the class of how to unlock the door". (Julie:12)

Five discourses were apparent in all interviews to a greater or lesser extent: autobiographical, experiential, pedagogic, school culture and the moral imperative. Pedagogic discourse was often limited to discussion about skills and techniques with theoretical discourse absent. The political discourse sometimes acted as a tension to inclusion; at others it provided a focus for change, for example with Angela. I noticed that ideological and external expert discourses were often absent but where these were apparent, they often proved useful and this observation became one of the implications from the research findings.

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3. The Constructs

Constructs are a uniquely personal means to distinguish similarity from difference in order empirically to make sense of our world at any one point in time. Appendix One presents as repertory grids all the constructs elicited from my participants – two from the teachers in the pilot study, eight from the main study and two from Handley Green, where findings were further explored. When collated, these show that teachers are concerned with the challenge of pupils' physical and verbal aggression, which they variously describe as rude, offensive, angry and disruptive, as well as the times when children show distress and anxiety, for example by running out of the room or refusing to work. The teachers who described this behaviour found it difficult to know how to respond, since their view was that the non-compliant child could not be ignored, but dealing with the incident affected others and sometimes provoked an escalation in misbehaviour. Teachers are also concerned when children avoid work or threaten the harmony of the classroom by taking control through attention-seeking behaviour or by being unkind to other children. A number of teachers pointed out that behaviour could be both deliberately manipulative and intentionally confrontational.

A frequency table showing the negative pole constructs that were most often elicited is shown as Figure 7. Some constructs describe the emotional needs of the individual expressing the behaviour (*labelled Em*) while some describe the functions achieved as a result of the behaviour (*labelled F*). Most constructs describe behaviour in terms of its effects *(labelled E)*, showing that the predominant concern was for group cohesion. Other concerns were for the individual and for the teacher specifically.

Figure 7: Frequency of commonly expressed negative pole constructs
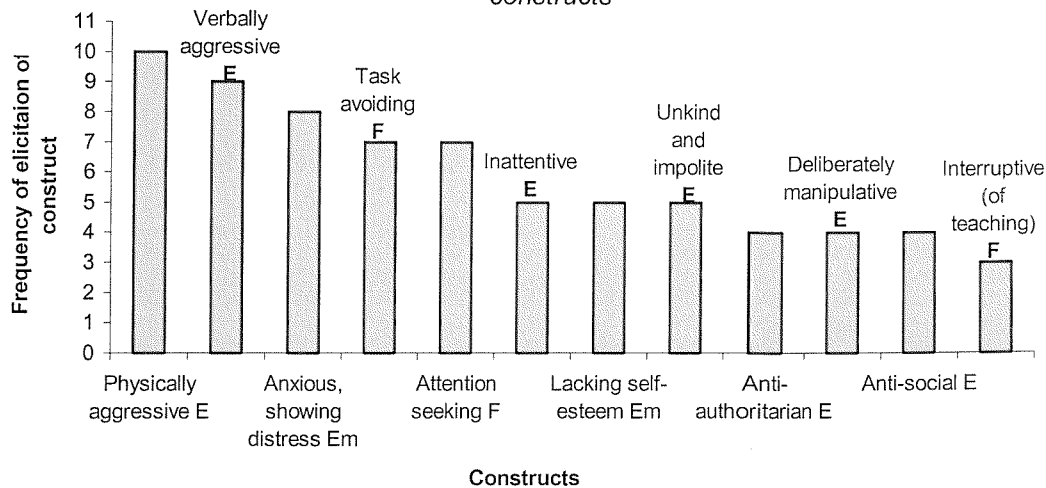
Figure 8 displays the frequency of teachers' descriptions about pupil behaviour at the positive ends of the poles, describing what may well be the "ideal pupil". For example, children who are polite, cooperative and kind are necessarily social and friendly. Teachers described cooperative behaviour as teacher-friendly, thereby facilitating teaching and learning, while social behaviour is peer-directed, enabling classroom cohesion.

Figure 8: Frequency of commonly expressed positive pole constructs
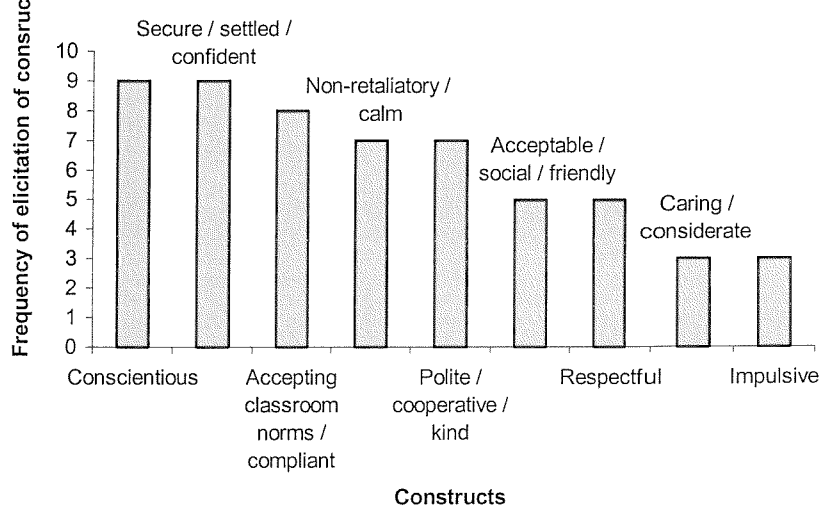
What is clear is that teachers value those children who are good learners and accept authority, drawing from closely related discourses – pedagogic and moral. Because teachers invest so much energy striving for classroom cohesion, they value the qualities that enable this to be fostered. Curiously, some negative behaviours were also described at the positive pole ends of the constructs; indicating for example that teachers can be tolerant of children reacting impulsively. While the charts show frequency of word use by teachers, it should not be interpreted that teachers hold the same meanings of the constructs.

The constructs either reflected the role teachers perceived they had to uphold, in terms of desired personal, social and moral characteristics that are important for group cohesion, or were concerned with pedagogic interests, such as ensuring pupils are receptive learners or are maintaining teachers' own authority in the classroom.

4. The Epiphanies

Cumulative experience of challenge does not necessarily make for a cumulative epiphany. Nine of my twelve teachers reported cumulative and / or minor 'epiphanies' in relation to the topic. This was not a surprise since teaching is emotional work, but what was more interesting was how the epiphanies were managed. For some the accumulation of meeting challenge became major, notably with Toni, whose current personal epiphanies collided with her professional work and she could not continue without significant change in the form of an extended period of absence from school.

Personal epiphanies are underpinned by significant experiential / autobiographical discourses, as with Lesley and Angela whose personal epiphanies were brought to bear upon their professional life in their understanding of pupil behaviour. These teachers agonised over their pupils' emotions and their own feelings about teaching these children. It seems likely that the private painful time in a teacher's personal life gives access to constructs and discourses about their own and their loved

ones' behaviour to which they match their pupils' behaviours, giving perspectives way beyond the classroom and their school.

Summary

My teachers talked often about how short of time they are to do their job well. They resented the interruptions to teaching and to the learning of their class caused by children who are oppositional to the rules and expectations of school. Teachers want to make a difference to the lives of pupils and this includes those children they find challenging, *to a point*. To what point they are prepared and able to be adaptive depends upon the individual, both as a person and as a professional. Inclusive school cultures value and develop teachers professionally and personally.

This chapter has addressed some of the typifications of the research participants. It has shown they share the same concerns talking about their work to include in their classes pupils whose behaviour presents significant and sustained challenge and understand this phenomenon in similar ways. Teachers make meaning and sense of including hard to teach pupils through their use of stories and discourses, by implementing and adapting constructs to take into account episodes of professional challenge. However, these are all shaken fervently by epiphanies that cause teachers, both as people and professionals, to change in individual ways. There are many factors that contribute – factors concerning the school's own culture, into which this study has delved, the teacher's professional and life experiences, their background, personal characteristics and the interaction of all of these, which is the focus of the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER NINE: IMPLICATIONS

This chapter sets out what might be learnt from the research data in order for education managers and policy makers in schools and LEAs to ensure the inclusion agenda is not seen by classroom practitioners as a challenge that they cannot overcome. In this chapter I propose how discourses can be made more effective for the benefit of teachers and children.

The preceding chapter demonstrated that teachers share common understandings of challenging pupil behaviour, as shown by their constructs and discourses. Discourses matter because these are the means to articulate the 'problem' of including such of pupils, summed up in Angela's statement, "Inclusion can't mean children who are violent, outwardly aggressive so others are in danger" (12). And yet, we have read that such pupils are being included and often successfully, if not without pain for the teachers who achieve this. The interviews reveal that teachers are striving to be effective for pupils presenting behavioural difficulties, often explained by the special reward they have as a result of a relationship with a challenging child. For Julie it "absolutely filled (*her)* with joy to have his little blue eyes stare into mine and to sort of be able to kind of connect at times" (38), while for Lesley a recent teacher-pupil relationship has made her "lifted, totally hit ... brilliant, which is what it's about" (52). These are perhaps new sorts of epiphanies, life-changing moments that positively strike the recipient.

The evidence from Chapters Five, Six and Seven has identified a typology of teachers' perspectives showing how they respond to the challenges of pupils' behaviour. It certainly requires further testing beyond my twelve participants and the two in the pilot study, but enabled me to group the range of teachers' generalised responses to and perspectives about the challenge of pupil behaviour. These were:
   a. Sceneshifter - the teacher or target pupil goes,

b. Inner changemaker - the teacher adopts new working practices, and

c. Scene-blocker - the teacher has such self-belief in pupil management that challenges are part of the routine of the job.

Handley Green showed me that teachers moved in and out of types, especially as their careers advanced and further helped by the current teacher shortage. It was with this theme in mind that I sought to bring closure to a few of the human stories with which I had interacted for some months.

Research Postscript

Two terms following my research at Cutlers Lane, all three of the interviewed teachers, the headteacher and deputy had left. Anyone reading the interview transcripts would not find this a surprise. Teachers were gridlocked in their discourses and the only way the coping teacher could survive was to move on, one way or another. Had Lesley stayed she is likely to have repeated the same set of experiences over and over, recycling the same set of discourses, since there were no opportunities to practise further and potentially more helpful discourses. As a school with LEA intensive support, there were many "experts" on hand with the capacity to offer the discourses, but as outsiders it seems unlikely they could permeate what was a strong and defensive culture of numerous staff experiencing epiphanies in their careers. The "experts" had become part of the pressure and not of the solution. For pupils there was a rising tide of exclusions and the school progressed to be the highest excluding primary school in the LEA.

Three terms after my research, Woodham was also excluding a growing number of children. It seems that the behaviour policy had become a discourse in its own right, restricting ability to develop a more useful pedagogic discourse that connected understandings both of teaching and learning, behaviour, emotions and inclusion.

Toni was returning to school on a part-time basis, building her physical strength and shortly due to return to her class full-time. The year group was still regarded as challenging, but additional staff had been recruited so that pupils' needs were more easily met. The explanation subsequently attached to the year group's difficulties was that there had been many in-comers from neighbouring schools, substantially changing pupil culture.

I now had the final piece of the puzzle in order to suggest the implications of my research findings.

Cooperative and Connective Pedagogues

When I embarked upon my journey through this research I planned to uncover perceptions and discourses about pupil behaviour that would provide insight for those who manage schools and make school policies. Within the first interview my own intersubjectivity was fully challenged by meeting and interviewing Nicola who was perceived in her school as an effective teacher but such was her desperation about managing pupils' challenging behaviour that she felt she could no longer go on teaching. Nicola was followed by Sandy, who had already decided to move somewhere with less challenge and soon by Carol, with her relived epiphany and finally by Toni with her personal / professional collision. One third of my teachers were in different stages of crisis about the challenges they either face or had faced, and still feared. What was painfully apparent with these teachers was a significant incongruence between teacher, children and school (Etzioni and Lehman 1980). With the exception of Toni, the institutional culture had not enabled these teachers to avoid the route of "fear, blame and shame as coping strategies" and for whom it indeed became "more difficult to *think* professionally" (Hanko 2002:27).

Corbett 2001 suggests a "connective pedagogy" as one that
> draws from many sources according to suitability. It is student-
> led not teacher-led ... The connectiveness extends to

emotional literacy, to understanding the connections between our feelings, our reasoning and our motivation.

(op.cit. p.115)

Arising from my research findings I want to urge for more cooperative, as well as connective pedagogues. Cooperative pedagogues are those teachers who can be inclusive of pupils *and of their colleagues too*, balancing individual support of their peers with the wider interests of the school's team of staff. We have witnessed such people in this research – teachers who give and receive support to pupils and peers, some helped by their school's ethos, such as Julie and Lorna, and others helped by their personal autobiographies, such as Angela. Connective pedagogues personalise teaching and learning so that it meets group and individual needs whilst reaching out to include and develop all learners (Ainscow 1998), both adult and child.

It is important that we recognise there are many ways to be a good practitioner (Fullan and Hargreaves 1992) but what has seemed to define these in my study is the ability to worry over ideas about pedagogy and inclusion until they are connected. My findings show teacher development to be critical in both a personal and professional sense so teachers can access and develop the discourses that help them to be cooperative pedagogues, forming effective school teams to be the effective teachers for all pupils (Mortimore et al. 1988, Ainscow 1991) that they themselves are all striving to be. Where I located these teachers they were less concerned with behaviour management than with adapting their pedagogy to the individual in ways that did not over-compromise the group. Such teachers also saw benefits for the class to adapt to an individual so that cooperation rather than competition was their frame of reference.

Scene-blockers Revealed

Hearing and re-hearing the descriptions of epiphanies was a challenge to the objectivity I tried to maintain as researcher and caught my own emotions at times. However, I puzzled longer over the scene-blocking

perspective because the emotional responses to pupil challenge seemed so very different from the recall of my own. I admired the teachers' ability to maintain such a professional distance but puzzled about a seeming lack of connectedness about pedagogy, inclusion and behaviour. In response to my question in the prologue "What is going on here", I offer the following interpretation.

The scene-blocker perspective was most noticeable in three teachers, two deputies (including one from the pilot study) and one male teacher just concluding his first year in the profession. It was quite clear that these teachers all had experience of serious incidents of challenging behaviour. The position of being a deputy may have much to do with the need to be seen publicly to cope, to "manage incidents before they reach the head" was Marion's' description. Perhaps this self-perception is the same for new teachers, a need to be seen to manage and not to own up to private anxieties. It requires further research to determine how senior managers and newly qualified teachers view inclusion and challenging behaviour. My study can only hint at what may be. By the same token, Neville may be aspirational and seek early career promotion, so that being seen to cope is important.

Neville's scene blocking was dissimilar from Helen and Marion inasmuch as he was inclined to use blame, consistently linking pupils' home backgrounds to their behaviour thus blaming parents, and blaming systems for the inclusion of such children. What seems most likely is that this approach is part of his early career cycle in being determined to cope with a difficult class. Other examples of scene blocking came from Val, who doesn't "do stress any more" and Pauline who would only teach in her current school where she trusts the headteacher. These represent clear choices of experienced teachers who know what they will and will not tolerate in their professional lives. Like all human behaviour the scene blocking served its functions, enabling teachers to go about their work. What seems important to learn from my scene blockers is that the institutional cultures of schools should challenge all teachers to render

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key incidents as critical, as this is the place where learning occurs on both professional and personal levels.

Unlocking Epiphanies

At the conclusion of my journey, it seems that within the context and limitations of my research the importance of its findings is primarily to help teachers currently locked into an epiphany that relates to pupils' challenging behaviour. In a school that is including pupils whose behaviour is significantly challenging, teachers who have successfully come through a 'crisis' can provide support to their colleagues as cooperative pedagogues. The ability to import and 'pool' autobiographical details from either personal or professional lives allows discourses to unlock, new ones to evolve and become connected to those that are already in place. This enables epiphanies to be reframed away from the closure of competition. What schools and outside agencies must do to supporting the inclusion of children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties is to give teachers the opportunities to "think" differently (Hanko 2002). My research proposes they must have increased access to useful discourses and thereby develop their constructs, so they have increasing understanding of their own and their pupils' emotions, behaviour and entitlements. What seems likely is that schools that are inclusive and developmental for teachers and support staff are therefore most able to be inclusive for pupils, improving quality irrespective of the quantity of allocated resources.

Schools on the opposite end of the supportive spectrum are revealed through Cutlers Lane, which has lost staff and children, as individuals feel increasingly unsupported and marginalized in an atmosphere of pressure to raise standards that has become almost stifling for teachers. This has resulted in a high turnover of staff and increasing numbers of pupil exclusions. At a time when there is a shortage of teachers, perhaps the biggest market place challenge of all is that teachers can easily move to other posts and outlive their epiphanies.

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For pupils with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties and their parents the cost of exclusion is high, and they risk disaffection with education in general and schools in particular. Policy makers and shakers at Governmental, LEA and school level need overtly to join the standards, behaviour and inclusion agendas so that they are not seen in competition with each other. Too often where inclusion and pedagogy are linked, pupils with challenging behaviour are left out. If "discourses construct the target group" (Dyson 1999:47), then for teachers the target group very largely includes those with troubling behaviour:

> I tend to think of behaviour linked with inclusion rather than other learning difficulties ... and I tend to think very challenging, the whole idea of inclusion obviously getting children with very challenging behaviour back into mainstream. (Sandy:6)

> When I think of inclusion I think of a child who has difficulties in fitting in with the classroom environment ... it can be for learning difficulties, it can be for behaviour and quite often the learning can link to behaviour ... (Carol:16)

Conclusion

The study has researched teachers' perspectives about including children whose behaviour is challenging. Such children present teachers with a range of responses that have been typified in terms of stories and personal constructs and are reified through their discursive practices. I have shown that teachers can and do change their perspectives. Handley Green also demonstrated a culture where inclusion for all was an expectation and unquestionable right, supporting its teachers at times of professional and personal crisis. The main responsibility to ensure that teachers have access to all possible discourses, in order to make such connections and reframe critical incidents and epiphanies, falls to leaders and managers in schools. It needs to be part of the school's day-to-day practice.

The study concludes with a number of implications for school senior managers, support agencies and beyond to encourage them to ensure teachers have access to discourses that are useful with regard to pedagogy, inclusion, and pupil behaviour / emotions. Teachers often experience critical incidents and epiphanies with regard to pupils'

behaviour and these represent key career moments for professional development. Schools can support their teachers to become more effective by pooling personal and professional autobiographies so that teachers' lives become a resource in their own right to sustain inclusion. The cost of not providing such support is that effective teachers may move on and out of the school and / or that pupils may be increasingly excluded from their community. Angela said, "I believe inclusion is about teaching" (67). If I were starting this research project now from this point the real question would not be whether "it is teachers or teaching that make a difference, what kind of difference and how?" (Hextall and Mahony 1998:139) since clearly both do, but would be *"what kind of connections do teachers make about teaching and inclusion, who do they include and how?"*

In the introduction I set out to determine what teachers understand about the inclusion of children I knew to be the least wanted in our schools. The intention was to find out teachers' perspectives in the context of their school's culture. I hope readers will judge that this study has contributed to greater understanding of the practices and perspectives teachers have about inclusion, and how these can successfully be developed. I hope it inspires all who determine educational policy and practice to ensure discourses are both cooperative and connective, for the benefit of teachers and pupils alike.

Epilogue
I began the research enquiry with two main beliefs:
1. that children with challenging behaviour should be in mainstream schools wherever possible, as exclusion in any form marginalizes them from their community.
2. that teachers are vital to realise educational inclusion and it was therefore important to analyse their perspectives in order to assist the process of inclusion, which for me means enabling an increasing number of young people to participate as fully as

possible in the life and curriculum of their local, community (i.e. mainstream) school.

These beliefs were the result of years of teaching experience in different schools in a range of posts that told me how difficult the task is. I recalled that in my own career I have not always managed to include all learners and knew how badly I had felt at those times. I feel that Lorna spoke for most teachers by saying she would want her child educated in a mainstream school but agree too with Lesley,

> You can't push inclusion in if you haven't got the benefit of the workers; you know you can't bring in new rules if it's totally abhorrent to the people that are trying to do the job (16).

Making teachers the focus of my research was my means to value them as the key to implementing inclusion. My final stories illustrate why education managers should work with teachers to value inclusion for all children, even the very hardest to teach. Neville was a newly qualified teacher coming to terms with inclusion and feeling at this point in his career and *in this school* that it is right for some and not for others.

> … the whole thing about inclusion I think it's good but every case is different, yet we're including them, what are we including them in? Well we're including them being in the site with everyone else, I don't think we're including them in the curriculum, we're including them with being in society and that's the important thing, so that's why they should be here but when it gets so far that it's just every day it's mucking up the other children … I mean there's Graham, he needs one person with him all the time, which we are kind of doing but that drains the school a lot, so yes it's good to have them here but possibly, I don't know not all the time, maybe …I'm saying it's right for certain children but there's an extreme that I don't think it is right for either party, whereas Josh … benefits from being here definitely and we are working with him and we are changing him or managing him but somebody like Barry or possibly Timothy, which are more violent …I'm not sure in this school anyway, I don't know, I'm inexperienced but from him being in my class I could quite happily see him go somewhere else because it was so hard to deal with although I know in his next class now he's hardly ever there, so I feel it's good but for certain children and the extremes, I don't think I agree with (100-102).

Neville would probably be surprised to learn, as I was, that following Barry's move to another mainstream school, he attended well and without a further behavioural incident. Woodham did not value this pupil and had no aspirations that he could be successfully included in a mainstream school.

Lesley has a few years experience behind her and is driven by aspects of her autobiography that compel her to want to include even the most challenging of pupils. She shared the same idea as a number of research participants that she wants to put back into society some of her own good fortune.

> ... one of the big problems of trying to get inclusion to work is getting through the mind-set of people who think all children should be taught carte blanche and they should be ... sat at the front, looking forward and I don't think a lot of people ... actually stop and think about what is going on ... "What right have they got to muck my class up?" Well, being that their mum's a drug pusher and their dad's in prison and you're the only, if you can't make that 8 hours of their life fantastic then ... what's the other 16 going to be like you know? I just get very, very angry with people like that and I want to shout and people say to me "oh you teach in Cutlers Lane? "Yes and I love it". "Blimey I wouldn't do that for a million pounds". "Well if you actually did do it you'd probably find it absolutely fantastic and rewarding" (72-74).

How sad that Lesley's school did not have the supportive culture that could value and keep her teaching in a place where six months earlier she was proud to say she worked.

I was privileged that teachers opened their hearts to me to tell me about how hard they work to be inclusive and to admit when it sometimes didn't work. Many interviews sent me home in emotional turmoil. I defy anyone not to be affected by Lorna's account of being punched when she was pregnant or Nicola's feelings that she could not go on any longer, or Lesley describing how she cried about her "Looked After Child" leaving her class, and I have relived those emotions every time I have worked through the tapes and the transcripts. This study has referred to only a fraction of the interview transcripts but I hope it has done justice to a set of people for whom I have the greatest admiration.

APPENDIX ONE: REPERTORY GRIDS

N.B. Figures 9 and 10 are those of teachers in the pilot study

*Figure 9: Display of **Diane's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours*

1	Permitting teaching	4	1	1	2	1	5	2	5	4	5	3	3	2	1	4	1	Interruptive
2	Feeling secure	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	5	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	5	Showing anxiety
3	Social	5	4	1	1	4	5	5	2	5	3	5	5	4	1	2	1	Anti-social
4	Inoffensive	4	4	1	1	4	5	5	2	5	3	5	5	4	1	2	1	Offensive
5	Passive	5	5	2	1	4	5	5	2	5	3	5	5	5	1	4	2	Aggressive
6	Impersonal	5	5	2	2	5	3	5	1	4	4	5	5	5	1	1	3	Personal

Refusing to work
Frequently moving out of place
Frequent pencil sharpening
Making rude gestures
Swearing at someone
Hitting/poking/kicking
Calling out/interrupting
Stealing property
Running out of the class
Name-calling
Damaging furniture / books
Laughing when someone is hurt
Not listening to instructions / teacher input
Ignoring teacher prompt
Pushing / shoving
Throwing objects

Notes

- Diane identified construct 1 as pre-emptive; 2, 3, 4 and 6 as constellatory; and 5 as propositional.
- During the elicitation she used many of the same incidents of behaviour and referred to the same children as in interview one. This confirmed my intention that the RGT process would triangulate the data.
- Diane added useful information about contexts in which challenging behaviour occurred, e.g. transition times and this assisted with some of the questioning in the subsequent data collection.

*Figure 10: Display of **Helen's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours*

1	Participating in lesson	5	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	3	4	5	Not participating with lesson
2	Disrupting others	2	1	5	5	2	2	1	2	2	4	1	1	2	5	4	5	Disrupting self
3	Showing self-esteem	4	4	2	4	3	4	3	5	3	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	Lacking self-esteem
4	Incidental	1	2	5	5	1	2	3	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	4	4	Habit-forming
5	Showing compliance	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	5	3	3	5	4	4	3	4	4	Showing boredom, frustration, anger

Refusing to work

Frequently moving out of place

Frequent pencil sharpening

Making rude gestures

Swearing at someone

Hitting /poking / kicking

Calling out / interrupting

Stealing property

Running out of the class

Name-calling

Damaging furniture / books

Laughing when someone is hurt

Not listening to instructions / teacher input

Ignoring teacher prompt

Pushing / shoving

Throwing objects

Notes

- Helen consistently referred to her experience as she scaled the behaviours to the constructs.
- She explained that most behaviours do not occur when lessons are taking place but that calling out / interrupting are those behaviours that most impede teaching.
- Construct 1 and 2 were identified as pre-emptive; construct 3 was propositional and 3, 4 and 5 were constellatory.
- In direct contrast to interview one, Helen said that she prefers to deal with incidents rather than manage habitual behaviours. This illustrated to me that constructs were not always supported by the teacher's discourses.

Figure 11: Display of **Nicola's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

1	Caring considerate	1	4	1	5	5	5	5	-	-	4	3	-	1	3	2	-	3	Lacking empathy
2	Conscientious	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	4	5	-	-	4	3	-	5	5	3	Avoiding work
3	Acceptable, social	3	5	2	5	5	4	3	2	5	5	4	2	2	5	4	5	2	Unacceptable, Anti-social
4	Respectful	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	2	5	5	-	2	5	-	-	5	3	Disrespectful (to teacher)
5	Non-retaliatory	-	5	-	5	-	4	-	-	3	5	4	-	2	4	4	3	-	Aggressive, competitive
6	Polite, cooperative	4	5	3	5	5	3	3	3	5	5	3	-	4	5	4	5	3	Rude, disruptive
7	Impulsive	1	1	2	5	5	4	1	3	5	5	2	3	4	4	3	5	2	Deliberate, confrontational
8	Accepting classroom norms	-	5	-	4	4	-	-	3	5	-	4	3	4	-	4	5	-	Taking control
9	Compliant	5	5	-	5	-	4	5	-	5	4	-	-	5	5	5	5	3	Showing off

Refusing to work

Talking to self / others

Throwing objects

Making rude gestures

Ignoring teacher prompt

Frequent pencil sharpening

Pushing / shoving

Damaging furniture / books

Running out of the class

Frequently moving out of place

Laughing when someone is hurt

Name-calling

Stealing property

Swearing at someone

Not listening to instructions / teacher input

Hitting / poking / kicking

Calling out / interrupting

Notes

- Both constructs 1 and 2 were identified as constellatory, those most likely to contain Nicola's stereotypes.
- Construct 3 was identified as propositional, those that are most likely to cause her to probe reasons for the behaviour and determine a response over time.
- Construct 6 was identified as pre-emptive, the one that most prejudices Nicola's response to pupil challenges i.e. "this child is choosing to ignore me personally, and so must be excluded from my classroom."
- Construct 8 was a propositional construct.
- Nicola did not choose to place all behaviours within the constructs that explained negative classroom behaviour. Only constructs 3 and 7 were able to enclose all behavioural incidents, which seemed to indicate these were currently important to her in the context of Cutlers Lane.

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- A match of more than 70% exists between constructs 3 and 6, 3 and 7, 6 and 7, 2 and 4. This suggests few explanations of negative pupil behaviour and a stereotypical view that the pupil is being deliberately anti-social and rude.

- Nicola described generic moral values at the positive ends of the poles. At the negative ends Nicola focused upon those adjectives that described the effect of the behaviour on her or her class.

- Five of her nine constructs (2, 4, 6, 8 and 9) related to pupil regard for teacher autonomy, which was further evidenced by her discourses, reflecting this as Nicola's biggest area of professional concern at the time of the interview.

- The remaining constructs indicated concern that behaviour is contrary to the group's cohesion. She placed little emphasis upon the needs revealed by the behaviour.

- Of the behaviours that cause most concern, Nicola gave running out of the class the highest score. Those children who avoid work through low-level behaviours, are least challenging, and she may well be dismissive of these pupils.

Figure 12: Display of **Sandy's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

1	Concentrated& focussed	5	3	4	3	4	4	2	5	5	5	3	4	3	4	5	5	Diversionary
2	Responsive to teacher	5	3	5	3	2	3	3	2	5	3	3	1	5	5	3	5	Confrontational, manipulative
3	Feeling safe, secure	3	5	3	4	4	1	2	5	5	5	4	4	3	3	5	4	Stress-induced
4	Conducive to teaching and learning	5	4	5	3	2	5	2	4	5	3	4	3	4	2	5	3	Interruptive of teaching & learning
5	Passive, respectful	2	5	2	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	5	1	1	2	5	2	Physical, disrespectful
6	Kind, polite, caring	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	3	5	3	5	2	5	5	5	5	Unkind, impolite
7	Impersonal	2	5	1	5	5	5	5	1	1	1	5	1	1	5	5	1	Bullying (person-specific)
8	Accepting group needs	5	3	4	3	4	2	2	4	5	4	3	3	4	4	5	5	Attention-seeking
9	Accepting authority	5	3	5	5	2	5	2	5	5	2	2	2	5	5	5	5	Anti-authority

Refusing to work
Throwing objects
Making rude gestures
Ignoring teacher prompt
Frequent pencil sharpening
Pushing / shoving
Damaging furniture / books
Running out of the class
Frequently moving out of place
Laughing when someone is hurt
Name-calling
Stealing property
Swearing at someone
Not listening to instructions / teacher input
Hitting / poking / kicking
Calling out / interrupting

Notes

- Construct 1 was propositional with behaviours that required some investigation.
- At the negative end of construct 2, Sandy explained that it included ideas of children being deliberately inattentive to her.
- The negative pole of construct 3 includes children 'seeking flight' from the classroom, which was Sandy's first description. She identified this as a constellatory construct with behaviours that could serve many functions.
- Sandy identified Construct 4 as pre-emptive.
- Sandy made particular mention that construct 5 showed disrespect of space, which she interpreted as a negative physical act. This too was a pre-emptive construct comprising behaviours she interpreted as requiring her immediate response.

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- Sandy identified construct 8 as propositional.
- When placing behaviours within the grid Sandy would often say, "well it depends how you look at it", acknowledging that behaviour occurs in a context and since she often found it difficult to make a decision about how she interpreted a behaviour, I encouraged her to use recent contexts all the way through the process. She was the only teacher (outside of the pilot study) able to enclose all behaviours within all constructs.
- A 90% match occurred with Sandy's propositional constructs, numbers 1 and 8 and an 80% match between 1 and 3, 2 and 8, 4 and 8, and 6 and 9. This meant, for example, when behaviour is diversionary, it is also attention-seeking and indicates a child is in distress; where it is perceived as confrontational, it is also attention-seeking, which interrupts teaching and learning; if it is unkind, this is anti-authority. These matches also suggest that class cohesion matters to Sandy.
- There were significant matches between all constructs, with none matching less than 55%, which was unusual among the sample of teachers and indicated that behaviours were perceived as interlinked, with one transgression leading to another and often having many explanations.
- Surprisingly, given Sandy's comments about physical aggression, the grid shows that she placed most significance on throwing objects and running out of class. She was least concerned by low-level behaviours such as frequent pencil sharpening that are easily controlled and understood within her pedagogic practice.

Figure 13: Display of *Lesley's* Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

1	Engaged	2	4	4	3	4	3	2	4	5	4	3	4	5	3	4	5	Disengaged
2	Over-familiar	2	-	-	5	-	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Verbally aggressive, offensive
3	Rushing to complete	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	4	5	4	-	4	5	-	-	5	Task-avoiding
4	Over-confident	1	-	1	4	4	4	3	-	5	4	-	-	4	4	-	4	Lacking self-esteem
5	Feeling secure	1	4	5	3	4	3	3	3	5	4	4	3	4	3	4	5	Not coping, distressed
6	Socialised	3	4	3	4	5	3	3	-	5	4	4	-	3	3	4	3	Poorly socialised
7	Over-endearing	-	5	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	3	4	-	Physically aggressive
8	Over-fussy	-	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	2	3	-	-	3	Lacking self-pride

Refusing to work

Throwing objects

Ignoring teacher prompt

Making rude gestures

Frequent pencil sharpening

Pushing / shoving

Damaging furniture / books

Running out of the class

Frequently moving out of place

Laughing when someone is hurt

Name-calling

Stealing property

Swearing at someone

Not listening to instructions / teacher input

Hitting / poking / kicking

Calling out / interrupting

Notes

- Lesley identified both constructs 1 and 2 as pre-emptive, thereby demanding an immediate teacher response.
- She identified construct 3 as propositional, which meant she is likely to worry over behaviour thus identified.
- Construct 4 is constellatory with behaviour along this pole serving many functions.
- Again, construct 6 is constellatory, which when identified, contained ideas about poor parenting at the negative end and having social values and skills at the positive end.
- Lesley identified construct 7 as pre-emptive, propositional and constellatory – such behaviour demands her immediate response, as well as one over time.
- Lesley's second interview was unique among the PCT interviews in that she chose negative ends of the poles for five of her eight constructs.

- Her repertory grid shows a match of more than 70% for constructs 1, 5 and 6. The constructs that contained all negative behaviours were constructs 1 and 5, which indicated that Lesley has a high level of concern for the feelings of each individual in her class, and is consistent with her discourses.
- Pupils who frequently move out of place were of least concern and those causing most concern damaged property.
- Lesley's positive poles indicated that she did not seem to grasp at a notion of an ideal pupil and perhaps settled for what was "normal" in her experience.
- The words Lesley chose to describe the constructs focus upon the outcome of the behaviour for the individual and by default for her class, suggesting the desire to meet individual needs is uppermost in Lesley's mind. These come from the theoretical pedagogic discourses she is striving to develop as part of her SENCo role in order to understand pupil behaviour.

Figure 14: Display of *Angela's* Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

1	Even-tempered	3	4	3	4	3	4	3	2	5	5	4	2	4	4	5	4	Angry
2	Respectful of property	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	Disregarding of property
3	Conscientious	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	4	-	-	4	Avoiding work
4	Attentive	3	-	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	4	5	-	-	-	Inattentive
5	Caring	-	5	2	4	4	-	3	3	5	4	3	2	4	3	5	-	Physical, aggressive
6	Considerate	4	-	-	5	-	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	Verbal, inconsiderate
7	Thinks before acting	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	2	5	4	3	2	1	2	5	1	Uncontrolled emotions
8	Secure	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	4	5	3	3	5	3	Lacking self-esteem
9	Confident	2	3	4	2	3	2	2	4	5	4	3	4	3	2	5	4	Fearing failure

Refusing to work

Throwing objects

Making rude gestures

Ignoring teacher prompt

Frequent pencil sharpening

Pushing / shoving

Damaging furniture / books

Running out of the class

Frequently moving out of place

Laughing when someone is hurt

Name-calling

Stealing property

Swearing at someone

Not listening to instructions / teacher input

Hitting / poking / kicking

Calling out / interrupting

Notes

- Angela's constructs revealed a focus upon maintaining a balance for the individual and the class. At the negative ends of some of the poles she described effects upon the class, others described the perceived cause of the behaviour and the remainder described the individual's emotions. At the positive end, like Nicola, she showed a mission to achieve responsible social / moral behaviour.
- Angela identified constructs 1, 5, 6, and 7 as pre-emptive; those containing behaviours that infringe the learning environment and demand a prompt teacher response.
- Constructs 1, 7 and 8 were also identified as constellatory.
- Constructs 2, 8 and 9 were propositional.
- Constructs 1, 7, 8 and 9 contained all of the behaviour elements and the

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positive poles expressed outcomes for which Angela feels responsible: concepts she tries to foster in her pastoral role.

- There is a match of more than 73% for constructs 1 and 8, 7 and 9, 8 and 9 and 1 and 9, making these a tight cluster, so that on three out of four occasions when she refers to one she will also mean another.
- Constructs 3 and 4 are 88% matched, making these almost synonymous in meaning.
- The repertory grid revealed that Angela is most concerned by damage to furniture and books and throwing objects. While these were not the worst behaviours that she described, more violent actions were rare in her class. She was least likely to be concerned by rude gestures and name-calling.
- Low-level behaviours that prevent children from learning were significant in Angela's class and provoked action.

Figure 15: Display of **Carol's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

#	Left pole																	Right pole
1	Compliant	5	-	5	-	5	-	-	3	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	Anti-authoritarian
2	Conscientious	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	5	5	-	-	5	4	-	3	5	Task-avoiding
3	Supportive	-	5	-	-	5	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Vindictive
4	Hot-headed (unintentional)	3	4	2	5	5	3	5	2	5	1	4	3	5	4	1	4	Manipulative (intentional)
5	Self-content	5	5	-	3	-	4	5	5	5	-	5	-	4	5	-	-	Seeking peer approbation
6	Calm	-	5	5	5	-	3	-	-	4	5	5	-	5	5	5	4	Angry, aggressive
7	Having good concentration	3	5	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	4	5	5	3	3	-	Having poor concentration
8	Contented	5	4	5	4	-	4	-	4	5	-	-	-	5	5	5	5	Attention-seeking

Refusing to work
Throwing objects
Making rude gestures
Ignoring teacher prompt
Damaging furniture / books
Frequent pencil sharpening
Pushing / shoving
Running out of the class
Frequently moving out of place
Name-calling
Laughing when someone is hurt
Stealing property
Swearing at someone
Not listening to instructions / teacher input
Hitting / poking / kicking
Calling out / interrupting

Notes

- Carol found this interview useful and was able during its length to reveal for herself how she reacted *personally* to pupil behaviour that directly challenged her. So, while stealing was identified as vindictive, intentional and going against authority, it was less of a challenge to her than the child who ran out of 'her' class.

- The construct elicitation revealed that certain behaviours provoked reaction because they are a challenge to her identity, for example running out of the class was perceived as a means to refuse to work, thereby ignoring the teacher; throwing objects is a means of not listening, and once again of ignoring the teacher. Other behaviours might be the result of other intentions on the pupils' behalf; nevertheless all were interpreted as having direct impact upon her teaching.

- The descriptors of Carol's constructs seem similar, for example seeking peer-approbation and attention, and yet on only three out of every five

occasions are these synonymous. During the interview Carol revealed that a pupil seeking attention from her was more acceptable than the pupil seeking it from peers. Thus, Carol identified construct 5 as pre-emptive because children who need attention from their classmates rather than from her present particular challenge.

- Only one construct contained all behaviours, concerning itself with whether an action is intentional or unintentional, tying in closely with her most disliked behaviour of ignoring a teacher prompt. She expected children in her class to follow *her* lead on behaviour and to accept her rules.
- The strongest match is between constructs 6 and 8 so that on 67% of occasions an attention-seeking child was also interpreted as aggressive.
- At the negative ends of the poles Carol has described children in conflict with her.
- Construct 4 was important to Carol, as it is both pre-emptive and constellatory. It was the first to be elicited.
- Carol selected construct 2 as her propositional construct, the one most likely to encourage her to probe for reasons behind the behaviour.
- Construct 7 was identified as propositional, since she felt there are many explanations for why children do not concentrate.

Figure 16: Display of **Neville's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

1	Eager to please	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	5	-	3	-	-	-	5	Task-avoiding
2	Thoughtful	-	5	4	4	4	4	5	-	-	4	5	-	4	4	4	-	Unkind
3	Conscientious	4	-	4	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	5	-	4	5	-	5	Disrespectful to teacher
4	Attentive	4	-	5	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	Inattentive
5	Calm, controlled	-	5	-	4	-	4	-	-	5	5	5	-	-	-	5	-	Angry, frustrated
6	Controlled	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	-	-	-	4	-	Physically violent
7	Independent	5	5	-	5	4	5	-	4	5	5	5	-	-	5	5	4	Attention-seeking
8	Self-directed	-	5	-	5	5	5	5	-	1	5	5	-	5	-	5	1	Directed at others
9	Happy, settled	4	5	-	3	5	3	3	3	5	5	5	3	-	3	5	4	Showing anxiety

Refusing to work
Throwing objects
Making rude gestures
Ignoring teacher prompt
Frequent pencil sharpening
Pushing / shoving
Damaging furniture / books
Running out of the class
Frequently moving out of place
Laughing when someone is hurt
Name-calling
Stealing property
Swearing at someone
Not listening to instructions / teacher input
Hitting / poking / kicking
Calling out / interrupting

Notes

- Neville's negative pole descriptions mostly described the effect of behaviour upon others. In construct 8, both ends of the pole are negative, but the child whose behaviour affects others is the one who most challenged Neville, as with most teachers.
- Children wasting their own time were more acceptable that those wasting teacher time.
- There is a strong match between constructs 5 and 6 and between 7 and 8, indicating that angry behaviour is often perceived by Neville as also being violent, and attention-seeking behaviour is directed at others. The strong similarity of perception was further evidenced through a repetition of similar ideas.
- Constructs 2 and 8, 5 and 7, and 5 and 8 have a 66% match, with 2 and 5, and 3 and 4 a little lower, so that when Neville described an angry, frustrated child he was most likely also to mean that the child is attention-seeking and directing his behaviour towards others, which was perceived in turn to be unkind.

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- Unusually, since construct 6 was not the first construct to be elicited, Neville described this as being pre-emptive and necessitating rapid response.
- Construct 9 was Neville's propositional construct and negative behaviours thus interpreted would cause him to probe for interpretations.
- Some constructs contain very few behaviours. It is remarkable that the first construct to be elicited contains only four elements of behaviour.
- Neville identified damaging books and property as his most concerning behaviour but did not describe it as a behaviour that he has experienced, it seems it is symptomatic of all physical behaviour. Pushing / shoving, hitting / poking and kicking are clearly also within this group of highly challenging behaviours.

Figure 17: Display of **Julie's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

#	Construct																			Contrast
1	Demonstrating understanding	5	3	5	-	-	-	-	5	5	3	2	4	4	4	5	4	-	5	Confused, frustrated, no understanding
2	Calm, passive	-	5	-	5	4	4	-	-	-	5	5	-	5	5	-	5	-	-	Aggressive
3	Empathetic	2	5	-	5	5	5	4	-	-	5	4	3	4	5	-	-	2	-	Unkind
4	Confident, assumed	4	5	2	5	5	4	3	3	5	5	3	4	4	5	5	5	2	5	Stressed
5	Sociable, polite	3	5	3	5	5	4	5	3	5	5	4	4	5	3	3	5	4	5	Anti-social, angry
6	Conforming	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	5	4	2	3	2	2	4	5	1	5	Non-deliberate but non-conforming
7	Compliant	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	-	-	-	Deliberately anti-authority
8	Emotional	5	2	3	1	1	2	5	5	5	2	3	5	2	4	4	5	4	5	Unemotional (autistic)
9	Secure, confident	4	4	5	5	-	4	4	2	5	4	4	3	5	5	5	5	3	5	Anxious, frightened

Column behaviours (left to right):

Calling out / interrupting
Hitting / poking / kicking
Not listening to instructions / teacher input
Swearing at someone
Stealing property
Name-calling
Laughing when someone is hurt
Frequently moving out of place
Running out of the class
Damaging furniture / books
Pushing / shoving
Ignoring teacher prompt
Making rude gestures
Throwing objects
Refusing to work
Self-harming
Reorganising objects
Rocking / flapping

Notes

- Julie did not feel that low-level time-wasting behaviours were an issue and so 'frequently sharpening pencils' was dismissed as uncommon amongst infant children.
- The repertory grid shows that when they occur, Julie was most concerned by behaviours that indicate anxiety such as running out of classroom and flapping, as well as by those that are anti-social and have impact upon class cohesion, such as damaging property and physical aggression. Evidence of this interpretation is the 83% match between behaviours described as anti-social, angry and stressed and anxious.

- Julie has only recently learned about autism and it seemed likely that her constructs have recently changed to admit new understanding of behaviour typical of children on the autistic spectrum, and as a result of access to new and more useful discourses. For example there is a 72% match between behaviours identified as autistic and non-deliberate, non-conforming. Such a strong similarity may even over-encourage Julie to think of such behaviours as autistic. There are some strong clusters of closely related constructs, revealed by similar descriptors.
- At the negative ends of the poles Julie often described what the behaviour might mean in emotional terms to the individual expressing it.
- At the positive ends she described not so much a pupil ideal to the teacher, but one with an ability to express emotions in a socially acceptable way.
- Construct 1 was unusual in that Julie began with a construct that was propositional, having an open-ended number of possibilities as to why a child might behave in such a way.
- Both constructs 2 and 3 were pre-emptive and constellatory.
- Construct 4 was one of a group of constructs that enclosed all behaviours and had a strong similarity of more than 80% with construct 5 so that when Julie describes a child as angry, 4 times of 5, she will deduce that the child is stressed.

Figure 18: Display of **Lorna's** Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

	Construct (left)																			Construct (right)
1	Compliant, conforming	5	5	4	5	5	4	3	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	4	-	-	-	Naughty, testing boundaries
2	Having friends	5	-	5	-	-	4	4	4	-	-	-	4	4	3	-	-	-	-	Seeking friends
3	Self-controlled	3	5	4	5	4	4	3	-	5	5	4	3	4	5	5	-	5	4	Angry
4	Calm, collected, comfortable	-	4	-	3	-	-	-	3	4	4	4	-	-	4	-	5	5	5	Frustrated, distressed
5	Permits teaching and learning	4	5	4	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	4	3	3	5	4	5	5	3	Interruptive
6	Mature, ready to learn	-	4	5	-	-	3	-	5	-	3	-	5	3	4	-	-	-	-	Immature, poor concentration
7	Confident, high self-esteem	2	4	4	4	-	4	3	-	5	5	-	4	-	4	5	5	5	-	Low self-esteem, fearing failure
8	Kind / socially aware	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	-	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	5	4	5	Unkind, ego-centric, poor social skills
9	Responding appropriately	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	4	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	-	5	-	Attention seeking

Column labels (left to right):
- Calling out / interrupting
- Hitting / poking / kicking
- Not listening to instructions / teacher input
- Swearing at someone
- Stealing property
- Name-calling
- Laughing when someone is hurt
- Frequently moving out of place
- Running out of the class
- Damaging furniture / books
- Pushing / shoving
- Ignoring teacher prompt
- Making rude gestures
- Throwing objects
- Refusing to work
- Flapping / rocking
- Self-harming
- Reorganising property

Notes

- The repertory grid reveals very strong clusters of constructs, with constructs 1 and 9 having a match of 80%, as did constructs 3 and 5, and 3 and 9.
- Constructs 1 and 3, 1 and 5 and 5 and 9 have a 75% match. Thus constructs 1, 3, 5 and 9 are interchangeable on at least 3 out of every 4

occasions, so that a naughty child was also perceived as angry, interruptive and attention seeking.

- Construct 2 described a reason for behaviour that is unique in the sample. This has a 70% match with construct 6, so that children who have friends were usually also seen as mature.
- Some constructs, such as 8 are pertinent, as they described the challenges presented by autism, as well as a range of other reasons. Thus Lorna's constructs had recently required adaptation to admit her new experiences and as such, were supported by her discourses.
- Construct 3 was her pre-emptive construct, an angry child being one requiring an active response from an adult.
- Construct 5 was also identified as a pre-emptive construct.
- Construct 8 was constellatory for Julie, there being many reasons to explain why a child might demonstrate such behaviours at the negative pole ends.
- When questioned what the description in construct 9 might mean at the positive pole end, Lorna said these children would be turn-takers.
- The behaviour that is of most concern is throwing objects – this is the only behaviour that may occur within any of the constructs.

Figure 19: Display of *Pauline's* Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

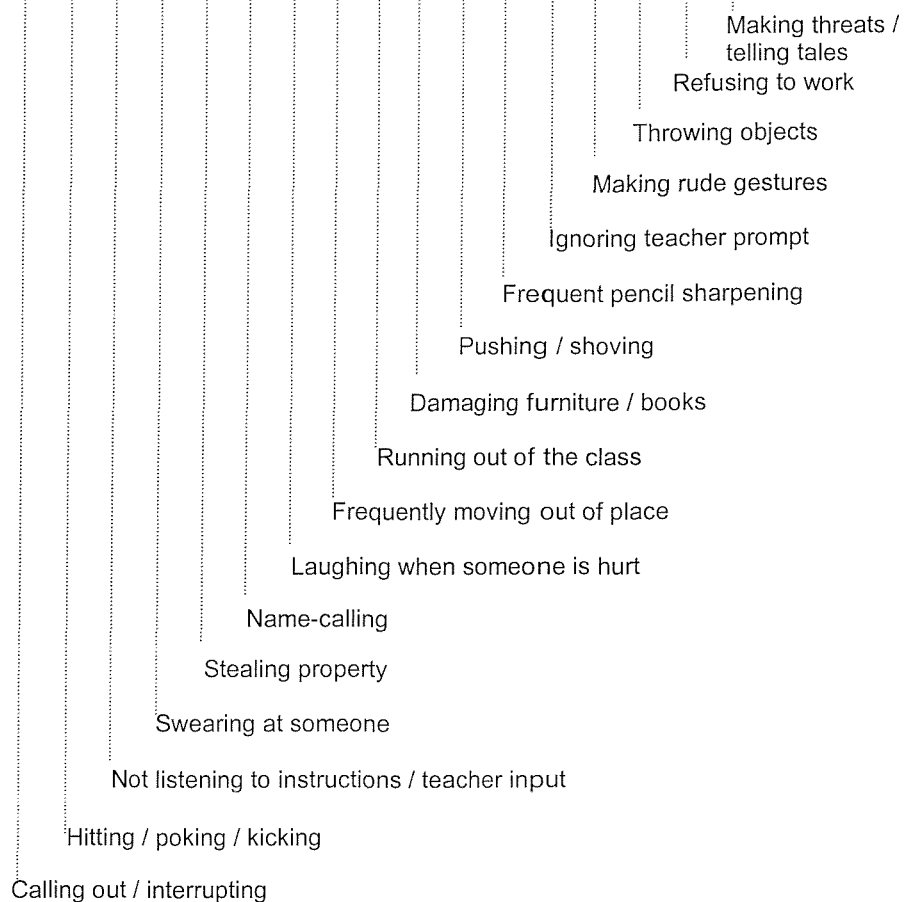| #	Left pole	Calling out / interrupting	Hitting / poking / kicking	Swearing at someone	Stealing property	Name-calling	Frequently moving out of place	Running out of the class	Damaging furniture / books	Pushing/shoving	Frequent pencil sharpening	Ignoring teacher prompt	Making rude gestures	Throwing objects	Refusing to work	Right pole
1	Highly work focussed	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	5	Task avoidance
2	Complimentary	-	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	-	3	5	5	-	Verbally and non-verbally abusive
3	Self-deprecating	5	5	5	5	5	1	5	2	4	1	5	5	5	5	Negative attention seeking
4	Well adjusted	-	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	Angry, frustrated (not premeditated)
5	Well adjusted	-	-	5	5	5	5	-	5	-	5	5	5	-	4	Disturbed (covert)
6	Keeping to boundaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	-	5	5	Taking inappropriate control
7	Well adjusted	-	5	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	-	5	5	5	5	Disturbed (overt)

Notes

- During the elicitation Pauline removed two behaviours, *not listening to instructions / teacher input* and *laughing when someone is hurt*, as she did not recognise these as negative behaviours.
- She found it difficult to describe some construct poles and focused on the idea that some children present troubling behaviours to express deep-seated emotions.
- On four out five occasions behaviours that are deliberately disruptive were perceived as suggesting that a child has poor self-esteem, while on three out of four occasions a disengaged child was also deemed to be distressed, demonstrating that Pauline balanced understanding of the individual with effects upon the class.

Figure 20: Display of *Marion's* Constructs of Challenging Behaviours

#	Construct																		Opposite
1	Attentive	4	4	3	4	5	4	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	4	5	Deliberately disruptive
2	Confident	4	4	5	4	4	4	3	4	5	4	4	5	5	4	4	5	4	Poor self-esteem
3	Cooperative	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	5	5	-	5	-	Stubborn
4	Focussed	5	5	-	5	-	5	-	5	5	5	5	-	-	5	5	-	5	Directed at peers, diversionary
5	Friendly	-	5	-	5	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	5	5	-	5	Violent, reactive, angry
6	Sociable	3	-	-	5	4	5	-	5	5	5	-	-	-	5	4	5	5	Attention seeking
7	Joyful	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	5	5	-	5	4	-	-	5	-	Distressed
8	Interacting with teacher, engaging with task	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	4	-	Disengaged
9	Moral	-	5	-	5	5	5	-	-	4	5	-	-	4	5	4	4	5	Amoral

Making threats / telling tales
Refusing to work
Throwing objects
Making rude gestures
Ignoring teacher prompt
Frequent pencil sharpening
Pushing / shoving
Damaging furniture / books
Running out of the class
Frequently moving out of place
Laughing when someone is hurt
Name-calling
Stealing property
Swearing at someone
Not listening to instructions / teacher input
Hitting / poking / kicking
Calling out / interrupting

Notes

- Marion's constructs revealed that on every occasion when she determines a child is angry and frustrated, the child is also described as 'disturbed'.
    - On nine out every ten occasions, they will also be abusive.
    - On seven out of every ten occasions they will also be attention seeking.
- These very high matches may have been an indication of the number of incidents Marion dealt with in her senior management role where the child's behaviour was likely to have escalated to a high level, but they also

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indicate that the effect of the behaviour upon others is a key concept.

- Marion's elicitation of nine constructs revealed limited awareness of the emotional needs of the individual child.

APPENDIX TWO: EXAMPLE TRANSCRIPTS

Explanation of symbols used in transcriptions
N.B. punctuation is used when deemed appropriate.

//	Pause (the number of slashes is equivalent to the number of seconds)
(↓)	Voice drops in volume and tone
(↑)	Voice regains usual strength
(∪)	Laugh
(…)	Missing word or phrase (i.e. deemed unimportant to content of utterance)
(+)	Speed of speech increases
(-)	Speed of speech resumes usual pace
(- - -)	Missing section of interview (i.e. circumstantial utterance)
(⇔)	Overlap of previous utterance
Σ	Tape not decipherable

(other comments are described in full in brackets)

EXAMPLE ONE: NICOLA (Cutlers Lane Junior School)
Nicola's perspective is that of a scene-shifter.

> **N.B.** The interview occurred at the end of what had proved to be a difficult afternoon for the teacher, even though she had had some free time out her classroom and she chose to render several events as critical throughout the interview.

1. *Could you tell me first of all what sorts of behaviour you find particularly challenging?*

2. I think at the moment it's a refusal to do something. If you ask a child to do something and you try to reason with them and there's still the refusal there, I think I find it difficult to get over that, the strategies to use when there's a definite "no, I'm not going to do that". I think at the moment that's probably the biggest difficult behavioural problem I've got in my class at the moment.

3. *So what is it about that refusal that makes your work as a teacher particularly difficult would you say?*

4. Um, I think it undermines me in my authority, the fact that somebody is saying no and is not going to do something for me and the fact that other children are in the vicinity and they can see somebody flatly refusing to do what I say. I think some of them might, other children might have the opinion that well if they're saying no and she can't do anything with them and they're refusing to do what she's saying, then perhaps I could get away with it. I mean at the moment they're sort of, there's a couple of very (/) very difficult children in my class who've already got into that frame of thinking before they got into my class that if they refused to do something then they get lots of attention from other people and they don't have to comply and they get, go out of class and perhaps that's what they want to do. And others in my class now have seen that and starting to use the same strategies as them by refusing, so it's sort of "a

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contagious thing" with them and that's what I find the most difficult to actually deal with the refusal.

5. *Have you ever been given any training or any advice about how to tackle that particular sort of challenge?*

6. Well not really. I mean I've had Assertive Discipline Training but it's sort of try to take them to one side and reason with them and explain "you do understand that I'm asking you to do it, now I'm telling you to do it". I mean when they still refuse that's where my strategies seem to end. Um, we have got a severe clause where if you're refusing to do what an adult asks is, they go straight to the Headteacher but I mean that isn't always possible if the Head's not in or she's in a meeting, so it's that, that next step. Where do I take it? I've got strategies to deal up to that point but not really when there's that flat refusal.

7. *So can you give a specific example - you were talking about it being in your current class – a specific example of an incident that's involved that sort of refusal to illustrate the point?*

8. Um, well this afternoon I was out of class for an interview for the first part of the afternoon and I came back, um, and the teacher who was covering, um, there was Tom in the corner of the room reading a reading book and I asked him why he hadn't joined in with the rest of them and he said "I don't want to" and I said "well why don't you want to?" so he said "I just don't want to" and it's "well Tom we all have to do things that we don't want to" and then from that point there was a constant refusal. So I tried his name on the board with the three strikes and he got there, so it's like "Tom, you need to take ten minutes out to calm down because you're refusing to join in", um, and then when I asked him to be removed, remove himself to have his ten minutes out he was just "no, I don't want to again" and so I had to send a message out for somebody to come and remove him from the classroom and then he still refused when Senior Management um, asked him to move, and I mean that was this afternoon, so it's just that constant refusal, every step. Even with the simple "go and get on with your work or go out for ten minutes", it was just "no, I don't want to" and he wouldn't get beyond that.

9. *So what did Senior Management do? What were they able to offer?*

10. Well I think the threat was that if he didn't do as he was told his parents were going to be contacted and then eventually he would, he removed himself from my classroom and he was removed until the end of the afternoon then. But I mean up until that point, until he realised his parents were going to be involved he wasn't going to comply with what I was saying, or Senior Management.

11. *So how do you prepare yourself generally for working with Tom?*

12. Well Tom's quite tricky because it's only been sort of the last two or three days that he's been like this, so it's not a problem that I've come across with him before. Um, with other children I've had, such as Sarah and 162

Ian, who they've had a history of refusal to do what they're told, I've got cards with their name on and a severe clause, 'can you come and remove Sarah or Ian from the classroom' and then that will go straight down to Senior Management if I felt there was a problem, but when someone like Tom, who I know he's got problems at home but he seems to have picked up the behaviour of the others who've already been using it. I mean I haven't got a strategy at the moment because, as I say, it's only the last few days and I thought we had a good relationship and I've always been able to talk to him if he's had a problem but today there was just no reasoning with him. He just flatly refused, he didn't want to do any work, he didn't want to do as he was told and he just wanted to crawl around the floor and shout out and cause as much disruption as he wanted.

13. *Have you worked with a child like that before in another class and perhaps managed to achieve some change?*

14. I have worked with children like that before in my last school – a year 6 child who was very much like that, would refuse to do as he was told, so strategies I used there was, instead of arguing with him, I'd perhaps remove the rest of the children so if he was on a table causing disruption to the rest of them, then I would remove the children from his table and we would, they would sit elsewhere and then he hadn't got an audience so then he would, he quietly got on with his work because he didn't have anyone, any of his peers um, to egg him on, so that worked but with Tom because we were in a whole class situation and he was shouting at the top of his voice and he wanted everybody's attention it was quite difficult to do that, to remove the whole class.

15. *But on previous occasions you've seen that you've seen that over time you can change children?*

16. Yes.

17. *It must be quite frustrating then that feeling that you have at the moment.*

18. Well I mean I have worked with difficult children before and I think I've built up a good personal relationship with them. So I've been able to talk to children and reason with them but when you get to the point that there are children who don't want to know and don't want to talk to you, they don't want teacher's attention – because a lot of them, they just want your attention – and I mean I was giving him my attention, I was talking to him, and he didn't want to know, it was very difficult for me to think well where do I take this next, so yes?

19. *So what about one of the other children who is difficult in your class. Tell me about him or her.*

20. Um, Sarah is another one who has had problems throughout schooling here. I think she had problems before she came here, but I think I am building up a good relationship with her. She didn't get on with her previous teacher and I don't think the previous teacher related to her

very well um, and there was that constant struggle between them but I'd like to think with Sarah at the moment she wants to please me, she wants to do the nice thing, she wants to be rewarded and so, I think because I've gained her trust and we're building a relationship together, I think I'm slowly winning her over but I've got quite good parental support there as well. I mean mum comes in whenever I ask and comes in and sees how she's got on and, um, I mean she was the one who used to refuse and would be very aggressive and do what she wanted to do but because I've got good contact with her mum and she knows that her mum's going to know when she's misbehaved, and because she, I've trusted her with a little bit more and she knows she can get my attention through positive things rather than with negative. I think with Sarah I'm slowly building up a trust and a relationship that I'm hoping I'll be able to use when we do have a problem, a behavioural problem.

21. *So is that a kind of a key for you then, having a good relationship?*

22. I think it is, I think I've always tried to use, the fact that um, I see them as people and they can come and talk to me um, and I think that if I've got a good relationship with them then they would want to do as I say, or they would understand why I'm saying, that I'm not being unreasonable to ask them to get on with it because I'm not an unreasonable person. So, I think that was one of the most important things for me with children with behavioural difficulties.

23. *I want to ask you now to think about some of the most difficult experiences that you've had with behaviour, and perhaps a specific incident that you've had. Can you describe the most difficult incident you think you've ever experienced with a child?*

24. Well I can think of a few (ᴗ) um (///) oh gosh, (///) I mean there are so many little, I mean I've had children, sort of, a year 6 boy, Tristan who had moved to my class from Scotland. He'd been moved out of home because mum couldn't cope with him and he was living with dad and his girlfriend and he would not settle with me at all. Um, he would run around the classroom, claiming that I'd kicked him um, thumping other children as he went, telling me to 'f' off, um and there was always that conscious, conscious in the back of your mind about the things he was saying sort of, that I'd physically abused him and things like that. I think that was probably one of the most difficult times, um, I mean there was no reasoning with him. I didn't have the time to build up a relationship with him 'cause he'd only sort of moved down. He didn't have any friends with him in school at that point because he'd only just moved there so there just seemed no reasoning with him. There wasn't any positive things that I could build on, there wasn't anything he really enjoyed to do that I could use as a lever for, "well if you do this, then I will let you do this", so I mean he used to take himself off out of the classroom whenever he wanted to. Um, once he was hanging off the stairs, sort of, we, er, had a banister and he was just hanging off the stairs there (ᴗ). I mean that one boy; I mean he just for about a month, just caused absolute chaos. I mean he was violent towards other children, I mean blatantly in front of me (↓). I think it was just the

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accusations that I was hitting him. I mean, fortunately dad understood exactly what he was like and so took it all with a pinch of salt but there's always that thought in the back of your head that one day perhaps one of their parents might believe that I'd done something like that (∪) and there was always that constant threat there (↑). Because I mean they're very aware of your rights um, and I mean the occasions he said, "I'm going to sue you, you shouldn't touch me". I mean I obviously hadn't touched him because (∪), the way he was I made sure I kept quite a distance from him but I think that's probably one of the hardest children (↓) I've had to deal with and one of the hardest situations.

25. *So how did you cope with that difficult time?*

26. (↓) I don't think I did to be honest (///) I mean I had a lot of tears at the end of the day. I mean Senior Management there, this was my other school, I mean they were quite supportive but there wasn't a lot they could do with him either. There didn't seem to be much reasoning with him (/). We'd have to resort to 'phoning his father and he'd have to come in and collect him. I mean there was a time he walked out, it was pouring down with rain, sat in the middle of the field, refused to come in and he was just getting absolutely, absolutely soaked. Um, and I mean I didn't feel as though I was coping. (↑) I mean it was the middle of an OFSTED inspection as well and he sat there through the whole of a literacy lesson tapping the inspector's chair with um, his pencil and I just, I just ignored him. I mean, luckily the inspector said, "I think you dealt with it well" (∪). She said, "I don't know what I would have done to have tried to involve him or to get him to stop". Because if I'd, he wanted the confrontation with me. I mean his words to me were "I'm not going to behave for you just because you want a good report from the inspector" (∪). I mean he was a very bright boy and very aware but I think at that time I was very low. I didn't actually see that year through at school. (∪) I actually left and I moved down here but um (/)

27. *So the consequences were that you decided to go for another job?*

28. Well I was moving anyway but I wasn't unhappy about leaving that year really. I think I left in the April and I mean I was glad that I wasn't seeing it through 'til to the end. It was a relief to be out of that situation.

29. *And do you know what happened to that child after you left?*

30. Yes he went back to Scotland to live with his mum about two months after I left (∪) well it was couple of, yes it was about two months after I moved down here he went back up and lived with his mum so it wasn't a problem in the school any longer. So from there I don't know how things worked out for him.

31. *At a time like that you obviously took the problem you were having in your job home with you.*

32. Oh definitely (∪).

33. *So what do you do when you take a problem like that home with you? I mean how do you cope at home?*

34. Well it can be one of two ways really. I mean, I can either go home and cry (∪), I then have some chocolate, pick myself up and think "it's only a job, it's not worth it", or I can go home tense, wound up and then take it out on my partner instead (∪). I mean he knows when I've had a bad day and I mean, (/) I mean last year I had a really lovely class and he says, he said "I know how well you're getting on because we haven't had (∪) so many problems at home", we haven't had "you haven't been as irritated with me" as I, I was the year before. So I mean I, I'm not consciously, but I'm obviously taking it home with me and um, as I say, I either break down in tears or take it out on my partner instead (/).

35. *What sort of help have you found has been available in school, either in your previous school or here? Who do you turn to for help when things are getting tough?*

36. Um, I mean my team leaders in both instances have been really good. I mean Julie at the moment, she's very supportive. I mean her class at the moment are quite difficult as well but she's very supportive so if ever I need to, I can speak to her and actually, because she's lost three children from her class, she's actually removed Ian from my class so I mean she's been supportive in that role. Um, Friday, no I think it was last Thursday, it was quite a difficult day for me in the afternoon (/) (↓) and when I'd had (/) a few problems with Ian and Sarah, and I spoke to Elaine the Headteacher then and she was really supportive towards it and as a result we had a meeting, myself, Julie, the SENCo and the Head and we came up with a strategy for dealing with these pupils, (↑) some of them it was removal to another class. Um, and we've set up other things for other pupils as well. I mean I feel as though I'm getting support, it's just that immediate, while I'm in the classroom feeling quite isolated sometimes, um, in my previous school I was in a classroom that was downstairs, um, um, there wasn't, there was an enormous long corridor and there wasn't any other teachers around me, so in that situation I moved classrooms upstairs so I had um, a senior member of staff in the classroom next door to me so there was a room change there which was supportive so if I needed help she was right next door, so quite a few strategies we use in that situation. But I mean that worked.

37. *Does having a clear plan help then?*

38. I think it does, yes. Um, I think (/) sometimes the clear plan isn't kept to (/), so my end it does but when it falls off at the end, um, if for example the Headteacher isn't in then it becomes a clear plan knowing exactly what you want to do with that child in that situation. I think it focuses my mind and then I know I've got strategies and people to rely on in that situation, yes.

39. *So a weakness would be then if Senior Management just aren't available*

to give back up?

40.   I mean the Tom incident for today, I mean I felt quite angry. I mean he was deliberately refusing to do what I said and he was deliberately um, refused to be moved when the Senior Management said and I know we've got inspectors in school today, but then later on Tom, although removed from my class, was sending messages around, or letters around to the rest of the teachers and I found that, as though that wasn't really a punishment for him. It wasn't show-giving him the right messages. I mean he'd been removed from my classroom for refusing to do as he was told and then he was taken off to do a job. I mean I felt so, to a point I think it works, but then it's what happens to him after he's been removed from my classroom I think is the problem at the moment. I mean I just think now he's seen that he's been removed from the classroom and he's doing a job that it might trigger him "well, I don't want to do this, this afternoon. If I kick up a fuss, I'll be removed and then I can go and do something a bit more fun" (∪) so I was a bit cross with that actually. So the plan's there but then what goes on afterwards you see.

41.   *What helps do you think in your school, or the school you worked in before, what helps to prevent problems in your experience?*

42.   Um, I don't know to be honest. Um (////) I mean I obviously haven't prevented the problem because they've arose but (//) um (//) I mean I think me personally with the relationship I try and build with children, then that usually is enough. For the majority of them to see that I'm disappointed with them, then that, then that's enough for them to sort of check themselves and think, and that usually for the majority will stop the problem um, but when it gets to something as severe as, um (/) refusing to do what I tell them I don't know how (/) I can stop that problem arising. I mean, I don't know (∪) obviously because I've got that problem now, I don't know how to stop a problem like that (//)

43.   *Do your other colleagues have the same sorts of problems with similar sorts of children? Do they find refusal a ...*

44.   (⇔) I think it is a big issue. I mean for the majority of children, those without the severe problems it's the fact that I'm disappointed with them that will stop them dead and they will, they will usually toe the line then, but when it gets to that point. I mean this afternoon I wasn't in the room, I don't know what had gone on before with the supply teacher but he wasn't doing as he was told and whether I'd walked in on a situation that had already escalated I don't know but um (/) I don't feel as though I know any strategies preventing that.

45.   *Are supply teachers a particular problem, you know, if you come into a classroom when you've had a supply teacher?*

46.   I've got a particularly good one at the moment who's been in school quite a lot. If the children, I mean there are two, there are two supply teachers that we use regularly and I think because the children are familiar with them and they know that they talk to their teacher then it's not so

much of a problem. But, if someone's coming to the school or coming into my class for the first time, then it is a big problem. I mean they all try it on with them but I mean it is a big issue I think throughout the school, not just with my class' behaviour to supply teachers, yes.

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47. *Obviously you're trying with all of your class to include them with all of the activities that you do. What particular things are helping to support you to include all of these children at the moment? Is it your learning support assistants or is it your teamwork with your colleagues? What supports you?*

48. Ah well I have, I have got some SNAs who are working with me and they are, they are excellent actually. I mean I think some of the problems I've got this week is because one of them is away. Um, I mean they can cope, I mean if there is a problem then they can usually take the children to one side and talk to them so, for example, the Tom situation this afternoon it might have been better if my SNA had have been here. If she could take him out and talk to him, um, away from the others so there wasn't that audience for him so he'd have been removed from the room so he wasn't putting on a show for the others and she could have reasoned with him um, I mean they are incredibly, they're incredibly valuable in the classroom, the SNAs um, and then there's my team leader next door who's always available if um, if there is a problem. I mean with supply teachers those children who, who know that they have difficulties when we've got supply they know automatically that if there's a supply teacher in that day then they will go and work in next door so there are support systems there, they know that they can't cope so they will take themselves to next door and they will work in there. So I mean there are, there are (/) quite a lot of support there for when I need it. As I say one of my best SNAs hasn't been here for the last week so I think that's why I've felt it this week.

49. *So those are probably the best supports then, the additional staff?*

50. I mean they're immediate whereas I've got that behavioural problem and the rest of the class to look after at that time. I mean when the assistant's in there she can deal with that while I sort the rest of them out.

51. *What about anything to do with the environment at all - the actual building, is that a constraint or a support in terms of the children? Is the building a difficult one to work in?*

52. I've never really thought about it to be honest. Um (//) I don't like working upstairs (∪) because of the stairs. I mean when some of the children take themselves out of their own accord, I mean you find them hanging sort of around the landing and the banisters which I find (//) I mean it's dangerous for them and I'm trying to get them back in, I mean (/) um (/) it's quite a difficult situation to be in but um (/) I don't think it hinders at all the school building (///).

53. *And you've got adequate space and things?*

54. Yes I mean I could do with a larger classroom with the amount of children I've got – thirty six at the moment but I think they're coping in there quite well. I mean they're not on top of each other um. I try and make the classroom as bright and inviting an environment as I can. I mean I couldn't work in a dull environment so I don't see why the children should so, and there's a quiet book area if some of them want to go and take themselves away and then we've got sort of work group areas just outside the classroom where they can go. The only problem I've got is the cupboards at the moment, just thinking about it. For some reason, the cupboards don't actually come out, they don't quite fill the gap under the window sill and they get in behind them and hide, that's what Tom was doing this afternoon. He was getting behind the cupboard because there's a slight gap between the wall and the windowsill and the cupboard and he was hiding under there. So that's one thing I would like to perhaps look at and change.

55. *Have you thought about the reasons why Tom behaves in the way that he does?*

56. Er, I know he's got a lot of problems at home at the moment because when he's, a couple of days ago when he had his first major tantrum he was taken out and our um, life skills, the teacher who does life skills spoke to him and there are all sorts of problems at home, apparently a young niece died or a nephew died, a five year old, which has put them all under strain and I think they're under attack at home, bricks through window and I don't think mum will go out at all because she's scared to go out and I think it's all, the pressure's building up with Tom so, and he was saying to me the other day "nobody ever listens to me" and I said, "well, I'm here, you can talk to me" but there wasn't any reasoning with him today. I mean I know he's got a lot of problems but um (//) there's got to be a point in the classroom I think where it's "yes, I know you've got problems but you've still got to come in school and do".

57. *There have got to be expectations then?*

58. That's right yes.

59. *I want you to think back on something you said. You talked how you think that one of your strengths is to build good relationships with children and I like to perhaps think about a child who you've worked with who you're most pleased that you've made an impact with.*

60. I think that would have to be Sarah. I know it's only a couple of days since we've had this impact but um, I mean she hasn't been in today but yesterday she was absolutely fantastic. I mean she's been a severe problem during year three, last year um, to the point where mum had to be in practically every day and take her home. She was swearing, she was violent, she was abusive towards staff, she beat the Headteacher um, and yesterday she had an absolutely fantastic day, she sat and worked with Malcolm, who's an autistic boy, was helping him with his work, everything I asked her to do she'd do first time um, she was one

of the first to sit down on the carpet, her hand was up first. I mean it was just a delight to have her there and she seemed so different from the abusive um, little girl that she was a few days ago. Now I don't know whether that's something that's happened at home or whether that's me who's had that impact, but just the thought that I could have made a difference to her, I mean it did make me feel really good and seeing her mum yesterday, and being able to say to her, Sarah's had a fantastic day, I think that lifted her as well, so she knew me and mum were saying really nice things about her. So that's been a really positive thing with Sarah. Whether it will last I don't know but yes.

61. *If you could wake up tomorrow and something had changed with your current class what would it be?*

62. I think it would be the size of it. I think if I, I mean, I've got a class of thirty six at the moment and I don't think that size is reasonable to manage so I think class size would be one of the things I'd definitely like to change. If you asked me last week I'd probably say that Ian wasn't in my class any more but he's been removed now but it is a strain with so many of them, I mean because even when you sit them on the carpet there's such an expanse of faces you can't keep your eye on what everybody's doing. So it only takes a couple from one side to start muttering and it filters through the rest of them, so I would definitely say the size of the class is the issue there that I would like to change tomorrow if I could.

63. *So you had thirty-seven until Ian went?*

64. No, I had thirty six, sorry, because Ian went and another one, Paul, because Julie lost three out of her class so she took another one, so it's down to thirty four now.

65. *But it's still quite a size.*

66. Yes, especially when I've still got behavioural problems like Tom and Malcolm, who's the autistic boy, who won't do anything unless he's got one to one, um Sarah, who's fine at the moment but there's definitely the potential there, um I've got James who's a big problem as well. *(Interview briefly interrupted)*. He's another one who I think is craving the attention. Um, I can't remember what I was saying.

67. *We were talking about, we were saying that in your dream what would change in your class. You were saying about class size and you were almost going to go through the list of children who were presenting challenge.*

68. I mean there might not be the severe problem but there's still the potential there. In a class of that size, I mean they all want your attention, all children do and I think it's difficult for me to make time for individuals through the course of the school day and to keep on top of everything when I've got a class of that size.

69. *So what do you think then about the moves towards greater inclusion of children with all sorts of different challenges?*

70. I can see why people may think inclusion is a good idea but my experience of it with Malcolm certainly is that I don't think it's right for all children. Some children I think will probably benefit from inclusion but I think other children need specific help, they've got difficulties and I think it has to be addressed and I don't always think that that's appropriate in the classroom. Um (/) I mean Malcolm has come on well since he started in the junior school but there's always the issue there so when I had the problems with Ian, he was always imitating Ian, and he still won't do any work unless he's got the one to one, which he can't be offered in a classroom situation like that. I think he's got fifteen (/) I'm not sure how many hours provision he's got but I mean it doesn't fill the whole day. He won't do anything unless he's got somebody with him one to one, I mean he just won't and I mean he takes himself out of the classroom. I mean I genuinely think that all children, with all the will in the world, aren't going to progress and make any achievements or attainment within mainstream school.

71. *So with Malcolm, he's the autistic one, do you have to put extra time to him then or are there times when he's just unsupported?*

72. There are times when he's unsupported um, I mean if I haven't got an SNA or she's not, I mean he's better now, he used to have one to one, now he will work in a small group so the SNA can sit with him and perhaps four others. So, I mean she can be used more effectively in the room then with the others. But um, for when he's not supported then I have to support him, I have to make sure that (/) either I'm working with his group or I have to give him targets, "right I'm going to be back in two minutes, I want you to have done this", so (//) which he doesn't always do because he's more interested in the toilets and ball cocks you see, so he's out of the room every two minutes (∪), that's his little obsession – toilets. No it's very difficult because he has had one to one in the past and he's got used to that and trying to wean him off it is very difficult because he's been used to it so now he asks where so and so is to come and help him. It's like "well they're not in here to support you today". He says, "Well I need help" it's "well you're going to have to try and get on by yourself", or I have to go and work with him.

73. *So your concern about inclusion then is the practicalities of delivering it?*

74. That's right yes. And he will take up more of my time, where I could be spent with perhaps some of the others (/). It does take up an awful lot of time.

Transcription ends

Neville's perspective is that of a scene-blocker.

1. *Could you start by telling me about your current class, what they are like, and then how that compares with your previous class?*

2. Well, I've got 33 children at the moment, which is a problem on its own in a class that's not that big (/) um, but they're very good, they're very noisy (/) and you need to be on them all the time but um (/), they're very good, no particular problems (/) no particular behavioural problems anyway. There are problems um, like we have one child who we think is Asperger's so that poses its own problems, the children are um, very um (/) sort of, what's the word (/) er, excitable, but no particular problems, a lot easier than my last class which was um, 31, in which I had 5 or 6, 6 or 7 major behavioural problems (/0 ranging from ADHD um (/) just problems that are probably associated with home life that they bring in (/) no social skills and things like that, interacting with other children, very violent, yes.

3. *Did you have any violence towards you or was it to other members of the class?*

4. Um, towards other children, never against me (/) verbally but not physically.

5. *What about the range of learning?*

6. A huge range (/) more of a range last year. I had kind of the low end of the year and the top of the year, this year I've got just a couple of high flyers, it's more a balanced class this year, last year it was lots of highs, lots of lows and lots of behaviour.

7. *You came into a very difficult situation last year, tell me about that (...)*

8. The teacher that was originally here, he wasn't managing or whatever, the school I think either got rid of him or he left, whatever, it wasn't working out and then in the interim until I came alongside and finished my training they had about 4 teachers a week, some supply, some cover from the head um (/) SENCo, different teachers, which was just, by the time I got here, they didn't know which way to turn. One of the first questions they asked me is "If you don't like us are you going to leave?" so that was sort of, that's how they were thinking when I got here and it was pretty hectic the first couple of weeks but they just needed some stability (/) and by the summer they were great.

9. (⇔) *What did you do to win them over?*

10. Um, well, I'm very honest with them how I feel, how I teach them, what they're doing I tell them what they're doing, how it makes me feel. They had very clear structure as soon as I came in compared to before and that changed it a lot. I changed the classroom around, the problems were all sat together, changed classroom time and time again until it

was perfect, I just wasn't afraid to try different things really because as I was starting out as well, some things worked, some things didn't (/) but I just kept plugging away really.

11. *Did you get support as a newly qualified teacher coming into that situation?*

12. Um (///) yes (/) yes (/) from my mentor, quite a lot of advice, my year head definitely (/) yes definitely, very good.

13. *What about your training course, has that equipped you well for the challenges?*

14. Um, yes, I had as much range as you could have. I was in a little village school in Avon, a wonderful little school with its own swimming pool but they were saving for a better one, and then I was in a school in the middle of the city, in an area that was really, really tough, lots of drugs and things like that and an inner-city school as well, kind of half way between, so pretty much the range, but I think probably what prepared me for this type of school really to be quite good on behaviour was my first placement. That person was very good at behaviour (/) and that stuck with me, very structured, very no-nonsense and that stuck with me definitely.

15. *So have you got any children in your class now, or more likely last year, who you think might once have been in a special school?*

(teacher clarifies interviewer's meaning)

16. Last year yes, definitely 2 (/) probably 3 (///) this year probably none. I don't know about the Asperger.

17. *And that was because of their emotional and behavioural difficulties?*

18. Yes, yes definitely, very um, what they brought into school with them made them very violent. I could have easily seen them going somewhere else (////).

19. *You talked about having a child who you think could have Asperger's, what sorts of behaviour does he have?*

20. He's got lots of little obsessions, things he does he um (///) he has to have a very, very, very strict routine, if anything's different at all he goes mad, he has to shut the door, nobody else can do it, if he can't do it, if somebody else does it, it's a real, that's his job. He doesn't interact with children at all, but he interacts better with adults, he talks like an adult yet he says everything at an inappropriate time. We think he is and (/) but we don't see the point in labelling him, we don't see how it helps. The parents want us to but we haven't said any words to them, although we sent our LSA on an Asperger course to help him.

21. *So you're putting structures in place?*

22. Yes, and they're helping him as well which suggests that he's at the 2 end of the scale, not the 1 end of the scale, so it's manageable but it is a big deal in the class (∪).

23. *Yes I'm sure, especially if you forget the latest obsession...*

24. Yes, I've just had to um, make up the timetable with pictures on, with Velcro on so you can change it every day (...) which is great with 32 other children to sort out as well (∪) with their own little problems as well, but he's good. He's a handful though.

25. *Is that one of the things you find particularly challenging, the time you spend on the one when you've got the others?*

26. It's challenging the time and it doesn't sit right in my mind that I'm spending more time on him than well, or the others, that's challenging as well, when you're in class it just doesn't feel right.

27. *What sort of behaviour do you find particularly challenging as a teacher?*

28. Um, well violence in the classroom.

29. *That would be your number 1?*

30. Yes, I've had children that, they run off, I had quite a lot of that last year um (//) lack of respect to the adults in the class, actually verbally abusive and um (////) and yes, well, with certain children last year it would be because they hadn't listened to the lesson, they were unable to concentrate that long, then they start to do things, they either start kicking the table or start annoying other children so they turn round and do something back and then the verbal and physical violence starts.

31. *So from a little thing it might lead to something interruptive.*

32. Yes the small attention they can put in was the challenge because it led to more things later on.

33. *Do you find that you can ignore the little things and then it escalates, is that what's particularly challenging?*

34. Yes with some children, with some of the children it turned out in the end you had to do that, again that doesn't sit right in my mind but we had to do that, you ignore some of the things that they get away with and the other children in the class, they knew, they knew that these children found it harder and they accepted it, but yes for some we didn't want to.

35. *Can you give me an example in your class of a child who you worked who you found challenging and talk about him or her?*

36. Um (//) I'll just pick which one to do (...) Barry, he was very challenging because um, his medication made him either a zombie or he didn't take it and he'd be completely the other way. When he was a zombie he

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didn't do anything so it was hardly worth being there really, I didn't like that at all, but when he didn't take it, it was very hard to keep him in the classroom even. He'd come in and hide under the table or something like that. If he was doing something that he considered to be useful to him, because he really liked colouring, drawing, he was OK but as soon as we made him do something he didn't want to do then the problems came and it would always, it would always escalate to him leaving in a rage (/) something like that. With him as well, unfortunately he had a liking for tools and implements, so that was obviously a problem in school, well it led to a big problem in school.

37. *Did you feel that he made any progress across the year?*

38. Um (//) to be honest he was not in a great deal but um, I do, yes, I got on all right with him. We spoke OK, you know we got on with each other OK, which I don't think he does with everyone but um, it was all dependant on his, how he was that day really. I felt he was fine when he was doing things that we could make him do and fool him into thinking 'oh I actually want to do that' but whenever anything else then not really a lot of progress was made. I suppose I made quite a lot of progress with him up to the summer, and then in the summer things were happening at home as well and he just went downhill, so I think we did make a lot of progress in class 'cause he was actually coming in more as well, which was a big deal for us really, it's difficult to say with progress (...) but I see him round school now and I talk to him, like I did and I talk to him fine, so I mean we had quite a good relationship but as soon as something went wrong, it was tough, it was tough to keep it up.

39. *So, are there times of the day or times of the year when you think behaviour is more challenging than it might ordinarily be?*

40. Yes, run up to Christmas, run up to Easter and run up to summer ... the end of term.

41. *Is that about the children or about you?*

42. I think all the teachers are tired, I'm tired, the curriculum is less structured, don't want to do more lessons and they're excited. It's all those things together it's tougher yes.

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43. There's another child that we thought was ADHD. It was attention, over um, too much energy, quite violent as well but we did make a lot of progress with, it's gone a bit downhill this year, change, different teacher, whatever, but we did make a lot of progress with him and that was Josh and that was all relationship with me that was being built up, setting the ground rules and really sticking to them, which he didn't have before, and involve the parents, that was the problem because for whatever reason they didn't come into school, they fell out with school, once I built that back up things were a lot better, that definitely helped, getting the parents

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on-side (*//*). That was a long trudge, lots of recording and behaviour and things like that.

44. *What's your worst ever incident with a child? It might not be one here, it might be one on teaching practice.*

45. Um (*////*) well, on a teaching practice, yes, I had a kid chuck a chair at me, again more to do with things at home than as how he was, the worst thing here has been Barry chucking tables and things like that, not at anyone but whoever gets in the way sort of, and Josh chucking chairs, not at me but physical violence like that, when people blow up.

46. *What have you done to de-escalate the behaviour?*

47. Well unfortunately in those particular incidents, it's been on their way out and they've stormed off, so we've sent the LSA out or put the school plans into action when they run off, which I had a lot of last year but um, the kid in the other school, that was on my teaching practice, it was just calming the situation down, I got in between him and the rest of the kids, took him off to one corner and then sent for another teacher to take him out of the classroom and talk to him (*/*). It was just a very angry (*/*) moment for him.

48. *What were the consequences, do you know?*

49. Um, for that particular child it was something that was really going on at home and they talked to him. It wasn't really a punishment thing it was, 'we know why you're, let's talk about it'.

50. *Did that work?*

51. Well, he didn't chuck another chair. He had a lot of things going on. It was an ongoing thing really.

52. *What about your own response to situations like that?*

53. Well, yes, as I'm starting out, you know (*/*) that's changed. At the start it was "well why are they doing that, what have I done?" and you feel like it's personal really, but now of course, I've been doing it a bit longer, it's very easy now just to let it ride over me and then you're more calm and you can deal with it more calmly. Maybe that's another reason why my class is a lot better now because I'm better at dealing with them but as you get into it more, especially when I started it was a particularly stressful time of the year, new class, tough class but as you go on, certainly as I've gone along I've just got a lot more relaxed myself and that certainly helps with situations.

54. *Do you think you can stop things happening more now?*

55. Yes, that's just it, yes, it just takes experience

56. *So if you look back on some of the incidents do you think they would happen again because you know more now?*

57. Yes, a lot of them would happen again because of what they bring in with them but as I've learned more I learn how to not so much spot it but not let it get to that stage in the first place. For instance when I came in all the problems were sat on the same table, unbelievable, so I've moved my room now 10 – 20 times to get the perfect, and I'll keep doing that until it is and that's one of the strategies from trying to stop it in the first place. We have lots of things like social skills groups and things like that, teaching the children the strategies to deal with their own anger so we're really a lot into the prevention in the first place.

58. *Has there been a difference for you as a teacher in the change from one head to another (...)?*

59. There's a difference in how it's dealt with once it gets out of my class, myself I dealt with everything very um, straight down the line always. We didn't have the new warning system in place, the new warning system, that has changed now, that's a lot better because everyone's doing the same thing in school, hopefully, so that's very, very good. What's different now is when something does go out of the classroom and it's dealt with higher up, it's dealt with quicker and um, it's just that there's a structure to it now. Before there was, for whatever reason, it was just an outdated behaviour policy I think. There was no structure to it, everyone was doing their own thing, which was no good, but so far as in my class, I do the same things.

60. *How can you be sure that you're doing the same thing as what your colleague next door is doing?*

61. Well I can now because we have to go to the same behaviour policy, we all have to do the same thing, everything that happens in the class that the children do it's like it's got nothing to do with us now, they do a certain thing, they get a certain warning, so we all deal with it in the same way whereas before that structure wasn't in place, so everyone has their own way of dealing with things. I mean we're all still individual in the way we talk to children but the actual sanctions and rewards now are all the same (/) which is better.

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62. *So, what happens at the end of a bad day, a child acting out, violence, the very thing upsets you most? What happens on a bad day?*

63. To me or to them?

64. *Well, to you really, you're lesson's been sabotaged. What do you do with those feelings? Do you take them home?*

65. (⇔) It doesn't bother me, it used to bother me, it doesn't bother me now.

66. *So take me through that, why did it used to bother you and not now?*

67. Because I was new, 'cause I was trying to impress everyone, get it right. I'd feel like I was failing every time somebody does something wrong, when you've done it for a while you know it's not you that's misbehaving, it's the child who's doing something wrong and I just feel more confidence to let it ride over you (/) and I've had a baby (/) and it's not very important.

68. *So you're able to put it in perspective?*

69. Yes, yes, it's just, yes, every time I meet my class it's an act (/) and it doesn't bother me at all really whereas at the start, definitely I was very stressed out (/) when things were going wrong and at the start it was very, very tough and you would take that home, I would tell my wife everything and things like that.

70. *What's the best success you've had with a child?*

71. Um (////) well this year I've had a kid who came in with a bad reputation already and she was quite serious behaviour at first and she's one of the best in the class now, through seating and the way that I praised her when she did do things right and made a fuss of her over different things, talked about what she was doing, that's quite pleasing. Last year um (/) it's not um, it's funny how you see the children that I had last year now, how I feel 'oh I had them really good by the end, and now they're going mad again', so that makes me feel like I was doing something good. It's a shame I couldn't change them but at least while I had them they were all right (Σ) well Josh as well really because we were working on him and they've kind of stepped backwards now so that me feel like 'oh I was doing something right'.

72. *Have you been able to help the next teacher with those children?*

73. I've offered to yes, but they're doing their own thing sort of.

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74. I know a lot about them and thing like that, I wrote a lot about them. I actually offered to give them this book that I wrote, I kept a diary on what (Σ) maybe they just think a clean slate you know, don't take the baggage with them, but no, it's not really been taken up.

75. *Equally do you use the last year's teacher of your current class?*

76. Yes, I've been talking to them quite a lot actually, especially about Keith, my Asperger one, yes definitely, although I was quite concerned to find out that one of them was adopted and I didn't know about that. I didn't have a sheet or anything to tell me, I found out from the child the day before she went to counselling and that was a bit of a shock.

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77. *Is there any help for you? Have you had any help from the Educational Psychologist or anybody else who has given you more strategies to use since you've been working here?*

78. The only child that I've had that I've seen somebody outside, well there's 2 children, Keith and I've been speaking to Dianne and she's good, she's given us lots of strategies, half of which I can do, half of which I haven't got the time for so I, you know, I try to take some of them on board and with Barry and that was involving other agencies.

79. *And that was very late on.*

80. Yes, yes, definitely and he's going now.

81. *Well, we hope to have a success there. Take me through what happens in this school now this term if there's a serious incident.*

82. Actually can just say about that, the fact that he might be going now is the consequence of having a new head. Before it was a kind of slide and that makes you feel like 'wow, I had to put up with him in my class chucking tables at me' and now something's being done about it. You know he hasn't even been in class for most of the term, so that makes you feel like 'wow (/) that's a lot better now, something's being done'. I mean it was doing him no good being in my class while he was chucking tables around, he was getting a worse reputation, which he then tried to live up to, I mean, so that's a lot better now. There again that's nothing to do with the head that we had because that person had their own problems, it was just I think, it was sliding and it went on a bit.

83. *Take me through what would happen now if you had a serious incident (...)?*

84. If we had a severe clause, which would be like for violence, then Richard or the head would be sent for straight away and they'd come down, take away the child and talk to them on their own and they would be excluded from the class for the rest of the day to cool off and to keep them out of harm's way and the class out of harm's way, so it would be taken out now and dealt with straight away.

85. *And what would you do after that to retrieve the situation with the child?*

86. When the child comes back? Well I'd talk to them about, talk to them about what happened but there wouldn't be any recriminations or anything. That's all dealt with down there and the next day it's a clean break but we'd talk about what happened and how it's not going to happen again and could we stop it happening again and go through their various strategies that they've all got, think about where they're sat.

87. *What do you think makes you successful in having worked with that very challenging situation last year? What kept you going and what made it work.*

88. Well the fact that I thought, you know, um (//) that not everything was his fault. I had no animosity towards the children, you know. At first it's like 'oh they're doing it to me' then you feel like 'oh I really don't want you to do that, why are you doing that?' But then it was just the behaviour that was coming out, which I saw better, which I could really detach from them and they could see that I was detaching it from them as well because I would always make them know that and the fact that I was very calm with them, keep them very calm, the fact that every day definitely was a new break, which does work and the fact that it went over and over again and that it was not really a problem. I didn't get (/) um (/) I just kept plugging away (/) I think the way I am as well, I was very honest with them about when they did do something wrong, how it made me feel as well, things like that, not just you know, 'oh that was naughty', how it made me feel, things like that, I do that all the time (/)

89. *What do you think it is that keeps you going? You had a teaching practice in a challenging school. You're here in a challenging school, it seems as though you've gone for the challenge.*

90. Um, yes, that's not true I don't enjoy it. I don't enjoy dealing with kids that misbehave, it just doesn't bother me because it's my job but I would much rather teach children that were all ready to learn.

91. *Right, like that village school?*

92. That's got its own problems, but just, yes, I'd rather not have to deal with the Barrys of this world, I don't feel it as a challenge, I'm not one of those people who consider it to be more worthwhile to work in schools that are tough, it's just my job, it's part of it and it doesn't bother me (/) because I've done other jobs that are a lot harder.

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93. *Would you say inclusion of children with challenging behaviour affects you as a teacher in the way you do your job?*

94. Oh, definitely, yes it makes teaching the rest of the kids harder. It makes you do more things, eats up your time, the amount of forms I've filled out for these children, um behaviour diaries, time spent with parents (…) it's more time, it definitely affects you, it affects your teaching because you feel like you're not spending enough time with other children. If you get a major incident like I had lots of times, that was 10 minutes until you get everything back to normal, so yes definitely it affects.

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95. *If you could wake up tomorrow and something had changed about your class, what would it be?*

96. I'd take 10 of them away. I wouldn't have 33.

97. *And what would that do to make your job better or to make you better at your job?*

98. It would be quieter, it would give me less problems and I could spend more time with each child, it would just make everything easier, even if it was you know, if you took away the well-behaved ones, it would just make it a lot easier. I mean my particular class it's just hard to fit them in (/) yes, and then I had 9 from another class the other day because they didn't have a PE kit, so I had 42 kids (...) so yes, I'd take, I'd have less kids definitely (...)

99. *Is there anything else that you, because I know you made some notes, that you want to say about including children who are challenging?*

100. (...) Well the whole thing about inclusion I think it's good but every case is different, yet we're including them, what are we including them in? Well we're including them being in the site with everyone else, I don't think we're including them in the curriculum, we're including them with being in society and that's the important thing, so that's why they should be here but when it gets so far that it's just every day it's mucking up the other children and they've got a reputation to live up to, which Barry did have, which I hope you don't get if he goes somewhere else, so he'll maybe get a clean break, then they need more attention. I mean there's Graham, he needs one person with him all the time, which we are kind of doing but that drains the school a lot, so yes it's good to have them here but possibly, I don't know not all the time, maybe.

101. *So what's the bottom line then about inclusion? You're saying it's right morally ...*

102. Well, I'm saying it's right for certain children but there's an extreme that I don't think it is right for, for either party, whereas the Joshs of this place, he could be expelled or gone to another school I think, in a different school, but he benefits from being here definitely and we are working with him and we are changing him or managing him but somebody like Barry or possibly Timothy, which are more violent, well not Barry, no, and then I'm not sure. I'm not sure in this school anyway, I don't know, I'm inexperienced but from him being in my class I could quite happily see him go somewhere else because it was so hard to deal with (/) although I know in his next class now he's hardly ever there, so I feel it's good but for certain children and the extremes, I don't think I agree with.

Transcription ends

The closing stages of the interview were not transcribed, as the content does not relate to the research area. This dialogue reveals the participant describing
- inequities between classes in same year group and effects upon teacher's workload
- teacher's negative views of his school's policy of 'treasure chest' as a special reward for some children with behavioural difficulties and
- further comments about Barry, indicating concern for his next class.

EXAMPLE THREE: LORNA (Seagrove Infant School)
Lorna's perspective is that of an inner change-maker

1. *Could you tell me about your current class please?*

2. I've got a reception class and there's 30 children and it's quite a good mixture, age range about 10 group 1, 10 group 2, 10 group 3 and within that class I've got one boy, Simon, who's autistic and he's come from Maxted, a very specific programme set up for him at Maxted, which we've now implemented into my class so he is the child in the class that I would say displays challenging behaviour um (//) and the rest of the class I guess are like a normal class. I've got a handful of quite difficult children but within the normal range of difficulty, I've got a handful of very mature children um (/) and I've got a diabetic child and a child with some other medical problems but I think the rest of the class are quite a normal sort of class with a fair range of behavioural and emotional difficulties. But it's Simon that's the one that stands out, who would normally before the inclusion would not have come to Seagrove, he'd have gone on to Harley Rise. He is actually um (/) I've got 2 children on IEPs, he's one of them, he's been statemented, he's got 25 hours support and I've got another child on an IEP for speech therapy.

3. *How does that class compare with other classes that you've taught?*

4. Um (/) it compares quite closely to the class last year because I had another child with autism in my class last year but compared to other classes that I've taught it's obviously very different (/) because in the classroom now he's got his own TEACCH base set up with his own schedule, with his own routines, he's got very, very specific special needs and targets that need to be met, he's got somebody working with him all the time, so it's, it's just a big additional thing that's been added to my class that normally wouldn't be there (...)

5. *You're saying once he would have not been here.*

6. Yes, I mean from my experience last year with the child that I had with autism he actually came into the classroom and he hadn't been diagnosed. I knew that he had autistic tendencies so did many of the other teachers in the school, but it's the process of actually getting him labelled as autistic and getting the support and getting him statemented that was just absolutely horrendous, it took a year (/) um, so initially when I came, I had him for 4 terms actually, the first term that I had him there were no additional hours given to him, there was nothing set up for him, no TEACCH bay, no schedule, absolutely nothing and I think I spent a

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month where I didn't sleep hardly at all, my only concern was for David, trying to cope with him being in my class (/) um, and trying to maintain a normal classroom environment for the other children and it was just horrendous.

7.   *Is it that that's particularly challenging, the balancing act between one child and the rest of the class, for you?*

8.   I think it is um (/) I think there's lots of things I find difficult. The first thing that I found incredibly difficult was (/) I felt like a very bad teacher because I knew that I wasn't giving the majority of the class what they needed, yet as hard as I tried I wasn't giving David what he needed either and the whole time you're battling against trying (/) to cope with the whole class and trying to (/) also give David what he needs as well, because he's in your class, you've got to try and meet his needs. Um, so for a long time I just felt like a very bad teacher because I wasn't doing anything right for anybody. Then I think it's the day to day stress because where I'm normally a relaxed person in the classroom, I've done my planning, I know what I've got prepared, all my resources, I know what I need to do, with a child like David or Simon in the class they will interrupt and virtually ruin everything that you're trying to do and I would walk and you know within 10 minutes of being in my classroom I would be completely tense and stressed, whereas normally with other classes I very rarely shout, I very rarely get cross or annoyed with the other children, I'm quite calm but because I was constantly being interrupted, constantly having to deal with one child's behaviour, it completely affected my whole personality as a teacher so that was difficult. I was very tired because I wasn't sleeping at all because all I could think about was this one child and feeling guilty a lot of the time um, and I was tired because I was so busy making things, putting up the TEACCH station, learning about autism, learning about the best way of supporting, filling in IEPS, filling in Ed Psych reports, meeting with the psychologist, trying to sort mum out, it was constant, the whole time and this one child was just taking over everything. But I mean (///) after working with him for 4 terms, I did feel very (/) quite good about myself and about Tina, who helped me because we actually, I think, did really well in the end because we fought so much we got additional help, we set up lots of strategies and he improved dramatically (/) so it was a good feeling after 4 terms. But the struggle to go through was just difficult; it takes it out of you.

9.   *So what does inclusion mean to you then?*

10. To me (///) ideally inclusion does mean bringing the majority of children into mainstream education but (/) and the ideal of inclusion to me is something very positive. If I had a child with very specific needs I would want them included into mainstream school because I've been to Harley School, I've been to other schools and I would prefer for children to be included into mainstream. But I think inclusion needs to go with a whole package of support and of education. I've had 4 days training on inclu, autism and I had that in November, David came into my class in April so I think with inclusion there needs to be a package of support and teachers need to have training and there needs to be trained people working

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with children who are included. We need to have special resources, places and an area for children to go to. I mean at the moment inclusion, as far as I can see it, is throwing the children into mainstream school and getting them to cope as best as they can and I think it's destroying a lot of work that's going on in mainstream schools and it's incredibly difficult and stressful for teachers and the support isn't there at all, the funding's not there for resources, everything that we've done we've done off our own back. The people I've got working with the autistic children in reception I've trained them myself and I've only had 4 days' training (/) so (///)

11. *You obviously went through an extraordinarily difficult time with David, how did you cope with that personally because you did keep going and you came out the other end of it. What kept you going?*

12. Um (///) (interview interrupted by mechanical work outside room) my husband's very good. He would let me bounce things off on him and then say "right, that's enough" and then make me do something different but he was good at listening and then good at distracting me so I didn't think about it and good at actually putting things into perspective, as in "Lorna, it's only your job, it's not your life, this child isn't your responsibility" but he was fantastic and the people (/) my er support assistant was just brilliant and we could have a laugh about certain things because I mean I ended up teaching with him between my legs, because there was nobody to support, you know nobody there for him and he would do some incredible things that you just would never believe would happen in a classroom, and some days we'd both sit there and cry about it and other days you could sit and just laugh about it.

13. *So, not being alone was good.*

14. Yes and having the support from the head as well, I guess, helping me fight for hours and so I could see that things were developing, improving and being sent on the course, lots of little things add up to making you feel a bit better about it, but it is difficult to cope with it and I think it was me as well. I had to go through like a really difficult time of feeling guilty all the time and thinking I couldn't do it and thinking I was letting all the other children down um, because when David came along I actually had 14 other children on IEPs and because he was taking away all their special needs time, they weren't getting any special needs time at all and the guilt that that puts on you is (//) horrendous but it's in the end saying well you can only do one thing, either you contain this one child and the others have to just plod on and do their best or this one child will cause riots and the others get their support but it's coming to terms that you can't do everything and that you're doing your best and that's all that you can do.

15. *So you're saying you just have to experience that really.*

16. Yes, to go through it. My colleague at the moment has been through that. She's had a, a horrendous half a term coping with a child with autism um, but I think she's coming out the other end now and feeling

a bit better about what she's doing. I think it takes a while to feel better about that.

17. *Yes, I'm sure it does and you're saying that you saw David make really dramatic improvements and that made you feel good, so what were those improvements?*

18. Mainly his social skills um, and that's one of the real positive things I think about inclusion. I mean when he first came in, he was a very naughty boy as well as being autistic, very naughty, very, quite clever and manipulative and he would spend a lot of time attention seeking, he would do anything for your attention. He would run out of the classroom, he used to head bang on the walls, he used to bite himself, every time he was on the carpet he'd be making noises or rocking or flapping, he found it incredibly difficult to follow routines and to have any kind of social interaction really, every interaction was on his terms um, but gradually through the 4 terms he really managed to cope with following the routine of the day. By the end of the last term he could with support, follow, on a good day, follow routine just as well as the other children. He wasn't running away, he knew when he had to sit on the carpet, he knew how long he had to sit for, he knew when he had to work with a group or when he could choose himself, he just coped with the school day. When he first came in he, he just couldn't cope with it at all. Like I said unless he was sat between my legs when I was teaching, I was physically holding on to him, he would be climbing on tables, he'd be really disruptive but he actually managed to cope with a normal school day with support, not every day, things would trigger him off like the rain, so he actually was conforming to mainstream routines. He could sit in assembly whereas before he just couldn't cope with assembly at all. He would be making noises, sliding around, you had to take him out all the time and the other thing was with his social interactions, when he first came in, if any, he wouldn't have any interaction with children at all, the only time he would respond to them is if they touched something that he was playing with, and then he would have a temper tantrum like a 2 year old um, by the end of it he actually made me cry. I think it was 2 days before he left my class and it was in Plan, Do, Review and he decided to create a game out of, with the Compare Bears and he made up a game and he actually asked 3 children to play the game with him and he sat down and he organised the 3 children and they played a game together for about 5 minutes and he had eye contact, he was asking them questions, he was sharing and I just never believed he could ever do that. I mean that was after 4 terms of gradually working on social interaction, having special times in the day called Friend Time, when we would get him to play with somebody and gradually play a game, so it took a long time but to see him do that was just, for me, delightful. Another thing, like at the beginning (/) he really, really, really didn't like anything to do with pencil work, any recording of anything, he didn't like any recording of maths or art, writing, if he had to write everything would go on the floor, pencils would be around the room, there would be big, just distress for him to write, he was very unconfident, had incredibly low self-esteem, just thought he couldn't do it and if he thought he couldn't do it, he wouldn't have a go um, but by the end of it he was actually, with support, on a

good day he would have a go at writing and that for me, was delightful because when he first came in if you tried to give him anything that resembled a pencil it would just cause distress for him and frustration so he did make progress.

19. *It sounds like it was enormous and you grew to like him as well, it sounds?*

20. Yes I did. I did. I really missed him and I was looking forward to him going but he's, yes, amazingly I did.

21. *Would he be the most challenging child you've ever worked with do you think?*

22. He is yes, definitely. Um, he does run close to Simon who's in my class at the moment but for different reasons. I think David was challenging because of his behaviour, I mean academically he was challenging as well but his behaviour was so disruptive and he caused me so much grief by spoiling so many things that I'd planned to do with the class. Sometimes it almost made me not want to plan nice things for my class any more because I knew that he just couldn't cope with it and it would be difficult, so he was challenging because of his behaviour but the boy that I've got at the moment, Simon, I find him almost on a par actually.

23. *Except that you're more experienced presumably?*

24. Yes, but he's got different needs. His main need really is um, his language. He's a PECS communication system, and I didn't know anything about PECs at all so I was on a training course with PECs um, so I know a bit more about it. It's easy because I know about the TEACCH bay and schedule and the routines, I can cope with that side of things but it's the language barrier and Simon is difficult in a different way. He (/) he also interrupts everything I do but because he repeats everything I say. When we're on the carpet and I'm teaching I'll be counting with the children and we'll finish and he'll start counting and it's, he's not naughty as in he won't run away, he won't be hurting other people or, in the same way David was but he still interrupts almost everything I try and do with the class and he also needs a very, very specific programme for him and I know very little about that sort of programme that he needs, and that's very stressful.

25. *So you're back to learning again.*

26. Yes, I don't know how to help him best really um, and the other thing I find quite difficult about Simon is there are certain words that trigger off very bad behaviour, fighting, hitting and kicking and it's words like 'sit down', 'tidy up time' and 'no' and he's hurt me quite a few times because they're words that I have to say quite a lot to the class and if they're a trigger, he sees me as not a very nice person really at the moment and every time this word comes out of my mouth he'll go for me and he's, he's hurt me quite a few times and I find that quite difficult.

27. *So what do you do?*

28. Um, if he bites me or scratches me or kicks me or whatever, he hit me in the stomach yesterday, which was quite distressing um, he's got rules up in his work station that you have to read to him and very clearly say that Mrs Andrews is sad and she's got a cross face, she's sad, he'll parrot fashion repeat it and you say "Simon must say sorry" and he'll say "Simon says sorry" but the understanding isn't really there but it is really difficult and it's frustrating because if somebody's scratched you or whatever or bruised you or bitten you, you want them to understand that they've done something wrong and I'm not sure that he does really because he doesn't. He understands happy and sad but really many other feelings he just doesn't understand very much.

29. *How do the other children react if he hurts you?*

30. They're quite shocked I think and they don't like it um, but young children are amazingly accepting of poor behaviour. I mean he's bitten 2 other children in my classroom before, quite severely and bruised them, yet those 2 children will still want to be his friend. They're incredibly accepting um (//) of his behaviour. I mean when it happens they don't like it but then they've forgotten it by the next day but I think it is important that they see that I do punish him. There are sanctions for his bad behaviour like going into the workstation, having time out or whatever, because otherwise it just seems a bit unfair.

31. *You obviously don't take the physical behaviour personally? You don't like it, it distresses you but you're not taking it personally.*

32. No, although I did yesterday when he hit me in the stomach (∪) so I've given his mum a storybook to read to him called 'There's a House in my Mummy's Tummy' to try and get him to understand a bit more about what's in my tummy and why it's important if he's going to hit me he doesn't hit my tummy. But I mean because I am pregnant I do try and stay away from him and that

33. *(⇔) That's your way of surviving?*

34. But that makes me feel guilty because I'm not giving him what he needs but I, I

35. *(⇔) But you've got an assistant?*

36. Yes who follows the IEP and has got the objectives and things. I can't do that for him at the moment, it's quite difficult, so he is on a par with David, maybe not quite as bad because there isn't that sneaky, devious, naughty side. I think that is the bit that is quite hurtful, that you can take personally.

37. *Are those children then more difficult for you than children who have got emotional behavioural difficulties?*

38. Yes, definitely, much more. I mean I had a child in my class last year called Bradley and he had very big emotional difficulties about coming to school. He was on a chart, positive reward chart for a long but that wasn't consistent (/) and I could reason with him and it's just much easier to cope with, but when you've got somebody you can't reason with or things will (/) things will cause a frustration or cause a reaction and you don't know why, what things it is, it's really frustrating. We found out the things like the rain sparks David off, um, certain television programmes spark him off, and it takes a while to find out what it is so it's harder to try and put it right. With other children it's easier because you can understand it better (/) and also because I've been trained, you know when I did my PGCE course I mean there was very, very little training on behaviour management but there was some training on coping with the normal (/) types of problems but I'd had absolutely no training on autism or coping with PECs or anything like that so I have more experience.

39. *I'm interested to know if you've got a behavioural incident that really stands out, whether that would be the long episode of behaviour that you've already described with David or something that stands out and you think you'll carry with you right to the ends of your days as a teacher, as being your worst moment.*

40. My worst moment I would say was with Simon. My worst short moment would be with Simon and that was when I asked him to sit down and he just went for me, biting my leg, hitting, scratching, drew blood on my arm and I just wasn't prepared for that so I had to stop him, take him to his work station and I was going to have the last word and try and get him to sit down again (/) um, that was the worst short moment I think because I've never been attacked by a child before but my worst sort of memory that will live with me for ever is the first month that I had with David because David was my life for a month.

41. *And you were losing sleep.*

42. And it was affecting the whole class. I often think the people who came up with the idea of inclusion have no idea of the consequences of what it has on the other children. I just don't think they've thought, you know they're, if people haven't come in to watch and observe I don't think they can appreciate what happens really. That would be my worst (/) but then on the other hand probably my best teaching memory so far would be seeing David do that game so (////)

43. *So when you were first attacked by Simon and obviously that was a big shock, what happened, what were the consequences here in school? How do the consequences run?*

44. Um, well I have to fill in a form and the form got sent off to the LEA because obviously he'd physically harmed me um, and spoke to his parents and we started a behaviour diary so every time he physically hurt somebody it's written down but he's never done that again so that was the one time, he's only ever done that once. Other times that he has bitten me or whatever I can probably count on my fingers or the

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number of times, I can react quicker now as well and I know to stand away and I know the trigger words and I know that if I see him move quickly to put my hand out so that he can't get close to me or whatever and that was very early on in the term when he wasn't used to being in school so it happened again that really, um, but I got the support from the head, you know the parents were called in and we started a behaviour diary. There isn't that much else we could do, because you couldn't exclude him. I mean he didn't (/) either he wouldn't remember or it would make no sense to him the next day so we just carry on as normal really (/) but you need to be more aware.

45. *So the learning was really from you?*

46. From me, yes (◡). I mean it sounds awful, I don't want to paint him as an awful child who would attack anybody that says things to him because it's not like that. I just took him a while to settle and I think it does with autistic children, change of routine, change of faces, it takes time for the child and for everybody else around to know how they work or whatever so.

47. *Can you see any benefits for other children of including children such as David and Simon?*

48. Yes, I think it makes, I mean I think children are very accepting anyway but I just think it makes children more aware of all the different behaviours that go on in society and I think it just makes them, it helps their social skills, I think and it helps their interaction skills as well as their tolerance of other children and I think that is really positive (/) but I think the down side far outweighs that positive side, I've got to say, you know. The, I mean the disruption that David had on children's learning was just incredible. I had to send year 1 children up to year 2 who really hadn't reached their targets because they hadn't had the support at the time to reach them um, and with Simon as well, I mean it's not so bad with Simon but he is quite constantly an interruption so it takes much longer to establish rules and routines for the rest of the class, especially the mature children who are only 4 um, and he actually has got help all the time which is wonderful so he hasn't taken away from the other children's learning or their IEP time.

49. *Your school sounds as though it's supportive.*

50. It is, it is very supportive. I mean Amanda has fought very hard to get the children the hours and to put us on training and to really try and do her best for us and she'll send the children home if they don't have the support that they need um, so that's been good but there hasn't been hardly any support from above Amanda, which (/) I find incredible and you have to fight for every bit of money, every bit of everything (/)

51. *And that's a barrier?*

52. Yes, clearly a barrier because like Simon, he has to go home at lunchtime because his hours are only 25 hours so we can't have him 189

in at lunchtime so we've tried to put that forward so many times with the LEA but there's no money, so he's not being fully included because he can't stay at the moment and there's still the times to cover his playtimes, which means he has to be in the classroom without an assistant for about 15 minutes 3 times a week and that's the time when he will go for me. I haven't got the assistant there and I have to make him try to conform and I don't have the time to do that with 29 other children so ideally, he would need, what 32½ hours of funding instead of 25 so, yes.

53. *So, also amongst the staff you're clearly supportive of each other because you said you'd trained other staff (interview interrupted).*

54. I think we do all support each other um, I did spend quite a lot of time with Jo before she took on David and Geri and I have both got autistic children, Geri's the other reception teacher, and we spent a lot of time talking and setting things up together before the children arrived and the whole reception team are wonderful, really very supportive and if ever you just can't cope with a child being on the carpet, somebody will come and take him away just for 10 minutes.

55. *Just to give you some respite?*

56. Yes. People are really aware I think of how things are going and the, if there's any tension in the air or whatever, very supportive and there's Tina who worked for me last year. She's very well trained, she's got lots of ideas and we've also had a lot of support from Harley Rise, the outreach service, which has been, well with David that was just fantastic because I hadn't been on my training and for somebody to come in and set something up for me and show me how to cope with him was wonderful. With Simon as well we had an outreach worker, Sally, who came about 10 times when he initially came into my class to help with the transition Maxted to Seagrove and that was very good as well, so there has been some support. I did ask the Director of Education to come in to see what it was like having an autistic child in the class but he didn't take me up on that (…)

57. *Reflecting on your work as a teacher, what do you think it is that has made you successful with these children, even though you didn't feel successful initially?*

58. I was quite determined to get it right. I couldn't bear the thought of having a child in my class who I wasn't doing my best for. I, I needed, that's why I couldn't sleep (ᴗ) because I needed to know that I was trying to do my best for every child in my class, that was one of the reasons, determination. Another reason is because I wanted to find out more about autism and I wanted to educate myself also.

59. *So there was a personal challenge in it for you?*

60. Yes. Um, and the other reason it was successful is it had to be (ᴗ) because if it wasn't, if I couldn't have, if I couldn't have made progress with David my year and a third with him would have been atrocious, it 190

just would have been completely a nightmare so it had to work, I had to make sure that I tried as many things as possible until they worked, and we were, we were changing things almost every 2 weeks initially to find out what would work with him, what wouldn't work, doing different behaviour charts, um having behaviour cards, having to plan out, having strategies for assembly um, we would constantly change what we were doing, constantly review what we were doing, constantly try to improve it or something might work for 2 weeks and then not work again so we would go and change it, so it was just constantly trying to make it work and evaluating and meeting with everybody who worked with him to see who had the best idea to cope with x sort of behaviour so that's I guess the determination part (//) I guess also because I did like David, I did want him to have a nice time at school. He came from another school with such a low self-esteem (/) that I just, it was upsetting, and for his mum as well, I mean she had an incredibly difficult time and I just wanted to prove to her that David could have a nice time in school you know, but it was hard work (...) and sometimes, I guess like any other person you just think "I've had enough now, I'm just going to have a week when I'm just going to carry on and focus on the other children and just try and forget that he's in my class for a week".

61. *Which you can do probably when you've got your other staff trained for him but not before.*

62. No, it did get a lot easier once I had the hours, once we all knew how, what triggered him off um, I could like you say, hand over responsibility and I know it sounds awful but he was not my problem for certain times of the day.

63. *If you could wake up tomorrow and something had changed in your class, what would you want to change? Would it be to have more support?*

64. (...) It would be that I knew probably more about autism, that I was trained in PECs, that I had somebody working with Simon who also was trained in PECs and also knew more about autism. The 2 people I've got working with Simon at the moment are incredibly enthusiastic and very loyal and really want the best for Simon but they've got absolutely no training and that's frustrating because they are fantastic and they're clever people and they, we try and get together as much as possible and do the best for him but I just think if school could have had the money to employ somebody who knew about autism, about the TEACCH bay, about the routines, about PECs, Simon's got a very specific special need with his reading, I mean he's a very able child with his reading but I need to know how to get into that (interview interrupted). But my wish list would be for me to have more training, for me to have more experience and to know what I'm doing properly and to have somebody working with Simon who also knew properly what they were doing and also to have some time to be able to liaise with the people working with Simon and for me to be able to do the paperwork properly and to have more money for Simon to stay at lunchtime (...) and to have a smaller class because then I could, it would be easier to cope with him, he needs space, oh and to

have a bigger classroom because he needs space, he's very confined and squashed in and that frustrates him.

65. *So summing up really you'd actually want the tools to be able to do the job well.*

66. I mean if you look at where he came from (/) massive area for him to play in and work in (/) a lot of trained and qualified people to work with him to get the best out of him (interview interrupted) (...) because if I look at his Statement, well when I saw his Statement before he came to school it just made me feel sick because all the needs that has got on there, a lot of them I know I can't meet, partly because of my lack of experience, partly because of just the environment where he is, because it's a Statement that's come from a special school.

67. *Thank you, that completes all my questions (...)*

Transcription ends

APPENDIX THREE: STANDARDS AND INCLUSION
– AN ILLUSTRATION OF COMPETING DISCOURSES

Comparison of interview with Angela and Julie re: competing political pressures for teachers.

Angela

I think teaching is about including. That's how I think, that what I believe, inclusion is about teaching.

So you don't feel these children are making your job difficult? They're part of the job?

Yes they're part of the job. I will say this though that um, because I've been teaching a hundred years, teaching's so different now to what it was and the pressures to achieve are so incredible now, we're thrusting tests and SATs and this will happen in a year and this will happen in 2 years and you've got to be here and you must be there, I feel now that that is absolutely the most important thing that goes on in my classroom because I'm being measured, being **judged by these results**, I know I'm being judged, I know that's happening and that's (/) quite hard whereas before I felt we were much more in the game of educating the whole child for life, equipping them (/) but equipping them with more than reading, writing and numeracy or literacy and numeracy and that **I think um makes things difficult**.

(Extracts 67 – 69)

Julie

103. Yes, I would say that it probably is. I mean the balancing, I think you do it kind of, you just do it don't you? You just do it but I think that's why you go home feeling absolutely exhausted because at the end of the day you are **judged on your attainment** and this is one of the most sickening things, you are judged on your attainments and if OFSTED came in (/) your attainment, you wouldn't get a good for your attainment because you've got children, autistic children in your class and I think that is absolutely sad because that just denies you all of the effort that you've put into having an autistic child in your class, you know, I just think that's just so disheartening, so demotivating, so (//) it's such an un (/) yes it's rewarding to have these children in your class because they do, they can, with your hard work and your support staff's hard work, they can make very small steps, some obviously can make bigger strides but at the end of the day they're not going to make as much progress possibly, the chances of them making as much progress are minimal, are not as good and you know, you're almost being as a teacher, you're almost being, what's the word, you know, hounded because these children aren't making attainment as per other children in your class and I just think that's really sad. **It just makes a very difficult job even more difficult.**

(Extract 103)

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