

The Silent Minority :
Developing Talk in the Primary Classroom

Volume Two

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PART FIVE : ANALYSIS OF DATA (2)

Illustrative Case Studies

In Part Four I analysed the data in a way which developed and applied the main themes of the study. In Part Five the illustrative case studies discuss these themes as they relate to specific individuals. Thus each of the case studies is divided into four sections. Section one examines the pupil's **developing sense of self** as revealed during one-to-one interviews with them and their parents. Section two describes the way in which quiet withdrawn behaviour is related to the pupil's **relationships with pupils and teachers in school**. Here evidence is drawn from observations of the pupils in the classroom supported by the pupil's own comments. Section three examines the pupil's **early childhood relationships with parents** and the way in which anxious attachments can contribute to difficulty in forming relationships in school. This section draws on data gathered during one-to-one interviews with pupils and their parents. Section four offers an analysis of **other possible causes of quiet behaviour** which include issues of race, gender, class or specific special educational needs. Each case study concludes with a summary of the aspects of the pupil's experience, perceptions and behaviour which contribute to an understanding of their quiet withdrawn behaviour in school.

In selecting pupils for the case studies it was logical to chose four children that represented each of the four modes of behaviour **Ready to Learn, Excluding, Afraid and At Risk**.

However, selecting which four children best illustrated the main themes of the study was not easy. Each of the twelve children who took part in the study made a unique contribution to my understanding of quiet withdrawn behaviour. Thus whilst I am happy with my final choice, I am aware that using four different case studies would have provided similar, but at the same time unique, perspectives on the quiet behaviour I witnessed in schools. My decision to focus on four girls reflects the fact that ten of the twelve pupils highlighted by the study were girls. Although, as this study demonstrates, both girls and boys may exhibit quiet withdrawn behaviour, my experience suggests that quiet withdrawn boys represent a small minority.

SECTION 5.1. : DIANA - READY TO LEARN

The term **Ready to Learn** is used, in the context of this study, to describe Karen Horney's (1945) position of "moving towards" applied within an educational setting. It describes a position in which individuals are willing and able to enter into relationships with others. An examination of Attachment Theory (section 2.4.) and Post-Feminist Accounts of Parenting (section 2.5. & 2.6.) suggests that an ability to enter into relationships is related to secure attachments in early childhood.

Indeed an examination of Diana's relationships at home with her father and sister provide clear evidence of secure attachments. These relationships appear strong enough to have supported Diana when her mother left the family home. In school Diana seeks similar secure relationships with a small number of her peers. Yet Diana's tendency to see herself "in particularistic relation to someone else" (Chodorow, 1978, p 178) suggests a poorly developed sense of separation and autonomy. In this case study I argue that Diana's inability to see herself as an autonomous individual is partly responsible for preventing her from taking an active role in her own education. I also link Diana's passivity in the classroom with her view of education which corresponds to what Freire (1972) called "banking education". That is a transmission view of education in which the pupils are regarded as "containers" which are filled with knowledge.

5.1.a) A Confident but Limited Sense of Self

A Conscientious Pupil

Diana is a conscientious pupil. This is highlighted by her comments about transferring to secondary school where she will,

...try and pass all my tests, to make friends and to try harder.
(Diana, 3rd interview, line 107)

Diana wants to do well in school because she sees this as the only way to achieve her long term aim to be a doctor.

However, there is evidence to suggest that she has begun to modify her goal in the light of other people's expectations.

Diana told a friend of her ambition,

And she said, "Oh God, you can't be a doctor because you've got to be so clever to be a doctor". And I thought, well, if I pass all my exams and start studying I might be able to be a doctor
(Diana, 1st interview, line 65)

Even whilst affirming her intent she begins to modify her aim.

And if not a doctor, a vet, and if not a vet a police lady.
(Diana, 1st interview, line 67)

A year later Diana is hesitant about stating her ambition.

I'm trying to study but I want to like - be a person what helps people.
(Diana, 1st interview, line 97)

One can only speculate as to the influences which have led to Diana's reassessment of her career choices. However, in her choice of career as in her daily life Diana fulfils the female stereotype in seeing herself in relation to others.

In one sense an ultimate career should not be the preoccupation of her primary school teachers. For example, the primary school curriculum should not be dominated by the constraints of a public examination system. However, and this is so fundamental that it should not need to be said, pupils should have the opportunity to develop to their full potential irrespective of their gender, race or class. Whilst recognising the developments in the area of equal opportunities, I would suggest that the hidden curriculum still supports female passivity. As I observed Diana and her friends in the classroom I was struck by how little space, either real or metaphysical, they occupied in the classroom. Whilst their male peers moved freely around the room the girls stayed quietly in their places. Moreover, the girls role as providers of equipment and services was largely unchallenged by either pupils or teachers.

As will be discussed in subsequent sections of this case study, Diana is encouraged to believe that her quiet compliant behaviour is appropriate for achieving academic success. However, in reality it is likely to be the active pupils who ask questions of the teacher and make the learning their own who are more likely to succeed.

Diana is quiet and compliant with a touching confidence in her primary school.

I know I will have learnt a lot from this school.
(Diana, 2nd interview, line 36)

Moreover, she believes that she is getting a good education,

which she defines as,

... like being taught the right things and things like that, and being good at skills...

(Diana, 3rd interview, line 85)

Ignoring for the moment her narrow definition of education as the learning of skills, I believe that Diana is not as successful as she might be in three major respects. First, and most importantly, she fails to engage with her class teacher in the active pursuit of knowledge. This is due to her lack of self-confidence and her failure to recognise the importance of talking with her teachers. Second, she has no clear assessment of her own strengths and weaknesses nor guidance as to how she can improve. She has no clear short term objectives to aim for. Finally, there is a mismatch between her experiential out-of-school knowledge and the book-based learning valued in school.

These interrelated themes are discussed elsewhere in this case study. Diana's reluctance to talk with her teacher is the focus of section 5.1.c. Other factors which contribute to her quiet withdrawn behaviour and thus prevent her from learning are discussed in section 5.1.d.

Talkative and Shy

Diana recognises contradictions in herself when she describes herself as being both talkative and shy. The ease and willingness with which she was prepared to talk to me made her

a pleasure to interview.

I mean I couldn't live without talking. I couldn't stand a day without talking.

(Diana, 2nd interview, line 55)

In a one-to-one situation she chatters quite cheerfully and does not seem in the slightest inhibited by the presence of the tape recorder. However, she does admit that there are times when she feels shy.

... like if no-one's talking to you right, you think to yourself how am I going to start a conversation but you think really that they're shy an' all, that's why they don't talk to you... but you feel shy because nobody's like talking to you an' everything and you don't like to talk to them back. (Diana, 1st interview, line 168)

In some situations Diana's inability to initiate a conversation is a social handicap. However, when she experiences difficulty in talking to her teacher the consequences can be far more serious. An ability to join in with discussions is one of the ways in which individuals make the learning their own. Moreover, oral questioning is an important way in which the teacher monitors the progress of the class.

Towards the end of the study Diana recognises the importance of talk for learning but has to admit that she still finds it difficult to join in a discussion.

I try and discuss but - I do but sometimes I can't think of anything to say. (Diana, 3rd interview, line 75)

Perhaps as a result of participating in the study, she is developing strategies for helping herself to contribute to small group discussions.

I listen and if - I ask 'em questions and then like I'll talk about their answers and things. Instead of like being left out I then feel part of it when I've asked a question. (Diana, 3rd interview, line 7)

By being aware of strategies which enable her to participate in discussions Diana can begin to take a more active role in her own education.

An Awareness of Her Abilities

Diana has only the vaguest notions about her academic progress in school. She is preoccupied by the acquisition of skills which lend themselves to assessment by formal testing.

Sometimes she can detect a sense of development,

when I were int' fist year I didn't know how to spell and int' second year I didn't, but now that I've come to Mr N___'s class I've learnt a bit better.

(Diana, 2nd interview, line 12)

Diana expects learning to be linear and that she will continue to progress. She is disappointed when she discovers that she has not done as well as she had hoped.

you really think you're doing something right and then you get something wrong, like we had a decimal test, Mr N___ said I'd only got two wrong, then I got one wrong, and I thought I were going to get none wrong but I've got two wrong again, so that were a disappointment for me but it weren't for Mr N___ he said I were still working hard.

(Diana, 2nd interview, line 22)

Whilst the maths test is not, of itself, important it is significant in that this is the only occasion when Diana refers to her teacher's response to her work. The teacher clearly feels that it is important to maintain Diana's self-confidence. She must have been reassured by his faith in her

continued hard work.

However, Diana has no recollection of being shown the right answers or of being given strategies to improve her study techniques. Thus an important opportunity for learning has been lost. If this were an isolated incident which occurred in the space between lessons when the teacher was under pressure to be elsewhere, a pupil's academic progress would not be detrimentally affected. However, evidence collected during the present study suggests that pupil-teacher dialogue is often of this limited kind. For example, I observed a number of occasions in which teachers focused on the presentation of work rather than on the quality of the thinking which lay behind it. Similarly, pupils were frequently complemented on "good" ie quiet and compliant behaviour.

Perhaps because of a lack of genuine dialogue with her teacher, Diana has no clear concept of her own abilities in relation to the rest of the class.

... like instead of being bottom of the class, I weren't like at the bottom of class last year, it's good to be like at the top again. I'm not at the top either.

(Diana, 2nd interview, line 24)

Moreover, she is reluctant to think of some pupils as being cleverer than others.

I'm not saying they're very clever miss but, I mean all the people in our class are probably clever.

(Diana, 2nd interview, line 45)

Honourable though this might be, I feel that there is a sense

in which Diana needs to recognise and identify with successful pupils. She also needs an appropriate sense of security and challenge in her experience of education. In looking at Diana's relationships with others there is a strong sense of attachment but a much less well developed sense of independent autonomy.

5.1.b) Relationships at Home

Diana and her younger sister Dawn live with their father, an unemployed painter and decorator, in a mid-terrace council house. Both girls maintain contact with their mother who left the family home after an "amiable" divorce some years ago.

Diana's accounts of her family confirm that both her father and sister are key figures in her life. Her mother, who is hardly mentioned except in the context of the divorce, remains a shadowy figure.

Secure Attachments with Father

Diana's father is clearly her primary attachment figure. Confirming the view that fathers can parent children, Diana explains how he fulfils the role of both mother and father for herself and her sister.

Diana Mm - like like a mum and a dad. And he helps my sister as well. He copes well.

R How do you mean he copes well?

Diana Like you'd think a one parent would struggle but he don't like he takes things easy.

(Diana, 3rd interview, line 4-6)

Diana seems convinced of her father's ability to cope with the demands of being a lone-parent. There is a suggestion in Diana's comments that her relationship with her father had changed since her mother left home. When she is asked to name the most important person in her life she hesitates.

Er - er - there's quite a couple really but I shouldn't - my dad helps me a lot now, now my mum's left and that lot...

(Diana, 3rd interview, line 2)

In the context of the interview it seems likely that Diana was going to name her mother as the most important person in her life. Whilst Diana's relationship with her mother is hardly mentioned there is no doubt about the deep affection and love which runs through every exchange between father and daughter.

In addition to carrying out domestic duties Diana's father also takes an active interest in her school life. It is to her father that Diana turns when she has a problem.

... he's like a teacher my dad really when he's got the time.

(Diana, 1st interview, line 157)

Diana constantly refers to her father and frequently quotes his opinion on a wide range of issues. He offers her security, and his praise adds to the positive image she has of herself.

And my proudest moment were when - I think it were when I were reading to my dad I think it were, and I didn't really get mixed words wrong and he said "Oh good girl"

and things like that and I were proud of myself.
 (Diana, 3rd interview, line 55)

Diana's father clearly appreciates the value of praise in building self confidence. Diana quotes several examples of him encouraging his daughters by praising their modest successes. This supportive role is one which Diana frequently adopts in school during small group activities.

However, whilst Diana's father clearly wants her to be more successful at school than he was, there is a limit to his aspirations for his daughter. Through his comments during an interview he effectively squashes her ambition to be a doctor. He can not envisage her in such a role. To him she is "not a go-getter" (Diana's father, 1st interview, line 174). He is surprised by, and even laughs at, her ambition.

All she wants to do, if ever I ask her what she wants to be she says a doctor
 (Laughter)
 I hope she can be but I doubt it. Or a nurse you know - I 'm surprised she said doctor, there's a lot of girls say "I want to be a nurse" and things like that...
 (Diana's father, 1st interview, line 160)

It would be easier for him to accept his daughter in a stereotypical female role than as a "trend setter". How far this is a realistic appraisal of Diana's potential it is difficult to say. Nevertheless, as the previous section of this case study showed, Diana is already modifying her ambition in the light of other people's perceptions of her. She is, to some extent at least, constrained by her father's narrow perception of her.

Whilst I would not describe this father-daughter relationship

as "smothering" it is perhaps too close to allow Diana to develop a strong sense of an individual identity. Diana and her father spend a lot of their leisure time together. He tries without success to involve her in his interests. Significantly, Diana sounds a little like a bored wife when she describes how she ignores his comments.

He likes to talk to me about football, right, he's crap and he's good and I just sit like this, I'm not paying attention at all. (Diana, 2nd interview, line 77)

On a deeper level there seems to be a need for Diana to establish herself as a separate person without losing the attachment which gives her such a secure base from which to grow. One positive sign is that she seems able to recognise the need for separation in her close relationship with her sister.

Relationship with Sister

Diana is, by her own admission, more than usually close to her younger sister Dawn. Diana is not sure how far their close relationship is a product of their parent's divorce and how far it is due to the fact that Dawn is small for her age and therefore appears vulnerable.

Yeah, I think we're closer than other brothers and sisters 'cos sometimes they've got their mums and dads but me and Dawn we've got each other really haven't we? ... but I think that if my mum still lived with us we'd still be close as well because she's smaller than her age and - don't know why - but I'm just close to her.
(Diana, 3rd interview, line 24 & 28)

Diana is clearly protective towards Dawn. Her father goes so

far as to describe her as a "little mother". In assuming the role of surrogate mother, Diana is once again fulfilling a female stereotype in which she perceives herself in relation to others.

One effect of the close relationship is that Diana is preoccupied by her sister's needs. When asked three seemingly unrelated questions, "What makes you angry?", "Have you ever done anything you were ashamed of?" and "Is there anything that scares you?", all three were answered with reference to Dawn. Diana is made angry by people picking on Dawn. She worries that things are happening to Dawn. She is ashamed that she once hit her sister "hard". It is almost as if Diana does not have a separate existence outside her relationships with others.

Her relationship with Dawn certainly takes up a lot of Diana's time. It may not be an over-exaggeration when Diana says "if I go out she is always with me". Moreover,

As soon as she's out of my sight I get worried and I go looking for her, right. Yesterday I were at my friend's house right, listening to a tape and she weren't in the bedroom and I went downstairs and I'm shouting her and everything and she were on the front playing... She'd got me right worried and I said "come upstairs with me Dawn because you got me worried when you are on your own.

(Diana, 2nd interview, line 75)

This is a relationship of mutual dependency. Dawn looks to Diana to help her solve practical problems, such as bullying at school. Diana needs to be sure of Dawn's physical proximity. Perhaps unconsciously Diana feels that she could lose Dawn in the same way that she has lost her mother.

Certainly, Diana is afforded a certain status as the capable older sister.

To some extent Diana is aware that her relationship with her sister is one of dependency. She also anticipates that a time will come when her sister will want to be more independent. Indeed, Diana suggests that she is beginning to facilitate this process. When I ask Diana how she will feel as her sister gets older she answers this in terms of a growing independence.

I know, that's what I'm thinking about like, she's got to stick up for herself in some ways and I'm, I'm just doing all t' sticking up for her. I've got to like tell her now she's got to do things herself, be a bit more independent 'cos I like do lots of things for her and er - I help her and things and I'm telling her to do things herself now she's getting older.

(Diana, 3rd interview, line 22-23)

Diana seems increasingly aware of the need for independence in relationships especially as this relates to her relationship with her sister. She seems less convinced of her need to establish her separate identity from her father.

Not surprisingly, although close, Diana's relationship with her sister is not without its tensions.

But I think it's better to have a little sister, even though she does get spoilt more. Well she don't really get spoilt more it's just that sometimes I feel left out but I'm not.

(Diana, 3rd interview, line 43)

Diana has obviously spent some time reflecting on her relationship with her sister. She is sensitive enough to believe that relationships are both complex and fluid. Perhaps she needs to be encouraged to look beyond the relationships

with others and establish her own personality, needs and ambitions.

Coping with Separation from Her Mother

Whilst Diana's relationships with both her father and her sister are characterised by attachment, it is almost impossible to describe her relationship with her mother. In sharp contrast to the way in which she speaks about her father Diana never mentions her mother except in the context of the divorce. That the divorce is discussed so openly by both Diana and her father indicates that at least this is not a taboo subject.

As mother and daughter frequently spend weekends together, the fact that Diana does not talk about her mother does suggest an element of unresolved unease in the relationship. It may be that both Diana and her father are taking an over-simplistic view when they suggest that the divorce was the solution to a problem rather than the beginning of an ongoing, at times difficult-to-handle, situation.

Diana's comment on the divorce is that,

... we see my mum every weekend, so nowt to really worry about.
(Diana, 3rd interview, line 28)

Similarly, her father suggests that the two girls are perfectly happy with the situation.

... they seem quite settled to the situation and I mean

it's... they're alright yes, they are alright genuinely, they are happy enough.

(Diana's father, 1st interview, line 166)

At one level of course this is perfectly true. There is a sense in which Diana accepts and copes with her parent's divorce. As she says herself, often she is "happy" and has "no problems".

There int owt else I'd really wish for, everything I want I've got.

(Diana, 3rd interview, line 95)

Indeed she may feel more settled now the situation has been resolved and the parents are not arguing. However, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Diana is being more seriously affected by her parent's divorce than either she or her father will admit.

Whatever her relationship with her mother Diana has a secure attachment to her father and sister. Having experienced good relationships at home during early childhood Diana is prepared to seek similarly secure relationships at school. However, she is prevented from taking an active role in her own education by a poorly developed sense of independent autonomy and by a limited view of what education can offer.

5.1.c) Relationships at School

With Peers

Diana's relationship with her peers is characterised by

contradictions. She presents herself as both a socialite and as an isolate. She knows that she enjoys talking with her friends but she is often tongue-tied by shyness. An examination of some of her interactions with her peers illustrates some of the factors which influence her behaviour.

Diana sees herself as an accepted member of the class and someone who talks to everybody. However, a closer examination of these exchanges confirms that Diana's role is frequently one of providing for the needs of others.

... I talk to nearly everybody in the class... but, 'cos they're always coming to my table to borrow rubber and everything. (Diana, 1st interview, line 134-136)

I believe that it is important that pupils like Diana begin to challenge the servicing roles ascribed to them in a patriarchal society. As I shadowed pupils around school it became clear that some pupils, almost invariably the girls, were expected to collect equipment or give out books. The only exception to this was when two boys were asked to fetch the electric organs from the store room. The implicit assumption here was that the organs were too heavy for the girls to carry.

As in many instances of sex discrimination, the issue is not only who normally fulfils particular roles but also the value ascribed to traditionally female roles. When girls like Diana are always expected to provide equipment and services for others it prevents them from developing alternative, more interactionist, modes of being. In educational terms this

deference to others can be one of the factors which prevents pupils from taking an active role in their own learning.

Pupils who sit at Diana's table do involve her in their conversations but yet again there is a suggestion that Diana responds to others rather than initiating conversations. It is perhaps significant that it is the boys who ask the questions.

... Daniel, Peter and Barry are always talking and I'm in the middle ... and so they ask me questions like so I have to answer them...

(Diana, 2nd interview, line 49)

Diana implies that these boys talk to her because she sits "right there" with them. Being a sociable girl she is drawn into the conversations which are going on around her.

But if anyone starts a conversation I can't stop having a conversation.

(Diana, 1st interview, line 125)

Once again the emphasis appears to be on Diana as respondent rather than initiator. Moreover, perhaps because she believes herself to be a diligent student she has come to regard all talk in the classroom as wrong and irritating.

'Cos when I get my head down and thinking about things, I concentrate a lot but if somebody starts talking to me I just can't do it at all, I can't think and things like that.

(Diana, 1st interview, line 127)

It is an indication of her narrow view of education that Diana seemed, at the start of the study, to regard all talk in the classroom as inappropriate and related to social rather than academic needs. Challenging this limited view of talk in the classroom is one of the major aims of the present study.

Friends are important for learning

For Diana being with close friends is an important prerequisite to learning. Diana felt more able to settle down to work when she was reunited with her friends at the start of the third year. During the previous year she had felt "left out" when her close friends Mandy and Justina were in a different class. During this year she talked to a couple of girls in her class but,

I still felt left out because like int' playground right some of my friends weren't out, they were all together somewhere like inside practising and I just felt left out. (Diana, 2nd interview, line 28)

Diana feels that being separated from her friends had an effect on her academic work as well as on her social life. She believes that she was "bad last year 'cos I couldn't settle down properly" (Diana, 1st interview, line 24). That some pupils feel that they work better when they are with their friends has serious implications for classroom organisation. I believe that peer relationships are important to all children and especially for those quiet pupils who experience anxiety in relationships. As a consequence I used friendship groups as a basis for the small group work which was designed to empower quiet pupils to take a more active role in their own education (section 4.5.).

In talking about her peers Diana seems to make a sharp distinction between friends and acquaintances. Acquaintances may talk to you "a lot" but, in some way which is difficult to explain, they cannot fulfil the same role as a friend. Diana

had two close friends in primary school and, in contrast to many pupils highlighted by the present study, she seems to have no difficulty in sustaining friendships. For example, she has been "best friends" with Mandy since they started school together.

Diana recognises that continual reassessment of relationships in school is time-consuming and can be disruptive to both participants and observers.

I had two friends sitting on my table and they was always arguing to one another and going "I'm not your friend now", right "I'm not your friend now" and they... and they were always like putting me off my work.

(Diana, 1st interview, line 56)

Whilst, disagreements are a feature of even the closest relationships, the level of pupil disharmony in school does suggest that an "affective" or pastoral curriculum which examines the quality of relationships has value for pupils (sections 4.4. & 4.5.).

As with her relationships with her family, Diana's interactions with her peers are complex but not sufficiently problematic that they prevent her from taking full advantage of the educational opportunities she is offered. I do believe however, that several factors may stand between her and the educational success she wants. As I will explain in the next section, one of the major factors is Diana's reluctance to talk to the class teacher.

Relationships With Teachers

Diana has no difficulty in connecting talk with the formulation and expression of good ideas. To her, good talkers are, "people that come out with good ideas" (Diana, 2nd interview, line 61). Moreover, she admits that she has her fair share of good ideas at home. The reason why she is reluctant to share her ideas in school is revealed when she describes the behaviour of a fellow pupil. Diana begins by describing Massaret but soon changes the "she" to "you" thus, perhaps unconsciously, including herself in the group of people who find it difficult to volunteer answers in class.

...she never even says owt, probably because she's too shy because sometimes they think of good things and think "No people might think it's daft" and you're worried about what other people're thinking but then say he asks someone else a question and they say the answer that you thought of Mr N___ says it's not daft, but you're always worried about what other people 'll think rest of the time.
(Diana, 2nd interview, line 65)

A lack of confidence and a fear of other people's scorn prevents Diana from answering the teacher's questions. Her frustration when she finds that she had the right answer is clear.

Opportunities for dialogue with the teacher are limited by her concern for what other people might say. If, as Diana suggests, some pupils are inhibited in this way, this calls into question the value of whole class discussions especially if such discussions constitute the major part of pupil-teacher dialogue.

More worrying still is Diana's assumption that she is somehow outside the group of those who are being taught. When asked if she talked to the teacher she said yes. However, her account of such an exchange suggested how limited such a dialogue might be.

... when I am stuck he has to help me... work and everything but most of the time he's like talking his self like doing things on the board and things so you can't really talk to him when he's trying to learn children. (Diana, 3rd interview, line 140-2)

"Most of the time" Diana feels that she can not talk to the teacher because he is teaching the children. For her, teaching clearly involves a transmission of knowledge from teacher to pupils who act as passive recipients. There is no indication here that Diana, or indeed her teacher, regards education as a collaborative search for knowledge through genuine dialogue. Moreover, Diana precludes herself from the group of children being taught. It seems that there needs to be a change of attitude and practice before Diana, and pupils like her, can actively engage in the learning process. I believe that closer relationships between pupils and teachers are central to this development (section 4.3).

5.1.d) Additional Causes of Quiet Behaviour

An additional cause of Diana's quiet behaviour in school is the mismatch she perceives between her own experiential knowledge and the book-based knowledge valued in school.

Diana is keen to make links between home and school. Yet the difference between home and school knowledge is often vast. Having chosen Turkey as the subject for her topic Diana finds a shortage of accessible material and has to resort to her own experience.

... there's hardly any books about Turkey and you think, oh no, let me think... er... and my auntie's best friend went to Turkey once and I know something about Turkey.
(Diana, 1st interview, line 115)

It is encouraging that Diana makes no distinction between home and school knowledge. However, in this particular example, her knowledge is limited to recalling eating particularly unpleasant Turkish Delight and this is hardly an adequate base for a school project. It takes a skilled teacher to draw upon such experiences and use them as a foundation on which to build future knowledge. If the dialogue between pupil and teacher is poor or minimal then such growth is unlikely to occur.

Sadly this is not an isolated example of the mismatch between the expectations of home and school. Diana thinks of herself as an avid reader, yet the school may well disapprove of her choice of reading material.

He (father) says "You've always got your head in a book" as well 'cos I got these adventure books from the library and there was this film on last night and he wanted me to watch it but I didn't... I had my head in a book again.
(Diana, 3rd interview, line 137)

Diana is unlikely to find the type of book she enjoys at home in the class library. Teachers face the dilemma of wanting to

encourage reading but at the same time discourage certain forms of what they regard as pulp fiction. To be successful it is not sufficient to be a reader; you also have to read the "right" kind of books. If they are to succeed, pupils like Diana have to assimilate the school's implicit and explicit values.

To summarise, there are many facets of Diana's experience, perceptions and behaviour which define her, in the context of this study, as ready to learn. Some of the more positive aspects which contribute to her being willing and able to benefit from her experiences of school include:

- * Her experience of secure relationships with her father and younger sister during early childhood.
- * Her desire to be successful in school in order to achieve her ambitions.
- * Her willingness to consider different points of view and alternative ways of being.

However, despite this, I feel that Diana is prevented from playing an active role in her own education by:

- * Her poorly developed sense of herself as an autonomous individual.
- * Her view that education is a passive transmission of knowledge from teacher to pupil and a related belief that quiet compliant behaviour is appropriate for achieving academic success.
- * Her lack of confidence in her own abilities and achievements.

SECTION 5.2. : ANGIE - EXCLUDING

In the context of this study, Angie is described as **Excluding**. The term "excluding" relates to Karen Horney's (1945) position of "moving away" from others. Pupils exhibiting such behaviour are likely to be socially isolated within the classroom setting.

This case study begins with a description of Angie's "excluding" behaviour in school. Thus section 5.2.a. examines her **relationships in school** and her seeming inability or unwillingness to enter into relationships with both **pupils and teachers**. It demonstrates how Angie's involvement in the study empowered her to be more relaxed and take a more active role in small group work.

Section 5.2.b. of the case study proposes that Angie's quiet behaviour has its origins in her experience of **relationships at home** and especially with her mother. It explores the extent to which **anxious attachment** coupled with early and prolonged **separation** has failed to provide Angie with a "secure attachment" which could form the basis of subsequent relationships in school. These aspects of the mother-daughter relationship which were evident during the study can be traced to early childhood. Moreover, Angie's lack of contact with her father and experience of being cared for by a number of carers during early childhood seems to have prevented her from forming **alternative or secondary attachments**.

An alternative cause of Angie's quiet behaviour is suggested by section 5.2.c. which focuses on the potential conflict which can exist between the values and expectations of a black family and a predominantly white school. It proposes that for Angie an additional cause of quiet behaviour could be a lack of integration between these two aspects of her life. The constant need to deny aspects of herself and her experiences could contribute to her quiet behaviour in school. More seriously it could lead to a "denial of self" as Angie is forced to suppress her real feelings and behave like two separate people in order to fulfil the expectations of both home and school.

5.2.a) Relationships in School

With Other Pupils

Observations suggest that Angie spent much of her time in primary school alone. Even in busy, seemingly relaxed classrooms Angie could be observed sitting alone in silence or standing passively near to, but not interacting with, other children. When, at the start of the study, Angie was asked to work with a partner she resisted, saying that she preferred to work alone. Even in the relative security of withdrawal groups it took several weeks for her to accept the idea that she could work with others. Over time she became increasingly more relaxed as she got used to working with specific trusted

individuals. Moreover, as relationships developed she was observed laughing and joking with her new-found friends. This increased confidence in relationships was also evident in Angie's social life outside school. At the end of the first year of the study her mother remarked on the fact that Angie had begun to make friends with people from school. This change in behaviour is significant, not least because it indicates that Angie had begun to integrate what had been separate aspects of her life.

As will be discussed in section two of this case study, I propose that Angie's "excluding" behaviour stems from an anxiety about relationships which has its origins in her relationship with her mother. However, her mother associated Angie's reluctance to socialise with the fact that she came from a different infant school from her class mates.

She found it difficult to fit into, you know like the knowledge they all had of each other before, you know with knowing so and so since we had been in Nursery so we know this person. This person fits in as a talker, this person fits in as a quiet one, this person fits in as a victim, this one the bully.
(Parent, Int 1, line 72)

However, withdrawn behaviour which might have been regarded as understandable hesitancy on the part of a new pupil with no knowledge of her peers, persisted to some extent throughout her attendance at primary school. When invited to comment on Angie's imminent transfer to secondary school one teacher said that her behaviour was so aloof it "was almost as if she had never really arrived".

From the position of quiet observer Angie learned a great deal about her peers and the relationships which existed between them. An example of her sensitivity to group interactions was when Angie described the way in which a classmate was being subjected to "psychological bullying" and the extent to which Susie's seeming nonchalance masked deep distress. However, such insights did not encourage Angie to play a more active role in the social life of the classroom.

An example of Angie's "excluding" behaviour was observed during her final year at primary school. At the start of the school day, when other pupils entered the classroom in groups amid a great deal of chatter, Angie sidled in alone. She went straight to her seat where she sat, unlike the majority of the class, on her own. As other pupils moved around the room and chattered with friends Angie worked in total silence seemingly engrossed in her work. No one approached her desk. After fifty minutes of this isolation Angie got up and stood behind Mandy's chair. Eventually, seemingly irritated by Angie's silent presence, Mandy asked what she wanted. At this Angie shrugged her shoulders tapped Mandy on the shoulder and moved back to her seat where she remained for the rest of the lesson. To an observer it seemed as if Angie wanted to make some kind of contact with Mandy but lacked either the confidence or social skills to be able to do so. On reflection, it is interesting that Mandy, another "excluding" pupil, challenged Angie with "What do you want?" rather than initiating a conversation which would encourage her to stay and talk.

At the start of the study Angie had no close friends at school. When she was asked who she played with at playtime she said "anybody" and then named two or three people seemingly at random. She seemed not to have friends of her own age. Her "out-of-school friends" were a group of older boys. She described herself as,

A little bit funny... and I've got lots of friends 'cos I've got lots of friends most of them boys though. Because I go down to the E_____ centre to my friends down there and mostly they're boys. Older boys. (Angie, Int 2, line 178, 180 & 182)

The youth club mentioned is a centre which specialises in West Indian music, frequented by large numbers of unemployed youths. Apart from the cultural links it seems an unusual place for an eleven year old girl to find friends. As with Roxana, Angie's lack of friends of her own age is linked with a desire to mix with much older boys. This may be linked with the desire to find a father figure. It certainly suggests a degree of vulnerability. As Angie's aunt is employed at the youth club it might be assumed that at least her presence and behaviour there is monitored by at least one caring adult.

During the course of the study, her mother noted a change in Angie's behaviour towards children of her own age. Angie was,

making more contact with the kids she's at school with, she's actually wanting to make more contact with them, like meeting them before school to go to school together. (Parent, Int 1, line 100)

For her mother this represented a change in behaviour as previously Angie "had a separate existence from school than at home". This suggests a conflict between the values of home

and school which is discussed at length in section three of this case study.

Angie's physical isolation from other pupils in the school seemed to be reinforced by her body language and demeanour. Even when invited to join in a group activity Angie would often maintain a physical distance from the other members of the group. Moreover, her facial expression rarely changed from one which could be interpreted as blank sufferance. Her step-father suggested that body language has to be interpreted in terms of cultural norms.

Culturally if you go back in the Caribbean, black children do not look in the teacher's face, it's a sign of insolence. In this country "Look at me when I'm talking to you" - see?

(Angie's step-father, 1st interview, line 115)

This observation develops the notion of possible contradictions and conflict between the cultures represented by home and school. However, he reflects a cultural stereotype in saying that coming from an "oral tradition" West Indians "gesticulate more". This is a view which is clearly not borne out by observations of Angie's behaviour in school.

Her step-father was close to the truth in suggesting that Angie's teacher never saw her laugh; her expression in the classroom was typically serious and "shut in". Indeed, a video recording, taken towards the end of the second year of the study, showing Angie laughing with peers was the first time I had seen her laugh out loud. It was striking how relaxed and expressive her body movements could be. This was

in sharp contrast with the more usual expressionless or wooden behaviour which Angie would exhibit. In so far as her unwillingness or inability to express a range of emotion is a response to "basic anxiety" this suggests a deep unhappiness or fear. A rigid adherence to this one mode of behaviour may have served as a barrier to communication between Angie and others in the class. It certainly suggests a repression of a happy carefree aspect of her nature which might well be described as a "denial of self". Angie's increased involvement in the relative security of co-operative group work enabled her to relax and open up from a position of almost total withdrawal which was typical of her behaviour prior to the start of the study.

Angie's attitudes to her peers emerged during the series of one-to-one interviews. During the third interview Angie spent a lot of time discussing incidents of bullying against herself and more specifically against her new friend Susie. As mentioned earlier, Angie was a shrewd observer of peer group relationships. She had come to the conclusion that whilst most people get teased at some time in their lives, those with a lot of friends were less vulnerable.

Some people don't get teased at all 'cos like - em - it's like they've got friends - friend, and their friends got friends and everything - they like get hit and their friends come up stop beating people up.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 64)

Angie believes that friends are of more help than teachers in countering bullying. "I see teacher dun't do anything but just telling them off" (Angie, 3rd interview, line 96). Thus

protection from bullies is a powerful reason for wanting to make and keep friends. However, as will be discussed in the final section of this case study, Angie is all too aware of the tensions which can exist in mixed race friendships.

With Teachers

Just as the term "excluding" adequately describes Angie's behaviour towards peers it is also an appropriate description of her relationship with teachers. Her mother made a connection between Angie's facial expression and her relationship, or more accurately lack of relationship, with her teacher.

He finds it hard to find out what mood she's in because she always seems to be on that dead pan face straight mood he doesn't know how to gauge her mood.

(Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 90)

Angie's mother describes an inability or reluctance to communicate with her teacher which concurs with observations of Angie working in the classroom.

She doesn't let him in, she's very... she doesn't communicate with the teacher on a one-to-one basis; as much as possible she doesn't talk to the teacher that she's with at the moment and he finds that difficult because he thinks that he would be able to help more as a teacher if she would talk to him but she doesn't like the teacher she doesn't talk to him unless he talks to her, she's not going to compete with other kids and actually ask questions and she doesn't initiate any contact with him unless she really has to do.

(Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 90)

This passage is quoted at length because it touches on many of the basic themes of this study.

First, implicit in the comment about the teachers inability to help Angie because she will not talk is the notion that education takes place through dialogue. Speech is a powerful way in which pupils make knowledge their own and demonstrate what they have learnt. Yet Angie avoids all but essential dialogue with her teacher and even then the conversation is perfunctory and she "doesn't let him in". Little wonder that teachers spend less time over the stilted, one sided, conversations which are the best that they achieve with quiet pupils like Angie, and concentrate on developing links with their more demonstrative pupils. Sadly, this represents something of a self-fulfilling prophecy as those who have most difficulty in communicating with their teachers have less opportunity to improve through practice.

Second, is the need for positive relationships between pupils and teachers. When, as in Angie's case, there is no rapport between pupil and teacher the relationship could be viewed as a source of suspicion or even fear, rather than as a secure base from which to "venture out" into the unknown. Neither Angie nor her mother say why she dislikes this otherwise popular teacher. However, given the lack of relationship between them it was particularly unfortunate that they were forced to work together for two years. There is unsubstantiated evidence to suggest that the decision was based on the relationships the teacher had established with a number of the potentially disruptive pupils in the class. Thus once again the needs of potentially disruptive pupils are seen to take precedence over the needs of quiet pupils.

Finally, Angie's mother suggests that one of the reasons why Angie does not approach the teacher for help is the need to compete with other pupils in the class. Certainly this study provides evidence of the difficulty which quiet pupils face in getting or holding their teacher's attention. For obvious reasons potentially disruptive pupils invariably got the attention they demanded either in whole class discussions or on a one-to-one basis. Yet, observations suggest that when quiet pupils made similar moves, such as putting their hand up or going to the teacher's desk, they received less of the teacher's time and were often sent away or simply ignored. Thus even when quiet pupils pluck up the courage to talk with their teacher they are less likely to be rewarded for their action than their more boisterous peers. An example in which Angie's desire to participate was "ignored" was during the casting of the school production in which she longed to have a speaking part but ended up not having a role at all.

The need to compete with other pupils may contribute to Angie's quiet behaviour during whole class discussions. However, her initial reticence during small group activities and her seeming reluctance to talk freely with me during one-to-one interviews suggests that there are other factors involved. Her step-father describes her as, "somebody that's probably got a lot of things inside which she's trying terribly hard to get out" (1st parent interview, line 109). Similarly her mother said "you have to work hard to get at who she is" (1st parent interview, line 92). Whatever the cause of her quiet behaviour, a discussion of the relationship

between language and learning in section one of this thesis confirms that there are powerful educational reasons as to why it is vital to allow Angie, and pupils like her, to "get at who they are". In addition the move towards self-realisation is a basic human need.

Angie's strained relationship with her teachers was evident in the first of a series of one-to-one interviews. In this one-sided conversation Angie seemed extremely reserved. Her responses were characteristically short and often difficult to hear. An example of the difficulty in initiating a flowing conversation is illustrated by the passage in which Angie was asked about her trip to Jamaica. An open-ended question such as "What is Jamaica like?" led to a long pause and eventually to the response "I don't know". However, Angie gradually warmed to the subject and described some of the bird-life she had seen.

We saw some big birds... ..like storks... ..and we saw.. we saw two humming birds.
They like, they hover over like sticks with wings coming out... ..they stay in one place then they start moving again.
(Angie, 1st interview, lines 399-407)

This short description is represented in the transcript by five lines of speech interjected with encouraging noises from the interviewer and lengthy silences.

Similarly, in subsequent interviews Angie gave interesting accounts of her involvement in activities both in and out of school. This illustrates an "eloquence of intention" as well as her interest in the activities themselves. However, as

such accounts were delivered in a quiet monotone, "active listening" required close attention and a tolerance of long pauses. Whilst such support is relatively easy to provide during a one-to-one interview, the pressures of classroom life may make it a relatively rare event in a child's daily experience of school.

In the context of the interviews Angie was prepared to share something of her inner feelings. In the first interview it was significant that Angie described herself as someone who "didn't talk a lot" and went on to say that whilst being shy was "normal" it could be a disadvantage in social situations.

... it's normal but you get scared out of your wits... like when we went to this woman's house, didn't know her very well... she asking if I wanted this and I went... just shook my shoulders.

(Angie, 1st interview, line 446-454)

Angie is clearly frustrated at being silenced by fear in social situations and one can imagine the way in which parents and other adults respond negatively to what they perceive to be rude behaviour. The possible importance of such a revelation was self evident during the interview. However, the relevance of other comments only became evident during the careful transcription of the interview and in conjunction with information gathered from other sources.

One such example occurred at the start of the first interview. Angie had been asked to describe her "personal time line" which she had completed previously and had in front of her as an *aide-memoire*. She talked about learning to swim and

temporarily losing her confidence. Perhaps because of her quiet and expressionless style of speech it was only on transcribing the interview that it became clear that Angie linked this loss of confidence with her mother having to go to work.

...then she had to ...sometimes she had to go to work then I was a... then when I had to go to the swimming baths again I was afraid to go in the water...

(Angie, 1st interview, line 8)

The possible effect of Angie's separation from her mother will be discussed in the following section. The important issue here is, if it is difficult to hear and respond appropriately to Angie in a one-to-one situation how much more difficult it must be for teachers to "hear her" in a busy classroom.

5.2.b) Relationships at Home

Early Childhood Relationships with Mother

In the context of this study Angie's relationship with her mother is described as one of "anxious attachment" coupled with "early and prolonged separation".

At first Angie's mother begins with a positive account of their early relationship. Angie was a "perfect baby" who didn't cry but was "very responsive".

As a baby she was fun, very responsive. We spent a lot of time with each other in the early days and she was very responsive. Deep... oh... she didn't cry a lot so I

thought she was a perfect baby.

(Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 14)

Angie's mother read to her "As many books as I could get hold of" (Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 24).

However, she soon recalled how she had been critical of the "baby" books available as they reinforced an idealised view of parenthood which did not equate with her actual lived experiences.

Well one thing they all had white faces and they said things like just turned me off straight away... the way in which they were written it's like it was perfect, ideal situation of being in, a parent having a baby, you know like feeling very rosy after having a baby and like the shared experiences and what a normal couple is and what a normal baby is and I just didn't relate to anything normal and all the things weren't in my vocabulary anyway at that time as a person therefore the books so the make up how they were put together didn't appeal to me in any way.

(Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 26)

Angie's mother was clearly aware that her own experiences as a black lone-parent did not equate with the notion of a normal family as portrayed by the available literature. Moreover, the fact that Angie's mother did not "feel rosy" after giving birth suggests that she might have suffered from post-natal depression. Given the possible connection between post-natal depression and weak or anxious attachment (Murray, 1992) this suggests that mother and daughter might have had difficulty in forming early attachment bonds.

That the mother-daughter relationship is characterised by anxious attachment is further supported by the way in which Angie's mother talks about her during the series of

interviews.

Throughout the interviews it seemed easy for Angie's mother and step-father to move from a discussion of Angie to a more generalised view of childhood experience. Rather than describe specific incidents which illustrated Angie's development her mother made generalised comments about the way in which children of nursery school age engaged in parallel play. Similarly, when Angie's step-father was asked to comment on the way in which Angie reacted to him as a relative newcomer to the family he launched into a lengthy monologue in which he aired his views on the education of black children in Britain.

I found the lack of anecdotal material in the interviews disconcerting especially when compared with interviews conducted with other parents. Without exception the other parents interviewed had used anecdotes to illustrate specific points they wanted to make about their child. This "story telling" provided a warm, human account of an individual's life and development. By comparison Angie's parents offered a detached and generalised account of what it was to be a black child growing up in Britain.

This difference in interviewing response could be explained in a number of ways. Perhaps they felt that this was an appropriate way to discuss educational issues and that stories of Angie's specific development were inappropriate. For example, when talking about teacher's comments about Angie as

expressed during parents evenings, her mother said she couldn't remember any specific comments, "personally about Angie", and that she and the teacher were, "just talking on issues" (Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 94). The implication being that the mother was more concerned about "the issues" than with the details of her daughter's specific development.

More worrying is the possibility that an unwillingness or inability to share illustrative anecdotes indicates little real contact with the child. Whilst it is not of itself evidence of poor or anxious attachment it does not suggest a close and loving mother-daughter relationship.

Another explanation for the difference in interviewing response is that, unlike the other parents interviewed, Angie's parents came to the interview with their own agenda. Having expressed some reluctance about participating in an interview they turned what was planned as a thirty minute interview about Angie's early childhood into a ninety minute comment about racism in schools and the experience of black children in Britain. They expressed a hope that the research involving their daughter would draw attention to the needs of a multicultural society and help to bring about a genuinely multicultural education. Their attempts to "educate" the researcher included suggesting recommended reading. Whilst their aims may be unrealistically high they clearly wanted to make the most of a relatively rare opportunity to talk frankly with a member of the teaching profession. This may have been

made easier by the fact that we were meeting on neutral ground away from school. It is a sad reflection on the educational system that despite years of teaching in mixed race schools this was the first time that I had spoken about educational issues, on equal terms, with a black person.

Whilst the interviews with Angie's parents taught me a great deal about the experiences of black pupils in school it taught me less about Angie as a unique individual. I could not help but reflect that her parents seemed more concerned about preserving her ethnic identity than developing her individuality. As will be discussed in section three of this case study her mother's rejection of all non-black culture denied Angie the opportunity to make links with both black and white pupils in her class.

Early and Prolonged Separation

Whilst Angie and her mother may have spent a lot of time together in the early months, economic necessity linked with a strong desire to better herself meant that Angie's mother spent an increasing amount of time being cared for by childminders and relatives. Her mother creates a rosy image of an extended family.

I know she had a good 2 to 3 years at nursery before she actually started school and it's a lot of things like she used to, we used to go to the park, spend time with different female members of the family...

(Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 38)

However, it is possible that Angie does not have the same positive view of this extended family as her mother.

... because my mum's a bit boring most of the time, she sends me to my grandma's, but I like staying at home...
(Angie, 3rd interview, line 226)

In addition to being cared for by members of the family, Angie attended full-time nursery school from the age of two or three. Her transfer to infant school meant another change of routine in that the school insisted that she begin by attending on a half-day basis. This resulted in the need for a childminder to care for her before and after school, leaving her with little contact with her mother when she returned in the evening. Presumably such arrangements were further complicated if either Angie or the childminder were ever ill.

Her mother described how Angie would seem settled when she was left at the nursery but be distressed even "very very angry" (Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 48) when she was collected in the evening.

She didn't show any - I can't talk about her mental anxiety or frustration or anything when I left her and they said she could stay after that first day because she looked like she didn't need that sort of stage of getting into nursery. She used to be upset when I came to collect her in the evening spoiling something that she obviously got into, you know what I mean, but she used to enjoy it. (Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 46)

There is a serious contradiction in the mother's explanation of Angie's behaviour. She explains Angie's distressed behaviour, either as a lack of stimulation when she is with the childminder or, conversely, as a total involvement in activities whilst at nursery. What she does not seem prepared

to admit is that Angie's distress on the return of her mother could be connected to her prolonged absence. Yet, as has been discussed earlier, Angie herself links her mother's return to work with a loss of confidence. It is understandably difficult for Angie's mother to admit that her pursuit of a career and self-fulfilment could cause her daughter distress. However, in the interview quoted above she does acknowledge that Angie's seeming contentment at being left at nursery could mask "mental anxiety or frustration". Angie's mother, like many other women in similar positions, faces the dilemma of balancing her personal needs with those of her child.

Whilst Angie's mother emphasised how much time she spent with her daughter during the first months of life, it would seem that from the age of two Angie was cared for by a number of relatives, friends and teachers. That Angie's mother relied on others to care for her daughter continued to the end of this study. In the third interview Angie explained how she preferred living with her grandma to moving to a new city with her mother.

My mum's moving and I might be staying with grandma...
Yeah 'cos I'm not staying with mi mum.
Not bothered 'cos she's moving to another city, so I'm
staying with my grandma not move. She asked me if I
wanted to go and I said no.

(Angie, 3rd interview, lines 14, 18 & 20)

Angie's decision to stay with her grandmother is surprising since she had previously said how she preferred being at home with her mother. Moreover, it suggests a lack of attachment rather than a close loving relationship.

Lack of Alternative or Secondary Attachment Figures

Whilst Angie experienced early and prolonged separation from her mother she does not appear to have formed alternative or secondary attachments. Data gathered during one-to-one interviews would suggest that Angie has little contact with her natural father. She mentioned him briefly during the first interview "I went to London with my dad" (Angie, Int 1, line 108). In the third interview she implies that "getting to know dad" had been a quite recent event.

...but it takes - it took a bit of time to get to know my dad but it's alright.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 232)

It is interesting to note the similarity between Angie's and Roxana's relationships with their fathers. In both cases the father is either actually or emotionally "absent" from the relationship. Moreover, in both cases the girls, with no close friends of their own age, try hard to develop relationships with older boys. It is not clear from their behaviour whether this attraction to the opposite sex is a need to identify with a father figure or a desire to find alternative role models from those provided by their mothers. What is clear is that pupils, like Diana, who have close relationships with their fathers seem to exhibit less intense and more age-appropriate behaviour towards older boys of their acquaintance.

Angie talks a lot more about her step-father than her natural father. Her step-father had moved into the family home

relatively recently and from the way Angie describes him he is full of fun and always teasing her. For example they engage in what Angie describes as fun fights.

Like when he teases me I laugh at him, I laugh with him sometimes. But when I hit him he hits me back, but me and my mum and Martin we have fights, like talcum powder or with water, like he got covered in talcum powder when my mum and him were fighting.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 222)

Given that the relationship between Angie and her step-father is relatively new it is not surprisingly that she is a little uncertain as to her ability to gauge his moods.

... if I hit him when he's in a bad mood I think he might bite my head off so I don't do that.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 220)

Thus whilst she enjoys the horse play she is cautious not to push her luck and annoy him.

Angie talks about the relationship between her natural father and her step-father and it seems important to her that they get on together.

My dad likes him as well and my dad's girlfriend. It would be better if I had a dog though.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 224)

That she expresses her rather wistful desire to have a dog whilst she is talking about the relationship between her two sets of parents might be interpreted as her feeling of isolation in not having someone exclusively for herself. She has to share her parents with their respective new partners. Moreover, whilst it is true that all children have to share their parents this might be more acutely felt by a child caught up in new relationships (Smith, 1990). On another

level of course the subject of the dog might simply have arisen because Angie was hoping that one or other of the sets of parents might be persuaded to comply with her request for a dog.

From his perspective the new step-father feels that Angie is extremely protective towards her mother and that she might feel that he poses a threat to the mother-daughter relationship.

If you pose a threat to anything that's close to Angie she reacts against it, so its really understandable because she needs a lot of love and if part of that's taken away because you see she usually spent every available second with her mum - she's never been hostile but it's like "Why are you going out with my mum?"
(Angie's step-father, 1st interview, line 109)

It is "understandable" that Angie needs a lot of love; all children do. However, the suggestion that Angie and her mother spent "every available second" is misleading given the time during which Angie has been cared for by others. Moreover, what little time they had together now has to be shared with a new step-father and his children. Little wonder then that she has chosen to "react against" this new threat. Observations of Angie would suggest that this reaction is more likely to be withdrawal rather than acting out behaviour which may go unnoticed or be mistaken for acceptance.

In common with many people involved in this study, Angie's parents have contradictory attitudes about non-traditional forms of parenting. Whilst seemingly happy and harmonious in their extended family, Angie's parents are nevertheless

conscious of the prejudice surrounding the notion of one-parent families. Angie's step-father came along to the interview with her mother in order to demonstrate his support for her and in order to counter the stereotype of the one-parent family.

So many times I know that under-achievement for black children in Nottingham was said 'cos it's a one-parent family. The fact that Sonia's with me is far away from a one-parent family because... although Angie's not my child but there's a responsibility for me there...
(Angie's step-father, 1st interview, line 183)

This comment from Angie's step-parent highlights two fundamental issues.

First, how useful is the term "one-parent family" in describing an individual's lived experience? As the following description of Angie's early childhood will demonstrate, she was not brought up by her mother in isolation but as part of an extended network of family and friends. She has maintained some contact with her natural father and his family. Moreover, as her mother is now in what she sees as a long-term secure relationship there is a real sense in which Angie is now part of a two-parent family. Yet her parents feel that the stigma of coming from a "one-parent family" still remains within the educational system.

This leads to the second issue of the assumed link between one-parent families and underachievement in school. As was discussed in section 2.5.d of this thesis, there is objective evidence to support the view that coming from a one-parent family is not, of itself, detrimental to a child's personal

development (Nice, 1992). What can be far more damaging is the school's refusal to accept one-parent and step-families as a viable alternative to traditional two-parent families. As was highlighted in the post-feminist accounts of parenting the important aspect of the parent-child relationship is the appropriate balance between separation and attachment. Unfortunately in Angie's case her early relationship with her mother appears to be characterised by weak or anxious attachment and prolonged separation. Hopefully her relatively new recent relationships with her father and step-father can provide her with alternative attachment figures.

5.2.c) Additional Causes of Quiet Behaviour

Another cause of Angie's quiet behaviour in school could be related to the conflict which her family see between their black culture and that of the school. Angie's mother is aware of how these differences can affect an individual's behaviour and their perception of themselves.

I mean I've been through it myself, you're two people, you're like the kind of person that you are at school that is told right "You're the same as everybody else" and mix in and then you go home and there's a different, formal, sort of unwritten rule of education that's happening at home in terms of how you are and how your definitions are...

(Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 116)

This "separate existence" has its origins in the fact that neither teachers nor parents fully know, or respect, what goes on in the other aspects of a child's life. Thus pupils like

Angie are denied the opportunity to integrate the different aspects of their lives. Angie's "excluding" behaviour might well be connected with her need to be "two people" which could impair her self-esteem and lead to "a complete suppression of the spontaneous individual self" (Horney, 1939, p 91).

Certainly evidence collected during one-to-one interviews suggests that, even in these relatively secure situations, Angie is hesitant to reveal anything of herself or her feelings. Examples of such incidents are discussed above in section one which examined Angie's relationships in school.

What is not clear from Angie's mother's comments about a "separate existence" is the extent to which she feels that home and school should represent different ideas and values. However, it does seem as if Angie had begun to make links between the different aspects of her life by seeing her school friends at home. A crucial factor in this development could well be her mother's reaction to Angie's new-found friends.

Angie's seeming reluctance to mix with her peers in school may also stem from her view that racial tensions are sometimes exacerbated by attempts to integrate different races. She assumed that the teasing she suffered from members of her class were racial in origin.

... probably because I'm black. Right, they're saying black words right and then they start using them against black people like in Nottingham when you have a row with a white person suddenly this black group comes round, they start giving you dirty looks. The black people start cussing the white people, it's not really the white people 'cos it's you, the black people shouldn't be

hanging round with them 'cos you know you're gonna get dirty looks from other black groups.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 78)

When asked if she was suggesting that black people should not mix with white people her reply was quick and decisive.

Not if they're are gonna use it against black people, start calling them names.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 80)

Interviews with Angie and her mother revealed that both were extremely proud of their West Indian origin and culture. When it was suggested that only first names would be used during the interviews to ensure anonymity Angie replied that her name was "West Indian" and therefore rare, if not unique, in Britain.

In her comments about music and television Angie demonstrated her awareness of racial inequality in the media.

'Cos - like I see a lot of actresses every day on TV and they're nearly all white 'cept for Cosby show and other stuff in America.

(Angie, 3rd interview, line 284)

However, rather than creating natural links with other West Indian children in the class, this fierce pride seemed to act as yet another source of conflict in what the mother saw as the Anglicisation of their culture. For example, her mother admitted to being concerned when Angie began to talk about the non-black musicians idealised by many of her peers.

I've not just let it happen, and pretended "well it's no big deal" - it is a big deal.

(Angie's mother, 1st interview, line 114)

For Angie's family this is more than a difference in taste between the generations. Her mother saw it as an

Anglicisation of her culture to be countered by "giving Angie as many black images as possible". Yet, Angie's interest in popular music could have been seen as a positive development of shared links with her peers. The possibility of differing interpretations provides further evidence of possible conflict between the perceptions of home and school.

Attempts by staff to involve Angie and her mother in addressing multicultural issues within the school met with limited success. It was clearly difficult for an all white staff to deal with the sheer anger and frustration which Angie's mother and step-father articulated. The parents were, for example, very critical of the fact that there were no black staff, and consequently nobody to reinforce black images and culture, within the school. Certainly among an all white staff multicultural issues are going to be viewed from a white perspective.

As a black person growing up in Britain, Angie's step-father felt that his generation was taught more in school about the concept of inequality which did not give him a false sense of security.

Nowadays there's too much emphasis on equality in an unequal situation. You see it's taught at school that all races should live together not that all races don't or cannot.

(Angie's step-father, 1st interview, line 127)

There seems to be a conflict between the school's attempt to work towards racial harmony and equality and Angie's step-father's lived experience of racial disharmony within the

larger society. In many aspects of life, for example housing, he feels that he is defined by stereotypical assumptions related to his colour.

There's also another assumption that because black people are placed in the same context as white working class, and the same analysis is put on the same response which is not true because in the Caribbean Sonia's family would not come from - they do not come from a working class (inverted commas) background, but would come to this country and be suddenly told "that's the context in which you're seen", so again there's a political context to me of Angie's lack of communication... ..so Angie's experiences are not in school, so therefore why should she have to respond in kind for what there's no reason to do there? (Angie's step-father, 1st interview, line 115)

He links Angie's lack of communication in school with the fact that her culture is not represented, and by implication not valued, there. He feels that school does not meet Angie's needs and that her parents have to compensate, spending time "correcting things that really should be going on in school" (1st parent interview, line 119). He suggests that Angie likes being involved in oral work because it reinforces a black oral tradition. However, an alternative or additional attraction might be the opportunity to develop and sustain close relationships with a few individuals - relationships which are discouraged by the extremely strident adherence to their own culture proposed by Angie's parents.

Angie's parents talk about the way in which schools aim to meet the needs of Asian pupils based on religious needs but do not attempt to meet the cultural needs of West Indian pupils. Nowhere do they suggest that pupils like Angie need to make concessions if they are to become integrated members of British society. Moreover, they seem oblivious to the fact

that Angie's withdrawal from relationships in school is prohibiting her learning. Similarly, their understandably angry response to their experience of racism prevents them from seeing that Angie is metaphorically being "split in two" by her attempts to meet both the expectations of home and of school. By trying to maintain a black culture in a predominantly white society Angie is in danger of losing or denying herself.

To summarise, there are many facets of Angie's experience, perceptions and behaviour which define her, in the context of this study, as **excluding**. These include:

- * Her relationship with her mother which could be described as anxious attachment.
- * Her experience of anxiety, over separation from her mother, during her early childhood.
- * Her lack of alternative or secondary attachments and her reluctance to form relationships with either teachers or pupils in school.
- * Her experience of conflicting values between her Black family and her predominantly White school.
- * Her difficulty in integrating different aspects of her life which I feel is likely to lead to a denial of self.

SECTION 5.3. : ROXANA - AFRAID

Roxana is described, in the context of this study, as being Afraid. The term "Afraid" relates to Karen Horney's (1945) position of "moving against" others in that both represent a degree of conflict within relationships. In the case of Roxana both her behaviour in the classroom and her relationships at school suggest a recurring pattern of wanting to move towards others but being inhibited from doing so by overwhelming anxiety.

This study links such rigid patterns of behaviour with the formation of **basic anxiety**. This case study supports the view that basic anxiety has its origins in deviant patterns of attachment behaviour in early parent-child relationships. Moreover it emphasises that, in so far as anxiety and poor interpersonal relationships inhibit learning, the quality of relationships in school can greatly influence an individual's self-image and thus both their personal and academic development.

5.3.a) A Developing Sense of Self

A Pupil Afraid

Roxana's perceptions of her life are on the whole extremely, yet selectively, negative. For example, when she was asked to

illustrate major events in her life on a "personal time line" Roxana's account of her early life is portrayed as a catalogue of disasters. These include car accidents, illness and broken limbs. Whilst distressing at the time, closer examination suggested that these were relatively minor events.

As often happens in such exercises, the omissions in Roxana's account of her life were as interesting as the events mentioned. Roxana omitted any mention of the bullying which she had experienced. It was as if the minor events, which she was prepared to talk about were some kind of emotional smoke-screen which hid the really serious issues in her life.

Moreover, throughout the interview which proceeded the drawing of the time line all the issues raised by Roxana were events which had either made her unhappy or worried. What I wondered were the positive aspects of her life which gave her pleasure?

In addition to actual or potential physical hurt Roxana also talked about situations in which she had developed a nervous rash in response to stressful situations. An example of this was the cancellation of a flight at the end of a holiday.

During the study Roxana exhibited similar nervous symptoms and had to be sent home from school.

I got sent home poorly 'cause I kept on coughing and I went all red and I got all rashes all over me... and I felt sick... (Roxana, 1st interview, line 414)

This occurred when Roxana was invited to take part in the study and be interviewed for the first time. Fortunately this nervousness was short lived and Roxana seemed to enjoy the

special attention which participation in the study gave her.

However, whilst she developed confidence in her relationship with the researcher, outside school her anxieties about illness continued. Moreover, they clearly restricted Roxana's social life.

I can't play with my friend 'cause I can't go near dog's 'cause if I if dog's... dogs animals can cause... can't play with her... (Roxana, 1st interview, line 326)

Similarly, a visit to see her baby cousin is fraught with medical anxieties,

I couldn't hold her or anything 'cause she had measles and I had measles... I've only had chicken sp... no she's got chicken spot 'cause I've only had measles. (Roxana, 1st interview, line 344)

Interestingly in this case, it is not clear whether it is the cousin or Roxana herself who is in danger of contracting a disease.

However, as Roxana gradually admitted in subsequent interviews, there were several positive aspects to her life. Both her parents, but especially her mother, worked hard to provide for her and she clearly enjoyed family outings and holidays abroad. Moreover, she had attended a number of youth groups in the area, including classes for dance and judo. She was recognised in the community as a skilled hairdresser and several local mothers were amazed at her ability to plait their daughters' hair better than they could do themselves.

A Growing Confidence

At the beginning of the study Roxana took part in the series of small group activities which were designed to develop self-confidence. As explained earlier in this thesis (section 4.6.), during these activities the pupils explored the theme of relationships using a variety of appropriate literature as initial stimulus. In the following academic year this work was continued as part of a whole class involvement in a Personal and Social Education programme.

An examination of a transcript of small group talk which took place towards the end of the study shows Roxana's growing self-confidence and ability to establish positive relationships with others. The focus of this particular lesson was issues related to the integration of disabled pupils into mainstream schools. The pupils were asked to discuss, with their partner, their attitudes to integration prior to a larger group "feedback" session. The following discussion focuses exclusively on the feedback session.

Although the pupils begin by attempting to complete the teacher-directed task, their conversation becomes more animated when Roxana introduces her own agenda.

Like say if you were pregnant and you'd just found out that if it were going to be disabled well like would you divorce it... ..have it aborted like.

(Roxana, class lesson 18-4-91, line 55)

It is significant that Roxana is so intent on finding an answer to her question that she hardly notices when one of the

other pupils corrects her terminology. As each of the pupils, including Natasha, a confident and accepted leader of the group, gives a negative response to this question, Roxana remains quiet. It is only when Owen suggests an alternative answer that Roxana is prepared to suggest that an abortion might be a humane way to reduce suffering. This illustrates Roxana's self-confidence in forming her own opinion despite strong peer group pressure, especially from Natasha, to conform. Moreover, whilst Roxana is not confident enough to openly contradict her friends she is quick to develop Owen's suggestion to her own ends which suggests a growing confidence in her relationships with others. Even when the discussion becomes heated Roxana retains her self-confidence and continues to put forward her own point of view.

This example of small group talk is a good example of the genuine pursuit of understanding which is central to learning:

Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world and with each other. (Freire, 1972, p 46)

In Paulo Freire's definition of "liberating education", learning is synonymous with being human and, "To exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it", (Freire, 1972, p 61). In the context of the discussion described above Roxana demonstrates her ability to "name her world".

A Lack of Confidence

Roxana's growing confidence in small group activities represents significant development in her personal growth. However, it was only one aspect of Roxana's behaviour in school. Evidence collected during the study provides examples of different, seemingly contradictory, behaviour. Whilst at times Roxana's behaviour seems the epitome of confident self-assurance, at others she seems to come psychically "undone" at the mere thought of specific incidents. Two examples drawn from different stages of the study will serve to illustrate the point.

The first occurred during Roxana's final year in primary school. During a tape recorded interview Roxana was asked what she would do to improve the "Talk Back Lessons" in which she took part. She appeared to have given some thought to the subject and spoke passionately about the need for the opportunity to work as a member of mixed sex groups. She saw this as a positive way to break down barriers of communication between the boys and girls in the class which would in turn reduce the incidents of bullying.

...the boys are picking on Susie, like making names and - but if like if there were boys wi' Susie and girls then that would make it better because if they were working together it would be harder to do that.

(Roxana, 3rd interview, line 122)

In the context of the interview we explored the idea and tried to anticipate how such co-operation could best be achieved.

However, when the opportunity came for her to work in mixed sex groups she refused to participate. What separates her inability to take part from a simple case of "cold feet" is the seemingly total despair which Roxana exhibited. It was almost as if the suggestion of her working with individuals who were not her close and trusted friends somehow threatened her very existence. This could be due to a real fear of being bullied by members of the group she was asked to work with. This study highlighted the fact that bullying, of girls by boys, in this class was far more serious and widespread than had previously been appreciated. While ever it is allowed to continue unchecked, bullying can have a serious effect on the self-esteem of the victims (Besag, 1989). Moreover, victimisation and social withdrawal are linked (Boulton & Smith, 1991), although the exact nature of the link is not clear. For example, is a pupil like Roxana likely to become a victim because she is withdrawn or conversely has she become withdrawn as a result of her experiences of being bullied? What is clear is that bullying of any kind is damaging to the self-esteem of the victims and that close relationships do serve as powerful protection from bullies. This emphasises once again the importance of empowering pupils to develop positive relationships in school.

Whatever the cause, the speed with which Roxana appeared to shift from confidence to total despair is illustrated by the second example, which occurred during her first year at secondary school. The lesson was music, Roxana's favourite. During the first part of the lesson Roxana appeared to be a

confident and able pupil. Looking self-assured Roxana moved easily from instrument to instrument carrying out the teacher's instructions. Moreover, during the lesson she taught other pupils, both boys and girls, how to play. Indeed her confidence seemed to grow as her suggestions as to how the music should progress were accepted by the teacher.

However, as the composition of the music neared completion and the class prepared for a "performance" in front of another class Roxana's behaviour suddenly changed. Her countenance became sullen. She fidgeted nervously with her fingers and she seemed prepared to become part of the audience. After an irritable comment from her teacher as to how she was "being silly" she consented to take part, which amounted to nothing more than unenthusiastic tapping of a tambourine. Throughout the rest of the lesson Roxana stood close to the classroom wall attempting to hide behind her fringe, seemingly on the verge of tears. Whatever had prompted this change in behaviour it is not too dramatic to describe the effect as devastating.

One of the striking features of this incident was the teacher's obvious irritation at Roxana's violent and seemingly wilful change of mood. When Roxana opted-out of the music lesson the response of the teacher was one of annoyance, bordering on anger, that an obviously talented musician should chose to become temperamental at a time when he was under pressure himself. If such behaviour is perceived to be wilful defiance this is clearly challenging to the teacher's

authority. As Roxana's former teacher I could identify with his frustration, as I wanted her to be seen to do well in her new school.

However, if pupils like Roxana are to be educated in mainstream schools, thus having access to the full curriculum and social life of the school, their seemingly erratic behaviour needs to be understood, not merely tolerated. A reading of object-relations psychology (for example, Harry Guntrip, 1961; 1968; Karen Horney, 1945,1951) suggests that such behaviour can be explained in terms of a defence mechanism which prevents the individual from becoming overwhelmed by what are perceived as external threats. Whilst the need for such defences can be a healthy adaptation to specific circumstances in some individuals, a poor self-image or difficulty with interpersonal relationships can mean that the strategy becomes habitual and rigid.

I suggest that this is the case with Roxana, and that attempts to encourage her to take an active role in her education have to take her emotional needs into account. Consequently, the case study examines Roxana's need to withdraw from situations in which she feels overwhelmed by circumstances. This need is linked to a negative sense of self and experiences of anxiety in relationships with her parents.

The Need to Withdraw

Despite the obvious frustration which teachers feel when pupils suddenly opt-out of lessons or activities such moves are sometimes essential if pupils are to prevent themselves from becoming overwhelmed by circumstances. Harry Guntrip (1968) described this as "schizoid withdrawal" which can occur whenever the ego is subjected to intolerable pressure from outside.

We have to recognise that individuality and separate ego-identity, however strongly achieved, are always precariously held against threats from the external world. When people have a "nervous breakdown" and feel they are "going to bits" under the pressure of life, this is only a commoner version of the same thing.
(Guntrip, 1968, pp 267-8)

Clearly Roxana's variably anxious behaviour does not constitute a "nervous breakdown". However, close observation suggests that she often felt overwhelmed and needed to shut out the external world in order to maintain "an inviolable privacy" (Guntrip, 1968, pp 267-8). This implies that her quiet or passive behaviour has its origins in what might be called "ontological insecurity" (Laing, 1959) which could be related to a poor self-image and anxiety in interpersonal relationships.

In The Divided Self (1959) Laing cited a powerful example of how a person can feel threatened by seemingly minor events. During an argument between two patients, one stopped, saying that he could not go on. The reason he gave was that, whilst the other person was arguing in order to have the pleasure of

winning, and at worst could only lose the argument, he was arguing "in order to preserve my existence", (Laing, 1959, p 43).

In many respects Roxana's frequent and dramatic shifts of mood in response to relatively minor events seem to illustrate a similar need "to preserve her existence" in the face of overwhelming anxieties.

In Karen Horney's terms (1945) this is a position of "moving against others" in which the individual needs relationships but is prevented from being able to form relationships because of conflict in those relationships. Horney highlights the fact that in a healthy human relationship such a move could represent healthy adaptation to factors in the environment and is not intrinsically negative. However, for the child who feels on precarious ground because of what Horney calls "basic anxiety" such moves become extreme and rigid. Moreover, a rigid application of one move to the exclusion of all others can lead to a denial of self. "In more extreme cases these mean more than a mere impairment of self-esteem; they bring about a complete suppression of the individual self" (Horney, 1939, p 91).

Thus when pupils like Roxana adopt one mode of behaviour to the exclusion of all others this constitutes an artificial, strategic way to cope with others which forces them to override their genuine feelings, wishes, and thoughts. To the extent that safety becomes paramount, her innermost

feelings and thoughts recede in importance; they have to be silenced and thus they become indistinct. It does not matter what she feels, as long as she is safe. Her feelings and wishes thus cease to be determining factors; she is no longer, so to speak, the driver, but is driven.

Thus, in psychological terms, Roxana's quiet behaviour can be explained as a strategic response to preserve her existence in the face of overwhelming anxiety. In school this becomes manifest in her inability to participate fully in learning activities. As coping with deep-seated anxiety is preventing Roxana from learning, helping her to understand and overcome this anxiety has to be an educational priority. An understanding of the connection between poor self-esteem and difficulty in interpersonal relationships is an important starting point for teachers working with emotionally disturbed children. Consequently the following sections of this case study examine Roxana's relationships in school with teachers and pupils and at home with her parents.

5.3.b) Relationships in School

Relationships With Teachers

During the course of the study I was able to interview two teachers about their impressions of Roxana and her work in school. As music was Roxana's favourite lesson and one in

which she was felt, by herself and others, to be talented it was appropriate that both were music teachers. The first, interviewed at the start of the study, had taught Roxana for a lesson a week throughout her four years in primary school. The second, interviewed towards the end of the study, had taught Roxana for a double lesson a week since she began secondary school at the start of the year. Both teachers had experience of working with Roxana during extra-curricular activities.

During the interviews I was struck by the similarities between these two women teachers. However, an analysis of the interviews highlighted their different, seemingly contradictory impressions of Roxana.

A Relationship in Conflict

The primary teacher was pleased that Roxana was a member of the recorder group and that she had recently been persuaded by her class teacher to join the school choir. However, the pupil-teacher relationship was often strained. Roxana and a friend asked for and were subsequently given permission to spend their lunch hours playing the piano in the hall. As the school policy was to empty the school during lunch time this would be seen by the staff as a tremendous privilege. Thus, whilst the teacher was happy to encourage Roxana, the granting of this privilege put the teacher under some pressure to justify her decision to other members of staff and to be

responsible for the possible outcomes. Roxana then placed additional pressure on the teacher by asking or "nagging" her to listen to the rehearsal.

I'd said they could practice and I was encouraging them and I said I'd come in to see this particular dinner time and I was intending to come along but not soon enough...

(Primary School, Teacher interview, line 38)

The girls became impatient and sent for the teacher which made her angry at their impudence. The two girls, feeling that their teacher had let them down, did not see a reason to be sorry for what they had done and were "rude and madamish". What had begun as a positive situation in which Roxana had asked for, and was likely to receive, attention had turned into a negative experience for both teacher and pupil. It is however, a good example of the way in which the pressures of a teaching day can make an otherwise sensitive teacher oblivious to the difficulties which some individuals have in relating to others. What might have saved the situation, and the relationship, would have been a discussion with Roxana as to the appropriate ways of attracting attention to forgotten appointments. Whilst this was an isolated incident it seemed to colour this teacher's view of Roxana leaving her with very different impressions to those formed by the secondary school teacher.

Deserved Praise or A Lack of Understanding?

In sharp contrast, Roxana's music teacher in secondary school had unmitigated praise for Roxana.

She's a very nice kid, very polite, very helpful, all the good things you can think of. She's willing to help other people rather than do her own work. To be honest I can't fault her, either her personality or the way she works in class...

(Roxana's Secondary School Teacher, page 2)

Thus Roxana was praised for her musical skills, her attitude to her work and, most significantly in this context, for her attitude to others. An example of a parents evening in which Roxana voluntarily stayed in the music room to demonstrate and teach parents and pupils was cited as an example of her unflinching positive approach.

One possible explanation for this seeming contradiction in the teachers' accounts is that they are describing two aspects of the same behaviour. Having observed Roxana over a number of years and in a wide variety of situations I would suggest that Roxana regularly makes attempts to move towards others and become involved in the activities being offered. However, any sign of what she perceives to be rejection or conflict is likely to result in instant withdrawal. In this respect Roxana's behaviour, perhaps to a greater extent than any other of the pupils highlighted by this study, is epitomised by contradictions. At different times and in different situations she is capable of being either able and compliant, or withdrawn and truculent.

In all the incidents cited above Roxana responds to conflict or anxiety by withdrawing from the situation. There are several explanations as to why the secondary school teacher has not witnessed Roxana's "need to withdraw". First, that

this is a good relationship based on totally positive experiences. Second, that Roxana has grown in confidence - perhaps due to her involvement in this study - to the extent that she no longer feels anxious. Third, that the teacher simply does not regard withdrawal as a problem.

The example of Roxana's total withdrawal in a music lesson is evidence that, despite possible improvements in her behaviour, she is still overwhelmed by some situations and continues to feel the "need to withdraw". Consequently the conclusion has to be that her new music teacher is not aware of her anxiety or conversely does not regard it as a problem. In either event this teacher is not in the best position to help Roxana to deal with, and grow beyond, her fears. Whilst appreciating the benefits of not labelling the child or their behaviour, simply ignoring their potential difficulties seems unlikely to lead to their resolution. Moreover, in terms of this teacher-pupil relationship Roxana is denied the opportunity to be her real self (Guntrip, 1968).

This analysis of Roxana's relationship with her teachers illustrates something of her desire to "move towards" and enter into relationships with others. However, it also demonstrates the ways in which she can be inhibited by perceived conflict and anxiety in those relationships. As the following section will demonstrate, similar patterns can be observed in Roxana's relationships with her peers.

Relationships With Other Pupils

Despite the fact that she had known her classmates throughout Infant School Roxana did not have a particular friend of her own when she moved to the Middle School. During the course of this study Roxana spoke of her attempts to make friends with several of her class including Natasha, one of the most popular pupils in the class. However, these attempts often resulted in Roxana complaining of unfair or unfriendly treatment from those she wanted to befriend. Essentially the difficulty seemed to be that Roxana wanted her friend to herself and became extremely jealous if she had to share their attentions with others. Roxana's mother summarised this need to be the only friend when she described how Roxana made friends easily on holiday but that frequently these friendships were not sustained for long especially if other children wanted to join in. Without close friends of her own Roxana's relative isolation in the class remained unbroken until Pamela arrived as a new pupil to the school.

Pamela and Roxana sat together in class and soon became friends. In addition to providing someone for Roxana to talk to during free time, their relationship had some effect on their academic experience in school. The two girls decided to attend a residential field trip on the basis that the other one would also be going. There is also some evidence that their friendship had some influence on their choice of secondary school. In this way it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of such relationships. Moreover

there were less tangible daily effects of their relationship. Pamela and Roxana would regularly "chat" together during lesson time and although I observed that much of their talk was task-related, their conversations became an increasing annoyance to their class teacher who would regularly remonstrate with them for talking too much.

Conflict in Relationships

However, the limitations of this love/hate relationship soon became evident. At the beginning of their first year in secondary school Pamela accused Roxana of telling the teacher about her truancy from school. Roxana was threatened with physical violence by her former friend and as a direct consequence Roxana ran away from school. Despite suggestions from both teachers and family that the two girls should keep apart they continued to sit together in class and work together during small group work. Given that Roxana had few friends of her own age, this outcome is not surprising.

In addition Roxana's family discouraged her from visiting Pamela's house because it was situated in an "unpleasant" part of the area. Whilst at one level this could be seen as a reasonable precaution in a potentially violent neighbourhood, refusing Roxana permission to go to her friend's house does seem excessively hard. Given Roxana's mother's anxieties about ill health, discussed at length later in this case study, it is not surprising that an allergy to dog's fur was

cited as the reason why the two girls should not play together at Pamela's house. As a consequence Roxana continued to spend a lot of her free time playing with a near neighbour who was several years younger than herself. Roxana's lack of friends of her own age may well have contributed to her becoming victim to vicious and prolonged bullying from a particular boy in her class.

5.3.c) Relationships at Home

As this study proposes that much of the quiet behaviour witnessed in school has its origins in the early relationships between parent and child it is appropriate to examine Roxana's relationships with her parents. Such an examination should help to explain Roxana's quiet behaviour and suggest ways in which she needs to be supported in forming positive relationships in school.

With Father and Significant Others

When asked, "Who is the most important person in your life?", Roxana said, without hesitation, her mother. Except for noting the time her father left home to set up house with his pregnant girlfriend, Roxana hardly mentioned her father at all. Consequently, the importance of her father might well be that he was a distant figure who did not take an active role

in the life of his family. Her lack of relationship with her father could well help to explain her extraordinary interest in older boys. It certainly goes some way to explain the extremely close overprotective relationship with her mother. Not only is there "the absent father; we also have the permanently present mother" (Olivier, 1989, p 131).

Prior to the start of this study Roxana became preoccupied with trying to gain the attention of her brother's friends who played together in a local pop group. Having few friends of her own age, Roxana tried desperately to make friends with members of the group. According to her accounts of events these young men were, at least in the first instance, tolerant perhaps even flattered by her attentions. Whilst such romantic idealisation is common, I became concerned that Roxana was not able to share these innocent crushes with girls of her own age. At eleven she seemed to be taking her relationships with members of the opposite sex too seriously. Indeed Roxana's awareness and attraction to older members of the opposite sex was much more advanced than that of most of her peers. For example, during a recent school visit to a park the majority of the pupils were content to chat quietly among themselves or play energetic games. By comparison, Roxana spent most of the time alone, but always close to a group of older boys and clearly anxious to be noticed by them. Her isolation from individuals of her own age and her desperate need to be noticed made her an extremely vulnerable figure.

Evidence gathered during the course of this study supports the view that Personal and Social Education programmes which focus on issues of relationships can help to support pupils like Roxana. Similarly, involvement in co-operative small group activities can, as Roxana herself suggested, enable pupils to develop friendships in the relative security of the classroom. Ideally such initiatives would be supported by teachers with appropriate training in counselling.

Early Relationship with Mother

As suggested earlier Roxana's mother was a major influence during her early childhood. However, evidence gathered from interviews with both mother and daughter suggest that it is a relationship based on **confused attachment** (Barrett & Trevitt, 1991). This is a relationship in which neither the parent nor the child seem to have discovered a shared, fixed point and they seem to be spinning together within an uncontained space. For me this kind of relationship is one in which mother and daughter are held **together but apart** by a force which prevents total separation or greater intimacy.

An interview with Roxana's mother soon revealed that she was an extremely anxious woman who was preoccupied with a fear of ill-health which bordered on hypochondria. Not only did she perceive herself to be suffering from a number of mysterious and incurable medical problems, she also anticipated medical problems for Roxana. A good example of anxiety leading to

over-protectiveness was when she took Roxana - "a hyperactive child" - to the doctor for his advice. She was surprised to find that his advice for dealing with a child who would not settle to sleep at night was simply to leave her alone. Although she admits that this was a difficult thing to do it had in fact "cured" Roxana within a relatively short time.

Anxiety for her daughter's health led to several trips to the doctor over issues which turned out to have no medical basis. The most serious of these - one which has a direct influence on Roxana's education - was during a spate of severe bullying by a particular boy in her class. Roxana's mother recalled how Roxana had become extremely distressed at the mere sight of the boy.

... getting right timid again. You know as if she was frightened to death of him...
(Roxana's Mother, 1st interview, line 107)

Typically the mother had previously assumed that the change in Roxana's behaviour was caused by a serious medical condition.

... in fact she's got a photo upstairs which she had took at that time when she was ill and the bones here are just sticking out of her face, she looked really ill. In fact I thought she had got Leukemia because she was just losing weight terrible.
(Roxana's Mother, 1st interview, line 107)

It is probably significant that despite her over-anxiety, Roxana's mother was not close enough to Roxana to find out the truth about the bullying she was experiencing at school. The situation was "diagnosed" during yet another visit to the doctor. Given her mother's obvious inability to cope with her own seemingly endless and largely unfounded anxieties, it is

little wonder that Roxana has a negative outlook on life and is often beset by overwhelming anxieties of her own.

For Roxana, personal development involves learning new, more positive and secure ways of being. Where will she learn these if not at school?

5.3.d) Additional Causes of Quiet Behaviour

This study maintains that much of the quiet behaviour witnessed in school has its origins in psychological and emotional development which may have "gone off course" in one way or another. This in turn emphasises the importance of "good enough" parent-child relationships. However, whilst confused attachment may be the underlying cause of Roxana's withdrawn behaviour, such behaviour may also be affected by a number of surface factors. In Roxana's case one factor which may contribute to her relatively quiet behaviour in class may be her definition of "feminine" qualities. In this way curriculum initiatives aimed at empowering Roxana to take a more active role in her education would have to address her belief that girls ought to be passive observers.

Roxana is small, attractive and always neatly dressed. Indeed her appearance is something to which she devotes a great deal of time and attention. Her preoccupation with clothes, both her own and other people's, is an integral part of her

perception of what it is to be female. Whilst Roxana is aware that some of the girls in her class have short hair and behave "like a tomboy" she draws a clear distinction between male and female pursuits. She describes how boys play football "and all different kinds of boy's things" whilst "girls wear pretty little dresses" (3rd interview, lines 295 & 297). In this stereotypical definition Roxana assigns boys active roles and implies that what girls look like is more important than what they do. This introduces what could be a central tension in Roxana's life. On one hand she wants to be involved in the activities which are on offer both in and outside school; indeed, during the course of this study she took part in a number of extra-curricular activities. However, in some ways she feels that getting involved is "unfeminine". This contradiction could go some way towards explaining Roxana's contradictory behaviour in the classroom as she continually moves towards and then retreats from participation in activities.

To summarise, there are many facets of Roxana's experience, perceptions and behaviour which define her, in the context of this study, as afraid. These include:

- * The anxiety which she experiences in a number of situations which involve her in relationships with others.
- * Her lack of self-confidence.
- * Her need to withdraw from the social and academic life of the classroom.
- * Her perception of conflict in relationships and her difficulty in sustaining relationships which prevents her from having close personal friends.

* Confused attachment with her anxious and hypochondriac mother. I believe that this is a relationship in which mother and child are held together, but apart, by a force which prevents either total separation or greater intimacy.

* Her lack of attachment with her father or secondary attachment figures.

SECTION 5.4. : RASHEEDA - AT RISK

The category of pupils **At Risk** represents a departure from Karen Horney's (1945) three positions of "moving towards", "away from" and "against". It is used, in the context of this study, in recognition of those pupils who seem most disaffected by their experience of school. Such disaffection may be connected to perceived conflict between the values or expectations of home and school. "At Risk" pupils may be physically or emotionally absent from the classroom and as such are outside the social community of the school.

I consider Rasheeda to be "At Risk" because of the **underlying cause** and **extent** of her quiet withdrawn behaviour. In common with all the pupils highlighted by the present study, Rasheeda was quiet and withdrawn in class. As with other quiet pupils this behaviour could be related to poor self-esteem and difficulty in forming relationships. However, Rasheeda was far more withdrawn than the majority of pupils featured in this study. She appeared to find it difficult to communicate her feelings even in small group activities or in one-to-one interviews. In addition she was often absent from school. I believe that Rasheeda's extremely withdrawn behaviour may be related to the fact that she has additional special educational needs.

5.4.a) A Pupil with Special Educational Needs

As discussed earlier (section 2.6) quiet withdrawn behaviour is, of itself, detrimental to learning and as a result all pupils who do not talk freely in class may be considered to have special educational needs. However, in two respects Rasheeda could be considered to have additional learning difficulties. First, her family are convinced that, as a result of a road accident, Rasheeda sustained neurological damage which changed her personality and affected her development. It is indicative of the lack of communication between home and school that her teachers seem unaware of the extent or result of her injuries. Second, as a second-language learner, Rasheeda has a poor grasp of either spoken or written English.

An Accident Victim

Rasheeda was run over by a motorbike when she was four and a half. Her sister's account of the accident is confused and I was unable to ascertain the exact extent of Rasheeda's injuries. This may be because her family are unclear about the consequences of the accident. It appears that Rasheeda suffered a blow to the head which rendered her unconscious and unable to speak for several days. Rasheeda's legs were badly broken and she suffered temporary paralysis in her arms. Her family are also convinced that the accident caused Rasheeda some neurological damage which changed her personality.

I mean we can't we can't even believe it you know that she's changed now... ..really because she was ever such a nice child when she was a baby.

(Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 22)

Although not expressly stated this implies that Rasheeda is not as likeable now as she was before the accident. Here as elsewhere in the interviews there is a suggestion of mourning for the person Rasheeda was or might have become.

Rasheeda's family are convinced that what they perceive as her immature behaviour is the direct result of the accident.

Rasheeda's sister, acting as a translator for her mother, describes how the doctors predicted that, as a result of the accident, Rasheeda would begin to act strangely as she got older;

as she gets to be of an age like eight, nine and ten, then she'll be you know very naughty and silly, she can be 'cos she had you know, a bad head injury and that has been proved as well, since she has been over nine and but she tries to copy two years and three years or four years. ... she's copying younger children.

(Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview line 11-14)

Rasheeda's family could cite several instances in which she behaved immaturely and copied her younger siblings. My observations of Rasheeda in school revealed little evidence of grossly immature behaviour in school. One possible exception was when Rasheeda, aged eleven, was teased by her peers for bringing a "My Little Pony" bag to school.

Cause for Concern

The discrepancy between Rasheeda's appearance and her behaviour was a major cause of concern for her family and a recurrent theme throughout the interviews with Rasheeda's mother and sister.

You know, I mean other people see her and they say she is a big girl and she might be sensible or something like but she isn't, she's just a child.

(Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 13)

Indeed there was a huge discrepancy between Rasheeda's age and her physical appearance. Rasheeda did appear extremely well developed for her age. She stood head and shoulders above her peers and had the physique of a girl in mid-adolescence. She was at that time the only girl in her class to have begun menstruating. Rasheeda's family had a medical explanation for the discrepancy.

Now she is eleven but she looks a big girl, you know because she's been sterilised as well you see, that's why she's growing too and she is fat and you know tall as well.

(Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 13)

I lack the medical knowledge to understand either why Rasheeda might have been sterilised or what effect that would have on her rate of growth.

A simpler but equally controversial explanation would be that, in order to compensate for her lack of maturity, Rasheeda's family have lied about her age. I am supported in this view by informal conversations with members of staff at Rasheeda's school and by the behaviour of her family. The first question in the parent interview schedule was to ask the child's age

and place of birth. To my surprise, when I interviewed Rasheeda's mother and sister, this question prompted a lengthy off-the-tape discussion. My inability to understand Punjabi prevented me from understanding anything of that discussion. Rasheeda's sister then went to great lengths to try to convince me that Rasheeda was in fact eleven. Although I never expressed my concern to either Rasheeda or her family, I would have found a simple and direct answer to the original question far more convincing.

Whatever my thoughts about Rasheeda's age there is evidence to suggest that she was increasingly concerned about her physical appearance. Even in a single sex changing room Rasheeda would go to extraordinary lengths to hide from the other girls. She was also extremely conscious of her size and rate of development. She refused to eat her lunch at school and frequently complained that she was too fat and needed to lose weight. However, in contrast, her sister reported that Rasheeda was "always making food for herself" at home (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 135).

Erratic eating habits, immature behaviour and preoccupation with her physical appearance do suggest that, at the very least, Rasheeda was a deeply unhappy person. Having worked with her over the course of this study I became increasingly convinced that Rasheeda would benefit from some form of counselling or therapy. However, before I was able to suggest such a course of action Rasheeda left the area, possibly to go to Pakistan, and I lost all contact with her.

Certainly, Rasheeda seemed concerned about her accident and her lengthy stay in hospital. She talked of being worried about frequent pain in her legs and of recurrent dreams of being in hospital. An accident and lengthy stay in hospital is traumatic for any child. In Rasheeda's case, a limited grasp of English and consequently not fully understanding what the medical staff said to her must have increased her anxiety. In addition, her mother, who was recovering from a recent pregnancy, was unable to stay with Rasheeda in hospital.

I used to live with... my auntie used to stay with me there... ... in hospital... so when I got better I came home so... (Rasheeda, 1st interview, line 70-72)

According to Rasheeda a favourite auntie assumed the role of surrogate mother and stayed with her in hospital.

However, despite the trauma she suffered, the £9,000 compensation money Rasheeda received is clearly important to her and to her family. She seems unsure as to how she will eventually spend the money but her family suggest that it will be used to send her to Pakistan.

In my role as researcher it was not surprising that I became aware of Rasheeda's accident during interviews with her mother and sister. However, I became increasingly convinced that the school might not be fully informed of her family's concern. At no time during my work with Rasheeda did the school suggest that she suffered from any learning difficulty over and above the fact that English was her second language. As will be

discussed later in this case study, not acknowledging Rasheeda's special educational needs may have had serious implications for the kind of support which she received in school.

My visits to Rasheeda's home convinced me of the importance of good home-school links and of the lack of communication which appeared to exist between the school and her family. The school may not be entirely responsible for the limited communication. At the start of the study Rasheeda was extremely reluctant for me to visit her family at home. It was, for example, some time before Rasheeda admitted that her family had a phone. It took even longer for her to disclose their ex-directory telephone number. It seemed that a number of racially abusive phone calls had made the family reluctant to give their phone number to anyone outside their immediate circle of family and friends. However, despite this initial difficulty, the family were extremely hospitable whenever I visited them.

A Second Language Learner

Rasheeda's family were the victims of verbal abuse from non-Asian people in their community. However, in sharp contrast to the behaviour of Angie's family (section 4.2), racism in the community seems to weaken rather than strengthen their allegiance to their home culture and values. My experience of working in multi-cultural schools would suggest that this

difference in reaction may represent fundamental cultural differences rather than merely personal or family variation.

Interestingly both Rasheeda and her sister referred to their mother tongue as "Pakistani" or "Paki" language. This suggests a note of derision rather than pride in their mother tongue. Rasheeda does not use her mother tongue at school.

No, don't use it with my friends.
 'Cos if I speak Urdu to them they start to laugh that you're speaking Urdu in school.
 ... Urdu's good for speaking at home.
 (Rasheeda, 1st interview, line 251-257)

This confirms that, for Rasheeda, there is a distinct difference between the language and culture of home and school. Indeed during the study Rasheeda was taught by white monolingual teachers. Her mother tongue had no legitimate place in the classroom.

Moreover, Rasheeda's mother was unhappy for her daughter to go to a school with a high Asian population.

Because Asian children are always causing for trouble.
 (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 173)

Rasheeda's sister talked about her experience of secondary school and how Asian children cared more about causing trouble than they did about their education.

Ah they used to you know, swear in Pakistani, you know - rude and er used to get names and that's how the fight begins you see, you know all swearing or hitting somebody, you know telling somebody to hit you...
 (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 179)

In that this suggests disharmony within the Asian community, it could be that families like Rasheeda's experience hostility

from both their black and white neighbours.

In terms of her academic learning Rasheeda is certainly handicapped by a poor grasp of either spoken or written English. In all subjects, but especially basic literacy and numeracy, Rasheeda was several years behind her peers. Thus, she satisfies the criteria of "learning difficulty" as defined by the 1993 Education Act.

[She] has a significantly greater difficulty in learning than the majority of children of her age.
(Education Act, 1993, section 156)

However, in spite of the fact that the school were unable to provide significant additional support for Rasheeda, no attempts were made by the school to begin the statementing procedure. The school's refusal to statement does not necessarily reflect a lack of concern for Rasheeda's progress. The school may well recognise that such a request is likely to be rejected by an LEA with limited resources. Moreover, in the inner city school Rasheeda attended there is likely to be a higher than average population of pupils with special educational needs. In such an environment Rasheeda's difficulties would not seem as extreme as they would in other schools. In any event a quiet, seemingly compliant pupil like Rasheeda is unlikely to cause concern because she does not offer a threat to the smooth running of the school.

One obvious solution to Rasheeda's problem would be to provide her with a Punjabi-speaking teacher. However, in the first instance, this would be of limited value to Rasheeda as she is

illiterate in her mother tongue. Moreover, it would seem that no one in her family can read or write in Punjabi. When I asked if the family were helping Rasheeda to learn Punjabi her sister said "no".

We don't, but she can just learn it herself, you know speaking and - but because I can't read and write Punjabi, my mother can't, my father can't and she can't, so we can't even learn her to you know, read and write in Punjabi. (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 159)

Rasheeda may well learn some spoken Punjabi for herself but there is no one in the family who can teach her to read or write the language. Similarly, Rasheeda is unlikely to receive help with her English at home. Her mother, who never went to school, speaks no English and signs her name with a cross.

Rasheeda's identity as an Asian girl with learning difficulties living in a predominantly white culture is bound to influence her perception of herself.

5.4.b) A Sense of Self

A Potential Housewife

When I asked Rasheeda to describe herself she said that she was a hard worker and a busy person. Indeed, describing the kind of domestic chores she did at home was one of the few times that she spoke at length.

My mum like... after school... when I've gone to school, she does all homework when I go home I let her have a rest and I do all homework. I do cooking, I do washing, I do drying, I do machining up, I do washing, washing clothes, ironing clothes... .. giving my brothers and sisters baths. (Rasheeda, 1st interview, line 293-5)

To Rasheeda it seems perfectly natural that she should relieve her mother of some of the domestic duties of the house. Also, as part of an extended family, Rasheeda was sometimes called upon to go to London to look after her father and his family there. At the start of the third interview Rasheeda explained her two weeks absence from school.

... and my sister-in-law had a baby boy and so I had to take care of... do her work for her. I had to look after my dad and my sister-in-law's three kids and my big brother and my uncle... I had to look after the house and do the cleaning up and that, that's why I've been away. (Rasheeda, 3rd interview, line 3)

The difference in the response of family and teachers to these absences from school indicates something of the rift between the values of home and school. Teachers are likely to chastise Rasheeda for taking such a lot of time off school. In the predominantly white middle class environment of the school, looking after the family would not be seen as a justifiable reason for a child to miss school. Her teachers may even be surprised that a child like Rasheeda is given such a responsibility.

By comparison, in the context of her home life Rasheeda would be given the kudos of a young woman fulfilling her duty to her family. Rasheeda recalled with some pride how her father had praised her for the way in which she responded to her family's need.

My dad says I'm the bestest daughter of our family, because my other sisters they didn't look after my dad that much he goes to me "You're nice because you're looking after me a lot".

(Rasheeda, 3rd interview, line 17)

The conflict between the values of home and school creates tensions for an Asian girl living in a predominantly white culture. I am struck by the similarity of Rasheeda's caring for her father and Diana's close relationship with her sister. In both cases the girls are being encouraged to see themselves in "particularistic relation to someone else" (Chodorow, 1978, p 178). The fundamental difference is that the effect on Rasheeda is far clearer. Looking after her family frequently prevents Rasheeda from going to school.

However, there is no doubt that by putting the needs of her family first Rasheeda is fulfilling the customs of her culture. Moreover, it is in this context that she is valued and praised by her father. Her sister has little doubt that Rasheeda is more interested in housework than she is in improving her education.

Oh Rasheeda, you know, she wants to learn you know more cooking, you know, washing and doing the housework, things like that, you know she's not I don't think she's bothered in her education more than her house work you see. (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 101)

I do not think it is unduly cynical to suggest that Rasheeda's interest in domestic work suits the family very well.

A Reluctant Bride

The subject of arranged marriages is another area in which Rasheeda is likely to experience a conflict of cultures. One of Rasheeda's brothers is currently persuading his family to allow him to choose his own wife. His choice of wife seems important to Rasheeda as a "nice sister-in-law" was one of the three things she would wish for.

I wish if my brother Janghi gets married I could have a nice sister-in-law then. My mum's told me wife's name. He said he doesn't want to get married to her and we want him to choose his own wife, a nice one because my big brother choosed his own wife.

(Rasheeda, 3rd interview, line 51)

Rasheeda's interest may be because as a member of a close extended family she may spend a lot of time in her sister-in-law's company. They may even live in the same house.

Whilst boys in the family may be allowed to choose their own bride Rasheeda knows that, as a Muslim girl, she will have an arranged marriage.

You can't choose us girls, your parents have to choose it for you because Muslim girls are not allowed.

(Rasheeda, 3rd interview, line 112)

Although Rasheeda was still at primary school she was aware that the time for her arranged marriage was near. In fact I have unsubstantiated evidence that she was married and had a child soon after she left primary school.

Aspirations for the future

In common with her peers Rasheeda talked about her transfer to secondary school. However, as Rasheeda left the area soon after leaving primary school, possibly to go to Pakistan, I was unable to observe her in a secondary school setting. During a second interview with her mother and her sister I learnt that Rasheeda had gone to live with her brother in Luton and would be attending an Islamic girls' school there. They could not, or would not, tell me the name of the school. Her sister's comment about Rasheeda going to Pakistan for an indeterminate period of time made me wonder if she was expected to come back to England.

When asked what she thought she would do when she left school Rasheeda suggested that she would go to Pakistan and get a job making clothes. Given that she was unlikely to leave school with any formal qualifications this seemed a likely outcome. However, her mother expressed a fanciful idea that Rasheeda could be a doctor and thus get an insight into her own medical difficulties. Her mother talked about the value of an education to enable you "to stand on your own two feet" (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 165). Her mother clearly did not understand the nature of Rasheeda's real progress in school and the difficulties which she experienced there.

Rasheeda's possible visit to Pakistan appeared to cause her some concern. She had not visited the country before and

seemed unable to imagine what it would be like. She was more concerned about supernatural influences than about living in a foreign country. She said that she did not want to go to Pakistan because she was afraid of the ghosts that "come after you and they try to kill you" (Rasheeda, 2nd interview, line 91). Rasheeda did not seem to have talked about her fears with her family.

During the interviews with Rasheeda I was aware of a kind of barrier between us which prevented us from engaging in genuine shared experience. She seemed unwilling or unable to talk about her concerns beyond the extremely superficial. My attempts to encourage Rasheeda to elaborate on her initial answers were to no avail. This tendency to talk without giving very much away was particularly evident when Rasheeda talked about her relationships with her family.

5.4.c) Relationships at Home

Rasheeda belongs to a large extended family.

... I got... 2 brothers and 7 sisters... and I got one auntie, I mean I got two mums... ...I got one uncle, one brother-in-law, one brother 'n sister er one sister-in-law... (Rasheeda, 1st interview, line 30-32)

My dad's mum's sister-in-law, she's alive yet, we call her grandma. (Rasheeda, 3rd interview, line 96)

In Sheffield Rasheeda lives with seven of her siblings and her mother and grandmother in a three-bedroom terraced house. In

addition Rasheeda has contact with her father and brother in Luton.

Neither Rasheeda nor her family spoke directly of her mother and father's separation. In contrast to other families interviewed for this study, I was given no information as to the reasons for the separation or the effect which such a separation had on the children of the family. As a result it is difficult to comment on the quality of the parent-child relationships beyond the fact that Rasheeda had contact with both her mother and father. The reference to having two mums may suggest that Rasheeda also has a step-mother in Luton although neither Rasheeda nor her family ever refer to her directly. I could not clarify whether the auntie or "step-mum" was the person who looked after Rasheeda when she was in hospital.

As three generations of women live with their children in Rasheeda's Sheffield home it seems inappropriate to judge such a family by theories of attachment which are relevant to a nuclear family of parents and children. Subjective observations suggest that there is a different sense of community and of belonging. For example, during a visit to the house during Eid celebrations I observed how relaxed the women of the house seemed to be together. Under the ever watchful eye of the grandmother, the women shared all the domestic and childcare duties. A toddler in distress or wanting feeding would be passed from woman to woman and appeared to find comfort from whoever was free to give it.

Similarly, Rasheeda showed a close interest in her brother's choice of bride. This may be because the new bride would become a close member of the household.

Despite this sense of belonging to an extended family Rasheeda and her sister both agreed that she was particularly close to her mother, father and auntie.

Er mostly first it's mother that she really loves, my mother and my father and then she loves her auntie.
(Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 117)

Again I remained confused over the identity of the auntie. Was this the "step-mum" referred to in another interview or the person who cared for Rasheeda in hospital? Whatever the nature of the relationship Rasheeda seemed to think of these three people as the ones she was closest to and the ones who gave her presents.

Er - my dad allus gives me money when I wanted some, sometimes he gives me £5, £10, £20 like that. My mum is kind to me, she lets me do whatever I want. My auntie's nice because wherever she goes - she's been to Mecca twice -she brought me a real gold set of necklace and earrings and this time that she went she brought me a real gold necklace and a silver necklace and earrings and ring with it.
(Rasheeda, 3rd interview, line 45)

Similarly, Rasheeda spoke of her siblings as kind people who would fetch her things from the shops on their way home from school or work.

An analysis of the relevant interviews reveals that neither Rasheeda nor Charlene (both of whom are described as "At Risk") disclose much about their relationships either at home or at school. This possibly indicates that pupils like

Rasheeda take such relationships for granted and neither analyse them nor discuss them. It can not be assumed that an inability or unwillingness to discuss these relationships implies that they are either poor or problematic. However, in the context of this study, I felt that a discussion of relationships within the family gave pupils useful insights into how to make and sustain relationships in school. Thus whilst Diana could talk about how she approached difficult social situations, Rasheeda seemed to lack the necessary vocabulary to describe her feelings about her immediate family. Providing pupils with an opportunity to talk about relationships was one of the aims of the small group work carried out as part of this study.

5.4.d) Relationships at School

Attitudes to School

Rasheeda says that she was happy when she started school and saw her teacher. Moreover, she appears to enjoy the time she spends in school.

'Cos it's good... to write... and you have more things to write... ..you have nothing to do at home.
(Rasheeda, 1st interview, line 143-145)

According to her sister Rasheeda enjoyed the transition to Middle School.

She were really happy there when she went to middle school because you know she thought that she were growing

a big girl... ...I don't know what she's gonna do when she gets to - secondary school.
 (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 57)

The implication is that Rasheeda might find the transition to secondary school more difficult. Talk of unpleasant behaviour from Asian peers may have influenced Rasheeda's family to send her to an Islamic school for girls.

However, despite her seeming enjoyment of school Rasheeda clearly finds it difficult to keep up with her peers. Her lack of understanding of the work being covered is evident in her vague and confused recollection of a recent field trip to a science exhibition. Rasheeda is aware that there are other children in the class who are cleverer than her. She feels that these children understand what the teacher says, finish their work quickly and get it right. Rasheeda does not describe herself as a good talker.

Because the answers what he says are hard answers.
 Sometimes I get them right, sometimes I get them wrong.
 (Rasheeda, 2nd interview, line 210)

Rasheeda says little at home about what she does at school.

Well, if she's done her cooking then she'll come back and tell you about cooking, but she won't tell you about, you know, what she's done today... ...she'll not tell you about you know, reading, writing or you know drawing or painting or anything like that.
 (Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 93)

The fact that Rasheeda does not talk about her school work could explain why her mother seems so ill-informed about her daughter's progress. With pupils with learning difficulties teachers are caught in a difficult dilemma. A desire to build the individual's self-confidence by emphasising the level of progress is often in direct conflict with a need to inform

them and their families of the actual, often minimal, progress made. In Rasheeda's case teacher-pupil communication and home-school liaison is further complicated by the lack of a communal language.

Relationship With Peers

When asked about her friends at school Rasheeda named six Asian girls that she spent time with during breaks. Rasheeda's sister has the impression that Rasheeda has both English and Asian girl friends at school but that these children do not come round to play because they live too far away. However, the pupil Rasheeda most wants to partner in school is in fact her next-door-neighbour. An ongoing feud between the adults of the two families suggests that it is racial intolerance rather than distance which prevents the girls from playing together after school.

Similarly, Rasheeda talks about being bullied by the very girls she particularly wants to befriend.

When I come to school on the way Justina's on the way and she goes to me "Oh no look who's here", I don't say anything and she starts calling me names and Diana starts to starts to kick me and I don't say anything to 'em I just walk away from 'em. There's - they do that in the classroom as well. Mr N___ tells 'em off. Don't listen.
(Rasheeda, 3rd interview, line 134)

Like Roxana, Rasheeda seems unable to leave her would be bullies alone. Her taunts suggest conflict in relationships and a situation in which being bullied is almost preferred to

being ignored by peers. In common with other children highlighted by the present study, Rasheeda feels that teachers are powerless to act against bullies or protect possible victims.

In the classroom Rasheeda invariably sits with Massaret, the only other Asian girl in the class, and is largely ignored by the other pupils. Rasheeda talks to Massaret in the classroom. They talk mostly about playing out and of what they are going to do after school. It seems that little of this talk is task related or about the work they are doing. However, Rasheeda does mention one girl, Nichola, who has helped her with her work, specifically with her English and reading.

Massaret is regarded as a good and loyal friend but only when she is prepared to do what Rasheeda wants.

... talk about what we are going to go and play out...
and what we're going to do and what we're not going to
do... ...and she says "yeah".

(Rasheeda, 1st interview, line 186-188)

Massaret is a friend so long as Rasheeda gets her own way - a relationship of domination rather than of compromise.

Involvement in structured small group activities is one of the ways in which I tried to encourage Rasheeda to consider another person's point of view.

Rasheeda's family are aware that her childish belongings often made her the subject of teasing and name calling.

... once somebody hit her and she come back home and told my mother somebody had hit her. We went to see the headmaster and the headmaster, you know, she told us that you know, she gets picked up about her bag you know, she's got a little bag that's called My Little Pony. So the headmaster said "If you don't mind my saying it we should get her, you know, a bag for her age not you know for a small baby bag...

(Rasheeda's sister, 1st interview, line 73)

Whilst agreeing that Rasheeda should be encouraged towards age appropriate behaviour the bag was not the underlying cause of the bullying behaviour. I believe that other pupils should also be taught greater tolerance of individual differences. For this to happen teachers would need to set a good example by showing respect for pupils with special educational needs.

Relationships With Teachers

Rasheeda's low status in the classroom was confirmed, in part, by the hidden curriculum and the teacher's own response to her. As has already been stated Rasheeda's mother tongue had no legitimate place in school. By having an all-white English speaking staff, other languages were relegated to the playground where they were likely to be regarded by white pupils as a form of abuse. Moreover, as the Asian girls in the class had serious learning difficulties it is unlikely that they would be called upon to explain something of their culture or religion. Rasheeda's status was further confirmed by the way in which pupils and teachers behaved towards her.

During the study one incident highlights the negative attitudes which members of the class have towards some of

their peers. On this particular occasion pupils were asked to work in mixed-sex groups. As Rasheeda moved towards a table, the boys nearest to her moved their chairs away from her. Throughout the discussion neither the boys nor indeed the other girl at the table made any genuine attempt to include Rasheeda in the discussion. Having sat in total silence throughout, it was hardly surprising that Rasheeda was the first to get up and move away at the end of the discussion.

Watching this incident later on video I was horrified to see the blatant exclusion which Rasheeda experienced. However, I was even more shocked by the response of the class teacher. When I suggested that I should talk to the pupils about their offensive behaviour he cautioned me against it suggesting that it was unreasonable of me to expect these boys to work with Rasheeda in the first place. This implied that the boys were in some way a select group who may condescend to work with some girls. By comparison, I expected every pupil to have a fair and respectful hearing from everybody else in the class irrespective of their race, gender or intelligence. If the teacher does not regard all pupils as equals then this is setting a poor role model for the children themselves.

In the event I did talk, in general terms, about how unpleasant it is to feel excluded by one's peers. Having told my own personal story of exclusion, pupils shared their own experiences. I was delighted that in a subsequent lesson Rasheeda was invited to sit between two girls who tried hard to include her in their discussion. Whilst this could be an

artificial exercise "to please the teacher" I was glad that, at the very least, the issue had been raised and Rasheeda had some experience of being included.

Rasheeda said little about her relationship with her teacher. However, she is aware that she does not talk to her teacher and the reason for this is interesting.

I don't talk to him a lot.

'Cos he has to work, some work to do and I have some work to do and if I say like speak to him a lot, he says "just carry on with your work".

(Rasheeda, 1st interview, line 209-211)

Observations suggest that Rasheeda's teacher is far more supportive than her description suggests. Nevertheless, it is significant that Rasheeda sees her task of learning as being completely divorced from his task of teaching. In this respect she seems to have a similar view of education to Diana who "can't really talk to him when he's trying to learn children" (Diana, 3rd interview, line 142). Challenging this "banking view" of education and encouraging pupils to take a more active role in their own learning is one of the fundamental aims of the present study. Rasheeda's case study identifies a number of factors, both at home and at school, which are likely to militate against that process.

To summarise, there are many facets of Rasheeda's experience, perceptions and behaviour which define her, in the context of this study, as at risk. These include:

- * The fact that, as a second language learner, Rasheeda seemed to lack confidence in her ability to express herself in English. In this context Rasheeda may be regarded as having special educational needs.
- * She had a serious accident which left her with some brain damage which may have detrimentally affected her ability to learn. As a result, Rasheeda may be considered to have special educational needs.
- * Her experience of conflict between the values and customs of her Asian family and her predominantly white school.
- * Her concern about her developing body and a fear of an arranged marriage - both of which may be related to erratic eating habits, immature behaviour and a preoccupation with her physical appearance.
- * Her limited sense of herself as a potential housewife and mother.
- * Her frequent absences from school whilst she cared for members of her family.

PART SIX : CONCLUSION

The conclusion provides an opportunity to sum up the findings of the study, to reflect on issues raised by the process of carrying out the research and to evaluate findings. Having reviewed the educational issues raised by this study and speculated on their possible impact for classroom practice, I shall then reflect on particular strengths and weaknesses of the research process and findings, and consider possible implications for future research in the field.

Educational Issues

In summing up the educational issues raised by this study it is appropriate to relate them to the aims, as established in Part One.

The first aim was to explore the ways in which quiet pupils are educationally disadvantaged by an inability or unwillingness to talk to teachers and pupils in school. In meeting this aim this study has provided evidence which demonstrates:

- * That habitually quiet behaviour in school is related to difficulties with interpersonal relationships and can be detrimental to learning. Moreover, in acute cases habitually quiet behaviour can lead to a denial of self.

- * That pupils who are unable or unwilling to talk freely in the classroom with teachers and peers may be considered to have special educational needs. However, for the majority of pupils, meeting those needs is well within the scope of non-specialist class teachers.

* That talk is important for learning and consequently the need for teachers to encourage genuine pupil-led dialogue in the classroom.

The second aim of the study was to examine the factors which may contribute to a child's reluctance to participate in class lessons. Here this study has established:

* A connection between the quality of parent-child relationships and much of the quiet withdrawn behaviour witnessed in schools. In particular this study re-examines the role of fathers in nurturing their children.

* A model of learning styles (derived from Horney) which suggests that the four types of withdrawn behaviour - "ready to learn", "excluding", "afraid" and "at risk" - have their origins in basic anxiety in early childhood relationships.

* However, this study also demonstrates that, whilst anxious attachments with parents may be the underlying cause of quiet withdrawn behaviour, pupil behaviour is also influenced by the quality of relationships in school. This study provides evidence that supportive relationships (with teachers and peers) and appropriate teaching strategies can do much to encourage pupils to participate in the social and academic life of the classroom.

This leads to the final aim of the study, which was to identify and implement teaching strategies which have proven useful in empowering quiet withdrawn pupils to play a more active role in their own education. Here this study has developed the work of Barnes, Cazden, Wilkinson and others in establishing:

* The effectiveness of cooperative small group activities in generating genuine pupil-directed talk.

* The importance of talk partners in providing quiet pupils with the security they need if they are to participate in classroom discussions.

* That appropriate teaching strategies can meet the special educational needs of many quiet pupils. However, it has to be recognised that some pupils are so damaged by their life experiences that they need the additional support of some form of counselling or therapy.

In the context of these aims, the semi-structured interviews (with pupils and their parents) helped to support the class teaching, in empowering quiet withdrawn pupils. These interviews gave the pupils time to reflect on important issues in their lives and to re-examine their relationships with family and friends. They also provided the pupils with an opportunity to talk to their teacher in a non-competitive environment. The luxury of "private conversations" between pupils and teachers is not normally available to class teachers, but the evidence of the fieldwork would suggest this should be a more familiar technique for handling the special educational needs of quiet withdrawn pupils. However, I appreciate that there are practical constraints on teachers' time, which may make this difficult.

The Research Process

In terms of effective research methodologies, the semi-structured interviews with pupils, their parents and teachers were particularly successful. These yielded rich and easily accessible data, an analysis of which formed the basis of sections 4.1. and 4.2. of this thesis. In addition to providing valuable information about specific pupils, these interviews provided evidence of the benefits of involving pupils and parents as genuine partners in the education process. More than any other aspect of the study, these interviews were most influential in developing my understanding of the possible causes of quiet withdrawn

behaviour. They also encouraged me to redefine my perceptions of the role of teacher and have led me to speculate on ways of developing links between education and therapy. In particular, my experience of talking with educational therapists about the children featured in this study has demonstrated the way in which therapists can provide teachers with valuable insights into their pupils.

As sections 4.4. and 4.5. demonstrate, I was successful in devising and implementing teaching strategies which empower quiet pupils to play a more active role in their own education. However, my initial lack of expertise in the practice of research led me to collect far too much data for me to handle adequately, in a thesis of this size. Yet apart from teaching me a valuable lesson for future research, my inexperience meant that I had a wealth of data from which to select specific incidents for close analysis.

My greatest disappointment in carrying out this study was that I was never able to work collaboratively with the pupils' primary school teacher. Moreover, despite my best efforts, the class teacher resisted all my attempts to enter into dialogue with him about my work. In retrospect I would suggest that this lack of communication between us could be due to: the fact that we never established a trusting relationship in which a frank exchange of ideas was possible; that being involved in research made the class teacher defensive; or, that he was just not receptive to the idea of cooperative small group activities. Whatever the cause, being

unable to work cooperatively with this teacher helped to highlight the way in which research, like teaching, is dependent on the ability to establish good relationships with others. I can only keep trying to apply such a hard-won insight as well as possible in future enquiries.

Working alongside a teacher who was not receptive to the idea of cooperative small group activities limited the scope of the research. It made it impossible for me to develop small group activities as an integral part of the pupils' ordinary school work. As it was I could only teach the children during specific lessons which were designated "personal and social education". It was only in my observations of other teachers that I was able to observe the benefits of small group work applied to other curriculum areas.

Despite the obvious drawbacks I believe that on this occasion I was right to choose to work with this specific group of children. However, were I to embark on a similar study in future, the quality of the relationship between teacher and researcher would be an important consideration.

Findings

Based on the premise that habitually quiet behaviour is detrimental to learning I set out to examine the underlying causes of this behaviour and to devise teaching strategies which empower quiet pupils. So far as my work with this

particular group of twelve children is concerned, I feel that I have achieved these aims.

As section 4.4. and 4.5. demonstrate, cooperative small group activities did empower habitually quiet pupils to play a more active role in their own education. Subsequent observations of the pupils in their secondary school reinforce the value of small group activities for increasing pupil participation in learning. These findings have clear implications for classroom practice.

In the context of this study I find that I have come to a clearer understanding of the possible factors which contribute to the quiet withdrawn behaviour of the pupils highlighted by the study. Having established that habitually quiet behaviour may be related to anxious or deviant attachments in early childhood, I have used in depth interviews (with pupils, parents and teachers) and extensive classroom observations to gain insights into the specific influences which affect the behaviour of individual children. This kind of individual analysis is necessary because, whilst it is possible to use psychoanalytic theory to identify general trends, this thesis provides evidence that an individual's behaviour is a unique response to specific circumstances. By detailed analysis and comparisons of data drawn from a variety of sources I have attempted to provide the most plausible accounts of the causes of the pupil's non-participatory behaviour. However, it is in the nature of ethnographic research that it is inappropriate to verify my accounts except by reference to the data or by

seeking clarification from the participants. Whilst, I might have chosen to allow those involved in the research to comment on transcripts of the interviews, I felt that this was inappropriate given the age of the children involved.

As well as providing an understanding of the specific children involved in this study, I believe that the principles which underpin this work provide insights into work with all quiet withdrawn pupils. In particular, I would anticipate that the **four types of withdrawal** described in section 4.3.b would be especially useful in helping teachers to identify withdrawn or non-participatory behaviour. Similarly, my use of my **model of four learning styles** (introduced in section 2.2.c) to describe and explain quiet withdrawn behaviour, should provide teachers *and educational therapists with some insights into the* possible causes of such behaviour. However, as I have sought to show throughout this thesis, whilst habitual withdrawal may be linked to anxious attachment in parent-child relationships, patterns of parenting cannot be used as simple predictors of possible behaviour. Many factors, including the quality of relationships in school, will influence pupil behaviour.

Future Research

My study grew out of concern for a specific group of quiet withdrawn pupils that I had observed in my own classroom. Subsequent reading suggests that there has been little written about the special educational needs of habitually quiet

children. Given that quiet withdrawn behaviour is detrimental to learning I would suggest that there is an urgent need for further research which highlights those pupils who are so frequently overlooked. In particular, I would encourage research which applies the general principles outlined in this thesis to work with other groups of quiet withdrawn pupils. I suggest that, as well as devising ways to support quiet children, there is a need for research in this area to alert teachers to incidences of withdrawal behaviour in their classrooms.

During the course of this study I focussed exclusively on the use of cooperative group work to teach personal and social education through poetry. Examining the ways in which cooperative small group work could enhance the teaching of a wide variety of curriculum areas is one aspect of this work I would like to develop further and one which I would commend as an area for profitable wider study.

On a different theme, I would encourage research which aims to examine the possible benefits - for quiet pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties - of liaison between teachers and educational therapists. Despite my best efforts, there were two children (described as "at risk") who remained quiet and withdrawn. The fact that enlightened teaching was insufficient to reach these children suggests that they may have been so damaged by their life experiences that they would benefit from specialist counselling or therapeutic support. For example, I believe that pupils such as Heather, who

experience physical or sexual abuse, would need to be handled with expert sensitivity. So that such pupils are identified and receive appropriate support, I should like to see more teachers trained in counselling techniques.

Having become so involved in the lives of the twelve children featured in this study I would personally welcome an opportunity to carry out follow-up studies of these individuals. Not least, such a study would satisfy my curiosity as to how they developed and what sort of life choices they made. On a wider scale, there is a need for longitudinal studies which assess the long term effects of habitually quiet behaviour and which evaluate the effectiveness of intervention strategies such as that outlined in this study.

To end with a personal note: there is no doubt that the planning and execution of this study taught me a tremendous amount about the process of research. One practical consequence of this experience was that it gave me the confidence to apply for and accept a research post (in Special Needs) at the University of Leeds. I hope that this will be the beginning of a new career which will draw on both my teaching and research experience.

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Appendix One : Interview Schedules

First Pupil Interview

1) Life Line :

Tell me about your life line.
 What are the important events?
 Tell me about your family.
 How many brothers
 and sisters do you have?

2) Future :

Education - which school do you want to go to?
 Why?
 What job would you like to do?
 What family do you think you would like?
 Where would you like to live?

3) School :

Which lessons do you like best? Why?
 Which lessons do you like least? Why?
 What are you best at?
 What would you like to be better at?

4) Talk :

Would you describe yourself as a talkative person?
 Do you talk much in class?
 Do you talk much at home?
 Who do you talk to most?
 What kind of things do you talk about?
 Who do you talk about problems to?

5) Shyness :

Would you describe yourself as a shy person?
 When do you feel shy?
 What is it like if you feel shy?
 How do you overcome your shyness?
 What is the opposite of being shy?
 When do you / what makes you feel confident?

(note: provide opportunities for pupils to add any comments that they might wish to make.)

Second Pupil Interview

1) This Year :

What have you done since the first interview?
At home.... At school...

What have you learned / got better at?

What has been your biggest success /
disappointment?

What would you like your report to say at the
end of the year?

What do you think your report will say?

How do you feel about next year?
How will it differ from this year?

2) The Class : Looking at the class list, who do you think...

a) is the cleverest in the class? Why?

b) talks most?

c) talks least?

d) is the best talker in the class?

e) is the best listener in the class?

f) what makes a good talker?

g) what makes a good listener?

3) Yourself : Are you a good talker / listener?

Is there anything about your behaviour that you
are trying to change? Why?

How would you describe yourself?

(note: provide opportunities for pupils to add any comments
that they might wish to make.)

Third Pupil Interview

(questions were written on individual cards and answered in what ever order the pupil chose)

If you were interviewing me what questions would you ask?

How can we improve the "Thursday Morning Talk Back" sessions?

If you had three wishes what would you wish for?

Who is the most important person in your life?

What makes you angry?

What makes you happy?

Do you remember any of your dreams? What are they?

Is there anything that scares you?

Have you ever done anything that you were ashamed of?

What was your proudest moment?

Additional Questions : specific to each individual pupil.

Mandy :

How do you feel about Massaret joining your group on Thursday mornings?
How are you getting on with your Maths now?
Do you enjoy acting out your plays on Thursday mornings?

Diana :

Do you enjoy acting out your plays on Thursday mornings?
What would you like Dawn to do in the future?

Justina :

One week you said something about a "proper family".
What is a proper family?
You also talked about a "respectable mother". What did you mean?

Angie:

You said that you would like a panther as a pet.
Why?
Please explain what you meant when you said you played with your mum's things.
You said shyness is natural. Can you explain a bit more about what you meant?

vicky : What is your new house like?
 Why did you change schools?
 What is your new school like?

pete : What do you do in your spare time?
 Tell me about your pets.
 Tell me about your brother and sister. What are
 they like?

susie : What do you do in your spare time?
 Has Denise got any children of her own?
 Tell me about them.

Roxana : What do you do in your spare time?
 Tell me about your brother's band.

Duncan : Tell me about you brothers. How do you get on?
 Have you made anything recently?

Pamela : What advice would you give to someone who was going
 to live apart from someone who had been very close?
 How is your sister?
 Tell me about the painting you do with your father?

Charlene : Last time we talked you complained that your brother
 was misbehaving at school. How are things now?
 Tell me about your mum?

Rasheeda : I have missed you. Tell me about what you have been
 going?
 Has your sister had her baby yet?

(note: provide opportunities for pupils to add any comments
that they might wish to make.)

Fourth Pupil Interview

- Q1) The last time we met you were at primary school.
When did you move to this school?
How did you feel about starting secondary school?
What made you choose this particular school?
- Q2) What were the first days at this school like?
How have you settled down since?
What do you particularly like / dislike about this school?
(note: try to cover both social and academic aspects)
- Q3) Tell me about your friends in this school?
Do you still see people from your primary school?
- Q4) Which lessons do you like / dislike? Why?
" " are you most successful in?
" " are you doing for the first time?
Do you have homework? How do you feel about it?
- Q5) Have you got to know any teachers particularly well?
Do you feel that there are some teachers who do not know you very well yet?
(note: amount and type of contact ie. pastoral / academic; subject; status; sex; age of teacher; and adopted teaching style)
- Who is the best person for me to talk to about you and your progress in this school?
- 1st 2nd 3rd
- Q6) In the last two years at primary school you were taught by Mr N_____. What do you remember about that school?
How does this school compare with your primary school?
In what ways is it the same / different? better / worse?

(note: provide opportunities for pupils to add any comments that they might wish to make.)

First Parent Interview

- 1) Factual Data : D.O.B.
place of birth
number of siblings
relationship with siblings
- 2) Early Years : What was she like as a baby?
When did she start walking/talking etc?
How did you encourage her?
What kind of things could she do before starting school?
Did you/do you read to her?
- 3) First School : When? Where?
How did she feel about going to school?
How well did she get on with other children?
How did she find the lessons?
What kind of things did the teachers say about her?
- 4) Middle School : What kind of things did she say about moving to a new school?
What were her main concerns?
How did she take to the change when it happened?
- 5) Current feelings about school :
How much does she talk about school?
What does she say about school?
What are her favourite/best subjects?
What does she dislike?
Which subjects need to be improved?
How does she get on with teachers / other pupils in school?
- 6) Relationships : Who in the family is she closest to?
How does she get on with adults/other children outside the immediate family?
Tell me about her out of school friends?
- 7) Future : What kind of future do you envisage for her?
What does she say about her future...
education / occupation / family life?
- 8) Are there any other major events or people that have had a significant effect on her?
- 9) Summary : How would you describe your daughter?
- 10) Is there anything else you would like to add (or ask)?

Second Parent Interview

Q1) Explore issues arising from 1st interview. Subject specific to each individual.

Secondary School

Q2) Your daughter is now at _____ school. Why did you chose that particular school?

Note how influential were :

- : other parents?
- : other children / friendship groups?
- : the school's reputation?
- : geographical location?

Q3) What are your first impressions of the school?
 What impressions do you get from talking to other parents / children?
 Do you think it is a good school? Why?
 Have you any criticisms of the school?

Q4) How does the school compare with your daughter's primary school?
 How has your daughter responded to the move to secondary school?

Q5) What are your good / bad memories of school?
 How does your daughter's primary / secondary education compare with your own?
 Did you enjoy school?
 In what ways do you feel you were successful at school?
 Did you have any disappointments?

Q6) Does your daughter enjoy school?
 In what ways are they experiencing success?
 What would you like / expect them to do in the future?

NOTE : provide opportunities for parents to add any comments that they might wish to make.

Teacher Interview : Secondary School

Contact with Pupil and Family

- Q1) The pupil I am asking about is _____ in Y 8 class ____.
 I understand you are her/his year tutor/ form tutor/ ____
 teacher.
 How much contact do you have with her/him?
 In what capacity would you normally see her/him?
 Are there any occasions which are particularly memorable?
- Have you had any contact with her/his parents?
 Could you tell me about it?
 How did it come about?
 What was the outcome?
 In what ways would you expect the school to have contact
 with her/his parents in the future?
 What is the school's policy on parent-teacher liaison?

First Impressions

- Q2) I know that you have only known _____ for a short time
 but can you tell me what are your first impressions of
 her/him?
 How does she/he behave when you see them in the classroom
 / playground?
 Has she/he done any particularly pleasing / disappointing
 work for you?
 How would you describe her/his academic potential?
- Q3) Have any other members of staff commented to you about
 her/his behaviour or work to you?
 Was there any particular reason for them contacting you?
 What did they say?
 How do you feel she/he responds to other teachers/pupils?
- Q4) Can you tell me about extra-curricular activities in the
 school?
 As far as you are aware is _____ involved in any of
 these activities?
 Can you tell me about their involvement?

Transfer to Secondary School

- Q5) Do you have any ideas as to why _____ chose this particular school?
In your opinion how has she/he responded to the transfer from primary to secondary school?
What kind of links does the school have with it's primary feeder schools?
What does the school do to try to ease the transition?

Background Information

- Q6) How long have you taught at this school?
What position do you currently hold in the school?

NOTE : provide opportunities for teachers to add any comments that they might wish to make.

Appendix Two : Selection of Transcribed Interviews

Diana - First Interview

Diana - Second Interview

Diana's Dad - First Parent Interview

- 1 R Right Diana, the first question is can you tell me about your lifeline. What have you got on there?
- 2 DIANA When I was 4 years old my sister was born and I was on holiday when it happened so we had to come down, we had to come home a week earlier to see my sister. Er...
- 3 R So who were you on holiday with?
- 4 DIANA My auntie and my dad and that's all.
- 5 R Mm.
- 6 DIANA When I were five...
- 7 R Let's go back to your sister a little bit. What's your sister called?
- 8 DIANA Dawn. She were so small that she had to go into an incubator only for a couple of weeks and now she's all right
- 9 R And how did you feel when she was born?
- 10 DIANA Happy.
- 11 (Pause)
- 12 R And do you get on well together?
- 13 DIANA She's a bit small for her age but... she's six and she's about... about as high as... you know little Gavin in the first year, she's a lot smaller than him and she's six.
- 14 R Mm.
- 15 R Right, would you like to tell me the rest?
- 16 DIANA When I were five I went to Spain 'cause my auntie lives in Spain. We went to see her because... she'd just got married...
- 17 R Mm...
- 18 DIANA ...and I had to wear this right pink dress and it looked awful on me.
- 19 R Were you a bridesmaid?
- 20 DIANA Yeah. I started school when I were 5 an' all

and it was quite strange because it were like...
in those schools, right, when you first start
it's really strange to you...

21 R Mm.

22 DIANA ... and ... when... it were when I came back from
Spain that I started school and everybody... and
the teacher knew that I had been in Spain and
everyone were saying, 'what were it like in
Spain?' and things like that.

23 R Did you like Spain? Would you like to go...

24 DIANA I'd like ... I might be going again...

25 R Are you looking forward to that?

26 DIANA Yeah.

27 R What's the thing about Spain you like best?

28 DIANA Er... beach...

29 R Mm.

30 DIANA ...and... hotels were nice because my auntie
were like living in a hotel before she got a
house and when she got her house... a house...
she sent a photograph back to Britain what it
were like and it were really big and since that
she's had two children, Jonathan and Amanda.

31 R Mm.

32 (Pause)

33 R What happened next then on your time line?

34 DIANA When I was six I went to France...

35 R Mm.

36 DIANA ... 'cause my dad thought we should have a
little holiday, but when we got to France I
didn't like it that much because you know when
like you go shopping in France there's all these
people who start pushing and everything, and I
nearly got lost.

37 R Mm.

38 DIANA ... and you know...

39 R Was that scary?

40 DIANA ... 'cause everybody... like if you see advertisements on tele where all them French people ... and things and they're all pushing... and pull things because they want to get to the shop and everything and people, they say, 'oh well, it a bit better than that in Sp...in France'. But it's true I think, they all do that and that... and I saw a little baby, she were lost...

41 (Pause)

42 DIANA ... oh yeah, and when I came back from Spain... I mean France - my mum didn't go - and Dawn... were about... how old were she now... she'd been 2 years old and she... like when I got back she came running up to me going Diana Diana.

43 R She was excited to see you after all that time?

44 DIANA I went for 4 weeks.

45 R Four weeks! That's a long time isn't it?

46 DIANA Er and when I were 7 I went to Scarborough with my uncle, my auntie, my nana and my grandad, my 4 cousins, my dad, my mum, my sister and we had loads of fish n' chips...

47 (Laughter)

48 DIANA ... and it were really silly and when we went on the beach, right, my cousin was trying to bury us all and you know like you do... and then sands just above their head I did it and she couldn't get out after all that...er... then when we got back from Scarborough, right, and we went to my other nanans and she said that when she went to Scarborough when she were small it were really, really cold...

49 R Mm.

50 DIANA ... and all waves, right, they were like bashing rocks and everything... and when we were at Scarborough... we... you know at night like when you go to pub and disco we met a girl and she said last time she came to Scarborough somebody fell off of one of rocks and went down into sea when she... when it were in the middle, well not in the middle of the night when when sea comes in but she didn't drown.

51 R Well that's good then isn't it?

52 DIANA When I were 8 I broke my leg and I had to go to

hospital... 'cause I were playing on this like... what do you call them... have you seen them new schools that have just come out with those rubber tyres well I were playing on one of them but it were like one of them old ones and I fell down this like little ramp thing and I broke my leg.

53 R Oh dear.

54 DIANA But it got better in a couple of weeks.

55 R Mm.

56 DIANA Er ... when I were... 9... I started school before when I were 8. When I were 9 I were in Mrs A_____ 's class and it were good because I had two friends sitting on my table and they was always arguing to one another and going, "I'm not your friend now", right, "I'm not your friend now" and they ... and they were always like putting me off my work so I went to sit with Emma - she were on the same table - to see if it made any difference but... but it didn't, they were always arguing.

57 DIANA Er... now... when I'm 16 I'm going to Canada but now it's... er... I'm in Mr N_____ 's class now... there's not much about now... just normal.

58 R Mm. What's normal?

59 DIANA Oh yeah, I forgot... my Auntie, she had a little baby called Stacie. She only had it last week... and when...

60 R When are you 16 then?

61 DIANA I'm going... I might be going to Canada 'cause you know my... 'cause my nanan, she had 7 girls ... and they're all like... they all want to go to... other countries so soon... when my auntie went to Canada she met this man and he asked her if she'd marry her and she said yes, so when... so she's going to get married and when I'm 16 I want to go and see her in Canada. That's if my dad lets me. But she's going to pay for me to get there because... my dad, he hasn't got a lot of money.

62 R Will you have left school when you are 16?

63 DIANA Um...yeah. When I get back from Canada I'm going to study to be my job what I want to be. I want to be a doctor.

64 R Mm. What do you think you are going to have to do to be a doctor?

65 DIANA You have to study a long time, right, I were walking down the gennel with my friend and she told me what her job wanted to be and I told her what my job wanted to be. And she said, "Oh God, you can't be a doctor because you've got to be so clever to be a doctor". And I thought, well, if I pass all my exams and start studying I might be able to be a doctor.

66 R Mm.

67 DIANA And if not a doctor, a vet, and if not a vet a police lady.

68 R Mm.

69 DIANA Mm... don't know...

70 R So you think you going to have to study quite hard do you?

71 DIANA Mm.

72 R Are you looking forward to that?

73 DIANA My dad, he had to study a long time to be a painter and decorator.

74 R Mm.

75 R And do you think that you're going to get married when you get older?

76 R What kind of family do you think you'll have?

77 DIANA Er... don't know. My auntie, she had a boy and a girl so I might want a boy and a girl.

78 R Mm.

79 DIANA But my dad said not to get married until I'm about... 29...

80 R Mm.

81 DIANA ... I can get my job first to be a doctor and then I can start my own family.

82 R Mm. Sounds very good. And where would you like to live?

83 DIANA Er... well... my dad's been to Worksop and he

says it's all right - I want to live in England...

- 84 R Mm.
- 85 DIANA Er... I just might... I'd like to live in a nice house... and it might be in Sheffield. I want to live quite near to my dad...
- 86 R Mm.
- 87 DIANA ... and my mum and my little sister.
- 88 R Mm. Going on to school now, which lesson do you like best?
- 89 (Pause)
- 90 R Or more than one.
- 91 DIANA I like two. I like English...
- 92 R Mm.
- 93 DIANA ... and I like maths.
- 94 R Mm.
- 95 DIANA ... but sometimes I'm not very good at maths. I like art and all, when we do them things. My dad says I'm good at art.
- 96 R Mm.
- 97 DIANA Like, at home we've got loads of paper what my nanan give us, 'cause she... she has a load of paper, shopping lists even though she don't need it all and she gives... she gives us half of it and I... I drew like a robin on a branch and like... things... like... you know nature... background and trees and everything like that and I did that and my dad said it were good and he... he's a good artist and all 'cause he can draw good rabbits and good robins and things. He has to copy it though. And I said to my dad, I wish I were like that boy that can go to a building and then he can go to somewhere else different and then he can do the building that he's seen.
- 98 R Mm.
- 99 DIANA I'm quite good at building.
- 100 R And which subjects don't you like so much?

101 (Pause)

102 DIANA Um... well I don't like it when like, you know when it's singing, I don't like it 'cause I can't sing very good. And... er I don't... I like them all really except for singing. Well I like singing but sometimes my voice goes a bit squeaky and I feel really embarrassed.

103 R Mm.

104 DIANA ...and I just, I like them all...

105 R Mm.

106 R And what's your best subject?... What are you best at doing at school?

107 DIANA Oh... what am I best doing?...

108 (Pause)

109 DIANA ...well, I'm good at English. My dad says I'm good at maths but sometimes I get hard... I get stuck on some of these and I think I'm... best at... English but I'm not so good at anything else but I try my hardest but I think I'm best at English.

110 R Mm.

111 DIANA Like when... I like it when you have to just do a story like... when you've just been on 6 week's holiday and you have to do a story when you come back about what you've done and things like that and things like that. I think that's good.

112 R Is there anything you'd like to be better at?

113 DIANA Pardon?

114 R Is there anything you'd like to be better at?

115 DIANA Yeah. There... I'd like to be better at... I'd like to be better at swimming. I'd like to be better at my maths and I'd like to be better at... topics because you know when Mr N_____ takes us to the library and he says find something like out of books and everything you think "oh no what can I do now" and when like you choose a subject on Turkey and you have to stay on that subject and when you go to the country there's hardly any books about Turkey and you think, oh no, let me think... er... and

my auntie's best friend went to Turkey once and I know some things about Turkey 'cause you know like their Turkish Delight...

116 R Mm.

117 DIANA ... it's really, really, really sweet and I don't like it...

118 R Mm.

119 DIANA ... and there's some Turkish houses are made out of rock like... like flintstones a bit and they...

120 R Mm.

121 DIANA ...'cause I've seen a photograph in a book about it.

122 R Mm.

123 (Pause)

124 R Thank you very much. The next subject's about talking. Do you think you are a talkative person?

125 DIANA Sometimes... when somebody... right if people just leave me alone and let me do my work, I hardly ever talk then, I can get on with it because I can't concentrate too much when people is talking round me. But if anybody starts a conversation I can't stop having a conversation because...

126 R Mm.

127 DIANA ...'cause when I get my head down and thinking about things, I concentrate a lot but if somebody starts talking to me I just can't do it at all, I can't think and things like that.

128 R So do you talk much in class?

129 DIANA Do I talk much in class? Well, sometimes I talk a lot... when Daniel starts messing about telling me jokes and everything; the rest of the time I'm all right, I don't talk very much.

130 R Mm.

131 (Pause)

132 R Who do you talk to in the class then?

133 (Pause)

134 DIANA I talk to Masserat, I talk to Rhaksana when she's here, I talk to Daniel, er I talk to Justina I talk to nearly everybody in the class...

135 R Mm.

136 DIANA ... but 'cause they're always coming to my table to borrow rubber and everything...

137 R Mm.

138 DIANA ...so they upset (unclear) and things like that...

139 R Mm. And what about talking to the teacher?

140 DIANA Er... if I talk to the teacher a lot but when I'm stuck he has to help me...

141 R Mm.

142 DIANA ... work and everything but most of the time he's... he's like talking hisself like doing things on the board and things so you can't really talk to him when he is trying to learn children.

143 R Mm. Do you talk much at home?

144 DIANA Well, sometimes I talk when something's not very good on tele, but when "Neighbours" is on I don't say a word...

145 (Laughter)

146 DIANA ... and my sister, she does talk a lot...

147 R Mm.

148 DIANA ... get fed up with it after a bit. And my dad is always saying Shush, shush.

149 (Laughter)

150 R Who do you talk to most then, do you think?

151 DIANA Mostly... Justina, Mandy and Susie because we're always hanging around together and we always the best of friends and... and it's like... when... when you're in the playground and there's nought to do you... you talk about things like what you've been doing last night and things like that and you talk about your best pop stars and everything. Justina and

Mandy they are mad about 'The New Kids on the Block' and Susie she's mad about 'Big Fun'; I don't quite know who I'm mad about.

- 152 R Mm. And is there someone special that you talk to if you've got a problem or if you're worried about something?
- 153 DIANA My dad...
- 154 R Mm.
- 155 DIANA ... but I never have any problems really, but if I'm worried about like times table and everything, "Dad will you test me on my times table please" and things like that and he helps me with my spelling and everything because he knows I'm not that good on spelling...
- 156 R Mm.
- 157 DIANA ... and all things, he's like a teacher my dad really, when he's got the time.
- 158 (Pause)
- 159 R Anything else you'd like to tell me about?
- 160 DIANA Um... no.
- 161 R Now Diana, would you describe yourself as a shy person?
- 162 DIANA Sometimes...
- 163 R Mm.
- 164 DIANA ... if... if like my cousin's come or something, first I'm shy, then get... then get to start playing with him and that...
- 165 R Mm.
- 166 DIANA ... like at first when you see somebody, you start being shy and then when you get to... know them a bit more you start like playing with one another and things like that. I'm not shy all the time but... if... if like I go to an important thing I am shy.
- 167 R What's it like feeling shy?
- 168 DIANA Well, when you feel shy... like if no-one's talking to you right, you think to yourself how am I going to start a conversation but you think really that they're shy an' all, that's why they

don't talk to you... but you feel shy because nobody's like talking to you an' everything and you don't like want to talk to them back... and things like that.

169 R Mm. What do you do if you think you're going to feel shy? How do you overcome it?

170 DIANA Er... I don't know really... just try not to be shy and try to talk... to get into a conversation and everything because my cousin he's not shy because if we like walked into their house he'd say, "Hi, how are you" and things like that.

171 R Mm. So what's the opposite of being shy then?

172 DIANA Being talkative...

173 R Mm.

174 DIANA ...like my sister... er probably not just sitting and being really shy just like try and relax and talk to them and things like that.

175 R Mm.

176 R Are there any times when you feel really confident and talkative?

177 DIANA Yeah. When I'm at my nanans I do, when I'm at home I do and sometimes when I'm at my cousin's...

178 R Mm.

179 DIANA ...when... when she keeps... I like it when she keeps talking on like so you can talk on with her to show people that you're not really shy.

180 (Pause)

181 R Thank you.

DIANA - 2nd Interview (20.6.90)

- 1 R I'll just check that the tape is working, is that OK? Now what are you going to say?
- 2 Diana Well, when you'd gone that night my dad said interview were good as well and that it were for a good reason as well he just thought it were good.
- 3 R Good. It's a while since we did our first interview Diana so my first question is to ask you what you have been doing in between?
- 4 Diana Getting up to all sorts, I've been, like you know when you're allus with your friends and that, you like think it's good to put meetings and that and we've got a den and we've been helpig people. I do errands for people on my bike 'cos I never get chance to ride it so I do errands for people and things like helping people, like my auntie like 'cos she needed...., like I helped my mum and dad with the front garden then I went round to my Auntie Denise's and helped her to cut the front and I've just been doing things like that and my sister has as well. I've been doing that really just.
- 5 R I'd be interested to hear about your den, where's that?
- 6 Diana It's in the little park near where we live and it were a bit disappointing other day because it was like, you know in bushes and people can't see where you are and that to like we had some chairs and things like that and this day when we went to us den, all the bushes had been cut down and that tree that had been knocked down and the chairs and everything had been burned so we had to make a den somewhere else and there's a big park down the road so we made it there. They cut the grass but they never cut the trees down because they're massive, so it's right in a corner of the park where nobody can find us.
- 7 R And who do you play with there?
- 8 Diana My little sister, every Sunday my cousins come, there's I've got one at ten, one at five, one at six and one at three or four and they always come down to our den and there's some friends there that we always see and there's Melissa and Susie there, they always come down to our den as well. We're always like in our den and we are always planning meetings and things like that and sometimes we bring food and have a picnic because there's like, and I always bring a blanket down because my dad said once that there was this old blanket upstairs that we didn't want so we always have a picnic on the grass on nice days.
- 9 R Sounds really good. What have you been doing at school?
- 10 Diana Work, and I've been practising for the kaleidoscope because this year I think I've made up for last year because last year I didn't do owt in it but this year I've got a couple of parts now so I'm a bit nervous. There's been all sorts going on, but I liked school better then, because when we were on holiday for

two weeks it were boring because I didn't have owt to do but at school you've allus got something to do, that's why I like it.

- 11 R Good. what have you learnt this year whilst you've been at school?
- 12 Diana When we were in't library I learned that, because I thought that cotton never grew in cotton fields, I thought that people made it from wool, I learnt that it grew in fields and I've learned like because when I were in't first year I didn;t know how to spell and in't second year I didn't, but now that I've come to Mr N-'s class I've learnt a bit better and when I came up from E----- I didn't know how to spell anything but when I left the first year I knew how to spell some things so you'd help me spell some easy things then and gradually a bit harder so now its things like co-operate and everything, but my dad says my spelling's getting better and Mr N- and I got a certificate and he said my maths was getting good as well.
- 13 R You've got a certificate, what's that for?
- 14 Diana It's like every year you get a certificate and when my name were called out like, I were surprised and it said for working very hard in maths this year.
- 15 R I bet you were pleased as well weren't you?
- 16 Diana I were just like sitting and listening right and like the last two years, three years my name hadn't been called out but Mr N- said that I'd worked hard but this year my name got called out and I wondered what for and then it were for the certificate.
- 17 R That's good. What was your biggest success this year?
- 18 Diana Don't know, well biggest success was that I feel you know, better than I were before because now I feel that I've learnt a lot more and my biggest success is that I'm working harder and I can concentrate a bit more now and that I've learnt a lot more.
- 19 R Would you say that you're more confident?
- 20 Diana Yeah.
- 21 R And what's been your biggest disappointment? Have you had any disappointments?
- 22 Diana No not really. Just that sometimes things don't go your way at school say if you really think you're doing something right and then you get something wrong, like we had a decimal test, Mr N- said I'd only got two wrong, then I got one wrong, and today I thought I were gonna get none wrong but I've got two wrong again, so that were a disappointment for me but it weren't for Mr N- he said I were still working hard.
- 23 R At the end of the school year the teacher writes a report about you; if you remember somewhere in school there's a book with your reports in it; what kinds of things do you think your teacher is going to say about you this year?

- 24 Diana I don't know. I know that he might put that I am that I'm settling down a bit better and I don't know if he'll put ow't bad in but I haven't really been bad this year. I were bad last year 'cos I couldn't settle down properly and I were like - I don't know, but this year I've settled down a bit better and like instead of being bottom of the class, I weren't bottom of class last year, it's good to be like at the top again. I'm not at the top either but it does feel as if I'm included because last year I felt I were left out, I don't know why though.
- 25 R You feel included?
- 26 Diana Yeah.
- 27 R Can you tell me a bit more because it sounds interesting?
- 28 Diana I don't know what to say. Just that its like last year, I don't know why I felt left out it were probably because some of my friends were in a different class from me and I don't know if Jessica were in my class last year but I only had two friends in that class that I really talked to and that were Emma and Nabila. They talked to me a lot but I still felt left out because like in't playground right some of my friends weren't out they were altogether somewhere like inside practising and I just felt left out. But this year we are all in the same class you can like get together a bit more.
- 29 R It sounds like you've had a good year.
- 30 Diana Better than last year.
- 31 R Do you think that's going to show in your report?
- 32 Diana It might do. I don't know. It probably will do.
- 33 R What kinds of things have the teachers said about you in the past in your reports?
- 34 Diana Well last year I couldn't settle down properly but my spelling were gradually getting better and my maths were good and I were working quite hard, but this year I think he'd say that I've been working harder and I've really settled down now. When I'm like into something I'm into something, but sometimes people put me off and that's what my dad says to me, I've got to try concentrate and if people put you off just try and concentrate on your work again, but when I get in the fourth year I think nobody will put me off next time. I can just get down to work.
- 35 R Smashing. What about next year Diana?
- 36 Diana Next year. I think that it'll be, I don't know. It'll be better than this year because like every years getting better and I think that because you feel when you're at the top of the school you feel proud of yourself, so I think I might feel proud of myself and I know that I will have learnt a lot in this school and I don't know if I would have learnt as much as I

learnt in this school, 'cos at E-----, I know it were like just first school but I hardly ever learnt owt I only knew how to spell cat and dog and things but now I can write and do things better and my writings got neater, like 'cos my dad looked at my writing last night and he said your writing's got neater and my sister were there and she said 'Oh Diana that's best writing in't world', 'cos you know like she writes like big, but her writing's getting a bit more like mine now and the other day right my dad saw Diana's writing and thought it were mine.

37 R Did he really think it was yours?

38 Diana Yes, it were like Diana's writing's right small and it used to be big at first, but now it's small. She tries to do it joined up but it looks a right mess. He didn't know I could do writing as little as that because he said when I were at school I used to write like Diana because they used to do capital letters and my dad said my writing were a right mess wi capital letters I hated it and I says well if you did that when you were a little boy you've got used to it like, say if he got back into capitals at school, my dad were probably used to doing proper ones. My sister does capitals at the beginning of word, then a normal one, then a capital, then a normal one, she thinks like that's how you write. And my dad's like this, 'Oh that's good'.

39 R So what do you think will be different next year? You're going to a bigger school like you said aren't you?

40 Diana Yeah and I think
Next year what would be different? Some things will be different like some of my friends have gone to the top school. Next year I'll be thinking about going to another school, that's what would be different, because this year I haven't worried about it too much, but next year you've got to because time flies doesn't it and like I said you'd have learned more, like you just feel as if you you just feel proud of yourself and Sonia says Mr E- makes you laugh a lot, so I'm looking forward to that an'all.

(Pause).

41 R Smashing. Can I give you a list of all the people who were in the class at the beginning of the year, I know some of them have changed now because some people have left and some people have come, but that's the class list as it was. Who would you say out of this people was the cleverest in the class?

(Pause).

41 Diana Probably, er, there's like two people I think are clever, but I've only got to choose one, so I think.

42 R No you can choose two if you like, if its easier for you.

43 Diana Mandy and Natasha, not only them two but Massaret and Rhaksana are clever as well because they haven't rushed their work that's why they're like at SPMG they're on the red books and now they're on green books but they're not daft, a lot of people call them daft and that lot but I tell them to shut up because they're not, they

don't rush themselves, that's why. And I learn them a lot because they ask me questions and I help them with their work mostly and Daniel helps them with their work an' all 'cos I know that they're not daft and they're not stupid and they pretend they don't know how to spell things. Because they're just as clever as what we are but they take their time because they don't like to rush things.

- 44 R You said Mandy and Natasha were clever - why do you think they're clever? What gives you that impression?
- 45 Diana I don't know really. I just think that they are because well, first of all they help other people, they're always helping people and they know how to spell a bit better. I'm not saying they're very clever miss but, I mean all the people in our class are probably clever, but they're just like not top of class or owt but I just think that they are clever as well, because Mandy works things out really fast and Natasha does and they'll always help you if you need help.
- 46 R Smashing. Who talks most in the class?
- 47 Diana Me.
- 48 R Why do you talk most in the class do you think?
- 49 Diana Don't know. I sometimes do talk most in the class but that's because Duncan does as well and like you know Daniel, Peter and Barry are always talking and I'm in the middle, like Peter's there, Barry's there and Daniel's there and I'm right there and so they ask me questions like so I have to answer them but I don't know if I talk too much. I think I'm talking too much now.
- 50 R Not at all.
- 51 Diana I talk too much at home.
- 52 R You're certainly not talking too much now it's lovely to hear you. When you're talking in the classroom are you talking about work?
- 53 Diana Yeah if Daniel asks me questions like did you see this video and I say D..... I say no and try and get on wi me work but mostly when I'm talking and Massaret and always talking to Rhaksana about my work and helping with it, that's what I'm talking about all the time and sometimes I have to help Daniel and sometimes I even help Jessica.
- 54 R Who talks least in the class?
- 55 Diana Massaret because right when you're on the table you never hear her talking, you don't know she's there because she's quiet, and when Zowie were here she were quiet too. I don't know why they're quiet but they just are. I mean I couldn't live without talking. I couldn't stand a day without talking, but Massaret you never know she's there most of the time, 'cos like she gets down to work and she doesn't irritate you like

Daniel does sometimes. She's not pestering you all the time. Sometimes she asks me questions but I don't mind because I always help her and sometimes Rhaksana helps her.

- 56 R Smashing. Who's the best talker in the class.
- 57 Diana Best? What do you mean. Like.
- 58 R Well what do you mean? What would you say made a good talker?
- 59 Diana Best like the best people that come out with the best things. Do you mean that or do you mean posh?
- 60 R Well which would you mean?
- 61 Diana People that come out with good things.
- 62 R I think I'd say the same thing actually, so who are the people who come out with the good things?
- 63 Diana Sometimes Zowie did and it might have to be probably Susie D_____ because she's good at it as well, she says lots of good things and she's got some good ideas and Kerry does, she's got some good ideas as well. I mean like if we were doing a poster she always puts good things in and Jessica did last time, that poster we made I thought it were good because there were every little detail of what you did and it said apples on saleand I liked Amanda's ideas as well 'cos she gave people funny faces and they were laughing and things like that.
- 64 R Who's the best listener in the class?
- 65 Diana Massaret because she never says owt. She always listens, you can tell she's listening but she never even says owt, probably because she's too shy because sometimes they think of good things and think 'no people might think it's daft' and you're worried about what other people're thinking, but then say he asks someone else a question and they say the answer that you thought of and Mr N- says it's not daft, but you're always worried about what other people'll think most of the time so that's why Massaret never says owt I think.
- 66 R How do you know somebody's listening?
- 67 Diana Because you can tell when they're paying attention because sometimes they're daydreaming, sometimes they look interested, that's when you can tell they are listening most of the time.
- 68 R Can you describe that 'looking interested'?
- 69 Diana Well, you look at the person like that's talking and you like - I don't know but you can tell. My dad says that because I say things are gonna happen before they happen and my dad and he says I must be clever, but my dad, I says to him 'Dad', I asked him that question what you've just asked me,

I said, 'Dad, how can you tell that people are listening?' and he said 'Because they look at him', but that's not right all the time is it because sometimes they just daydream a little like that but most times like I can tell when they're paying attention anyway, I don't know if you can or if anyone else can, but I can tell when they're paying attention.

- 70 R So if I am ever in any doubt then I'll ask you. If ever I'm not sure. Are you a good talker?
- 71 Diana What do you mean, good ideas?
- 72 R That's what you said was a good talker isn't it?
- 73 Diana Er, don't know. Sometimes right when I'm at home with my dad I have good ideas. I remember once when my dad bought me this - it were really funny, right - it were like this pub what you can make up on your own and the door opened and you could see a pop group inside practicing and it were really funny and you had to colour it in and I coloured it with all the right things and he said 'Diana what should I colour this thing in?' I don't know what it were and I think I said 'red' and he said 'that's a good idea' and not only that but if we're making summat he allus asks me where to put things and what to do and like if soethings's squeaking and he asks me what to do and I just tell him most of the time. Me and my sister get good ideas but some of 'em are a bit daft but sometimes, I do pay attention to her.
- 74 R You're very close to your sister aren't you?
- 75 Diana As soon as she's out of my sight I get worried and I go looking for her, right. Yesterday I were at my friend's house right listening to a tape and she weren't in the bedroom and I went downstairs and I'm shouting her and everything and she were on the front playing with my friend's - what do you call it? - you know one of them Barbie cars, one of these remote controlled things, she were playing with that. She'd got me right worried and I said 'come upstairs with me Diana because you get me worried when you're on your own because I daren't send her round - say if I were at my friend's - I daren't send her round, she only lives two doors away but I daren't send her home because you read about these kids every day getting kidnapped and this girl that were three outside her house so she's always wi me all the time.
- 76 R You look after her? Are you a good listener?
- 77 Diana Yeah sometimes. Yes because like I always ask questions so it means that I've been listening sometimes. I think I'm a good listener because I always listen, to what my dad says and sometimes when he's talking about football and things like that I don't really listen. He asks me questions like 'is football on tonight, do you know?' but I don't pay any attention about football. He talks to me about football, right, he's crap and he's good and I just sit like this, I'm not paying any attention at all, but if he asks me summat about school, then I allus tell him what's going off, like say what work we've been doing - I allus tell

him. He says 'Do you need any help at school' or things like that and with your maths or something and he says if I bring them home he'll help me, but I don't really need any help. But he likes to help so I might start taking some homework home in future. It might be spelling or summat like that because I've allus took spellings home, 'cos my dad says to Mr N- that I could take spellings home and reading. I'm better at reading now than I am at spellings.

- 78 R Is there anything that you do in school that you're trying to change?
- 79 Diana Do you mean work?
- 80 R Well work or behaviour, anything.
- 81 Diana I think I'm good behaved but I know there's summat. I don't know if I should be a better actor. Do you think I'm a good actor?
- 82 R Yes I do, I think you're a good actress.
- 83 Diana I'd like to be a better speller then 'cos I don't like the way I spell things. If anybody says 'what's your wish?' I'd wish that I could spell proper and then I could help people instead of them helping me all the time because it's not fair most of the time. They say well it is fair 'cos if you won't learn it's best that people help you, because I want to help people with spellings and that lot, like they help me so I help them sort of thing.
- 84 R How would you describe yourself Diana?
- 85 Diana Er, chatterer sometimes, er er like I can concentrate a bit more now so I would describe myself that I can concentrate and..... I would describe myself as like watching television and I like singing and my sister says I'm a little show-off sometimes because like I get my brush and start singing to tapes or something like that and I start dancing. She says to me 'Diana, you're a little show-off you'. She shows off as well.
- 86 R I don't think she means that unkindly does she?
- 87 Diana No.
- 88 R Is there anything else that you'd like to say about yourself?
- 89 Diana No, I don't know, just that I know that I'm happy anyway and
- 90 R That's important is it, to be happy?
- 91 Diana Yes, because when you're sad you feel all down in the dumps and it's boring to be sad and I just get easily bored and always like to be doing summat, like when I'm off school I'm always cleaning my bedroom every two minutes and it's as clean as owt but I'm always swapping things round doing this and doing that. I like to keep things clean. My dad says I'm a little fusspot because I just like to keep things clean all the time. I mean they're already clean when my dad's finished but I always finish round the house and things like that. I've got to be doing summat all

- the time, my dad says I'm hyperactive, I think I am an all.
- 92 R You're what did you say, I didn't catch that?
- 93 Diana My dad says I'm hyperactive.
- 94 R What does that mean?
- 95 Diana Don't you know? It means that you can't sit down you've got to be like be up and about doing something. and say, I know I'm hyperactive when I haven't done owt but it's like when you have orange juice because it's like the orange juice and these colourings in ice cream, that's what makes me hyperactive because I'm allus like up and about and can't sit down for two minutes, that's what my nannan's like.
- 96 R And you've been sat down for half an hour. Do you realise it has taken half an hour?
- 97 Diana No but I'm allus like this aren't I?
- 98 R You have to fidget a bit do you?
- 99 Diana I have done, I can't stand still, stay still.

Diana's Dad - Interview (21.5.90)

- 1 R About Diana. When was she born?
- 2 Dad She was born in 1979, 13th of July.
- 3 R 13th of July.
- 4 Dad And I'll never forget it 'cos it were a 'black Friday'.
- 5 R 'Black Friday'?
- 6 Dad Yeah it were 'black Friday'. I were working at Manchester, I were working at Manchester then and Diane's mother, when she had her, she went to hospital - see I had to go to work and I were worried all day and I'm not superstitious believe me but you know 'black Friday' and - oh dear. Anyway everything were alright.
- 7 R Well you got Diana, I mean that's
- 8 Dad Yes, aye she were fine, yes, everything went alright. She - you know she were induced like you know and but 'er ...
- 9 R It's a funny
- 10 Dad She carried her bad see, she carried her bad, you know Diane carried her bad, she'd a rough pregnancy like, she kept threatening miscarriage now and again, it all up on this 'black Friday' when they took her in. And I'm not, you know I'm not superstitious like but
- 11 R No but ...
- 12 Dad All't same it were a worrying time.
- 13 R It would have been worrying anyway wouldn't it? Whether
- 14 Dad Well yeah, aye but that made it worse.
- 15 R Yes I can imagine that. And she was born in Sheffield?
- 16 Dad Sheffield, yes, Northern General Hospital.
- 17 R And brothers and sisters?
- 18 Dad Just Dawn, sister.
- 19 R And she's?
- 20 Dad She's six now, she were born on 10th of July 83.
- 21 R And how do they get on with each other?
- 22 Dad Well at the moment, 90% of the time smashing, er they argue, they do have their arguments but nowt serious, its

- nowt. They get a bit catty sometimes but apart from that alright.....
- 23 R What was Diana like as a baby?
- 24 Dad Very good. When she were first born and everything, you know we'd no sleepless nights hardly, hardly any at all, she were very good. And t'other one were every two or three hours till she were eighteen months old but Diana were, she were fine, she used to take her feed and we used to - never heard from her from say 10 o'clock at night while about 6 next morning, she were fantastic that way.
- 25 R Uhuh.
- 26 Dad Aye.
- 27 R So when she did finally arrive she made up for all the trouble she'd caused before?
- 28 Dad Aye, aye, we didn't have it both ways.
- 29 R So when did she start talking, do you remember?
- 30 Dad Well properly - they start er with different things, you know, start about talking and make sense of her she'd be about eighteen months old I think, something like that you know, when we could make sense of her and stuff like.
- 31 R She could make you understand?
- 32 Dad Oh yeah, aye. She started before that but you know, only words - cat, we've got a cat, she used to say Dinky, which was a name she caught on to, that's one of the first things she said - Dinky - cat, mam, dad, sort of thing, all usual things. About 18 months old I think, yeah about that you know we could understand her right enough aye.
- 33 R What about her walking then, did she get on her feet?
- 34 Dad She started shuffling on her bum first, as she was crawling it were all she were about 12 months old and toddling about, she weren't too bad she used to get about by furniture though, pull herself up wi' it and walk round't room like that. That's how she started, it were about 12 months old yeah.
- 35 R How did you encourage her with the walking and talking?
- 36 Dad Well, usual things you know, to get her to walk we'd sit in a chair opposite where she were and shout her and stuff and she'd come across and gradually she started coming across by herself, you know. She'd crawl at first and then as she were trying to find her feet eventually it just come that she toddled over, you know. It were like somebody what were drunk.
- 37 R What sort of things could she do when she started school?

38 Dad Drawing and stuff you know, she could read some words and things like that.

39 R How did she learn to read?

40 Dad Well me and Diane used to sit down and read her stories and that, things like that. Er, I allus remember, she went down to E- first, nursery and we used to ... when we used to take her for a walk and that .. day, children would be in yard and she were wanting to go and get in wi' em, you know, this were when she were about three year old. She started nursery at four, three and a half or four. She were allus wanting to go weren't no bother really. And when she went she mixed straight away, played wi' em and everything, she'd bricks and everything, you know. They do all these bricks what they put together and all that, ooh all them - she's straight into them. No problems.

41 R So she was eager to go to nursery school?

42 Dad She was eager yeah, she wanted to go before she were due. She used to want to go in wi' em like I say, when we were passing.

43 R And how did she get on with other children in nursery school?

44 Dad Well smashing, we haven't had no problems wi' her at all, as regards mixing wi' other kids.

45 R Uhuh.

46 Dad None, and er you know you sometimes get 'em coming home with, they've been fighting or whatever, but I can honestly say she's never come home and had, seemed to have had any bother with anybody sort of thing, you know. So we've been lucky that way wi' er.

47 R What about her work in nursery school?

48 Dad Well, as I remember, you know, the teachers were pleased with her, I used to go down regular like, pick her up sometimes, sometimes take her Diane They were pleased with her, you know everything were alright. Dead right. She took, she .. I wouldn't say she's brilliant, but she seemed to pick things up pretty quick and I mean I used to talk to Scotch lady, I forget her name - what were her name Diana?

49 Diana

50 Dad No, that Scotch lady who were in charge down at nursery, I forget her name.

51 Diana She was called Mrs M-

52 Dad anyway, I used to talk to her and she were pleasedpleasant little lass an'all alright yeah.

53 R You said you used to read to Diana, read with her ..

54 Dad Yes, well we - we did a reading project wi' you I think as well didn't we? We used to read all sorts, all the usual things you know, Red Riding Hood and all that business, and things like that, er just usual things, and Jack and the Beanstalk - all them Ladybird books, things like that. We had some of them books, things used to pop out, I don't know what you call 'em

55 R Pop up books.

56 Dad Aye whatever, easy words you know - dog, cat, bus, things like that, she were - we joined her in't library as soon as she were at nursery, she were in't library then and we used to go and get books from't library for her. She used to sit and look at 'em and that, she used to enjoy it.

57 R So when she went to nursery school did she know things like colours and

58 Dad Oh aye she knew colours

59 R Things like

60 Dad Yes, not all of 'em, not - she knew you know, red and yeller and things like that, oh aye, no problems.

61 R And she could identify things out of a book, you know, you've mentioned cat which is obvious because you've got a cat ..

62 Dad Oh yeah, aye, cat. But dog used to be the word. Woof woof I know because we called it that, and I know you're not supposed to I mean if a dog's a dog you learn 'em to sat dog, but it used to be woof woof, even though it's a dog. You know what I mean, but I know what - I've been telled like it's do you mean it is a dog, it's a dog, you shouldn't gi' 'em these silly names should you like, you know, but I think its a trap you fall into wi' kids, you say silly things to 'em don't you?

63 R And you're bound to pick it up.

64 Dad I allus pick it up, aye. But it's just a passing thing in't it? Once they get going to school and that I think teachers correct 'em where we've gone wrong. You know what I mean such as things like that, not a woof woof, it's a dog.

65 R And did she know her numbers, or could she count or say nursery rhymes?

66 Dad Oh she could say nursery rhymes, aye, she knew one or two, not full you know, and I think she could count a bit, yes probably to ten oh aye, when she went to nursery she could count to ten, things like that. She warn't daft.

67 R When she moved from nursery and she went up to F-first school, was that a big sort of event for her or did she take to it easily?

68 Dad Well she took to it great, and Diane took her down that day 'cos I were going to work like. I wanted to go but obviously I couldn't. She just - and I asked her... she were happy, she thought it were good that she were going up to big school like she called it. Diane said she took to it straight away like, smashing like, and I went down a few times after you know, and spoke to teachers and that and they all said that she'd settled in, you know, smashing so, and it were pretty smooth really, there were no .. I mean some kids they don't take to it at all do they, they're screaming and shouting, I mean there were one or two that morning didn't want to go in and mothers were getting a bit upset, kids' crying but she were fine. I thought that might upset her seeing other kids crying but ...

69 R It didn't?

70 Dad No, no.

71 R And what about the change to middle school when she moved up the road?

72 Dad To B-?

73 R Yes.

74 Dad Smooth again. She was delighted, I mean she's still with same friends see, you know, same kids as from down road, I think that helps don't it when they know people, it's not like, not like moving to a school where they don't know anybody, I suppose that'd upset her. But from nursery to E- to B- she knew all same kids see, I think that helps, everything went alright like.

75 R She wasn't worried about the move to the big school? Some kids are aren't they?

76 Dad Well she didn't seem to be, I think she's gonna be more worried about the next move from B- to either S- I think, H- or E- M-, I think she'll be more worried about that one, I don't know what she thinks.

77 Diana Would you like a cup of tea?

78 R I'd love a cup of tea thank you Diana. Alright I'll be asking you about that move later on in my questions. So transition up to so far has been easy?

79 Dad Everything was smooth and there were no problems at all. I just can't recollect any at all.

80 R And you put that down to the fact that she was moving with her friends?

81 Dad I think it had a lot to do with it yes. Keeping to ... you know, she knew the faces that she were going up with, they weren't complete strangers, I'm sure it helps, I'm certain it does.

- 82 R They have day trips from the first school up to the middle school, did Diana, was Diana involved in those, you know sort of day trips up to
- 83 Dad Oh yes she's been to what do you mean?
- 84 R Before they moved.
- 85 Dad Oh yes, before the move, yes, I mean from nursery to the other one they did that, took 'em - and I think they come up from E- to B- a couple of times, oh aye they knew and I think that probably helped as well, obviously, it gives 'em a chance to see the teachers before they go dun't it? They can form a slight opinion then I suppose, 'cos I think kids like can look at somebody and if they don't like 'em they're just not gonna like 'em are they? I don't know what you think but I think everything were alright.
- 86 R Thank you very much. Thinking about her school now, how much does she talk about her school?
- 87 Dad I think she talks about it nearly every day, I mean when I see her at teatime she's allus got summat to say like, you know, she's been doing this and she's been to Thornbridge not long since, we learnt all about that see, what they'd been doing and that, aye, she talks about it, she enjoys it, I think she likes all teachers, that's quite unusual so you know, I think she's happy there.
- 88 R So do you ... you obviously hear about trips?
- 89 Dad Oh yeah, we hear about everything yeah, aye.
- 90 R You hear about the routine stuff as well do you? You know what goes on normal in the classroom?
- 91 Dad You know .. aye ... not every night don't hear about routine stuff but you know sometimes if she dun't say owt I make a point of asking sometimes, you know, make sure that everything's alright and that she's happy enough, see what she's doing and that aye.
- 92 R Do you know what her best or favourite subjects are?
- 93 Dad Er, well I know she likes to go swimming and that, don't you? But I think she likes I don't know about her English, she dun't like spelling I don't think, do you?
- 94 Diana well, I like spelling but I can't spell that good, I try my best though.
- 95 Dad She likes these er.. they had a thing wi' some computers once din't they? And that, I know she likes that. She likes music and that and I don't know about ... maths and English and that, I don't think she's so keen.

96 Diana I like maths.

97 Dad Do you?

98 Diana Yes. We had a maths test today.

99 Dad I know she likes to draw and ... she's not a bad drawer anyway, she's drawn some things here that I thought were pretty good for her age. When she puts her mind to it, she's got a tendency, she loses concentration and then you can forget it like. Know what I mean, but she's sat down here and done some drawings when she's felt like it and they've been good, aye.

100 R You mention that she might not be too keen about English. Is there anything else that she doesn't like?

101 Dad She's never mentioned owt that she really dislikes - no. I suppose there is things but she's not really said, you know what I mean?

102 R Now which subject would you say she needs to improve on? If she needs to improve at all.

103 Dad Well

104 R Diana's mouthing 'spelling'.

105 Dad Well we had a word with Mr N- about that, you know. I don't know if it - it didn't matter at one bit did it, something, I don't know. But now its coming back in't it, they're gonna start spelling tests again. I think one time o't day they din't bother so much did they, but I would say spelling could be improved on.

106 R And how do you feel, are you happy that you're doing spelling again and spelling tests, or would you prefer it not to matter?

107 Dad Well I don't know, I mean does it 'cos - I mean in my life it's never really made any odd spelling. Er, like - I mean just learning how to put themselves across and that and speak, I think that's more important than spelling. But there is certain jobs and that when she gets older where she may need spelling, I don't know. But I would ... me myself, I would think - you know - they should be able to spell pretty decent 'cos if they ever have to write a letter to anybody I'd like 'em to know how to spell properly like sort of thing ...

108 R Yeah.

109 Dad ... and know where to put all apostrophes and that. I'd have a good idea so it dun't look just silly, you know. Because I'm quite sure if - I mean if employers or anybody if you had to write to anybody and their spelling's atrocious I should think they'll bin it and not bother. Aye. So I'm glad they're bringing it back myself.

110 R I think you've mentioned how she gets on with the teachers, you've said that she seems to get on alright with ...

111 Dad Well, I've - she likes Mr N-, she - I know that for a fact, she said that and I - she likes everybody else you know, I can't recollect her giving any teacher a bad name, I'm not just saying that 'cos you're here, I mean that's a fact. She says Mr E- can be very strict when he shouts you know, probably frightening. His barks probably worse than his bite, but apart from that oh no, she says everything were ... she gets on wi' em.

112 R And what about C- school, does she get on with the other children?

113 Dad Yes, aye, aye we asked her about that 'cos that's one thing we allus ask. No, I don't like to see 'em at loggerheads with anybody. 'Cos from (indistinct) that can't it? If there's a certain one that took a dislike to her or vice versa it's no good, I allus ask her that but there's never any problems, only usual stuff - boys teasing and they're teasing boys and that, that's all.

114 R So is it a group of friends that she's got or do they change?

115 Dad Well, she seems to have the same group, there's Marie, or is it Mandy, is it?

116 Diana Mandy.

117 Dad Mandy, Jessica and Susie ... Susie D____, I know her, Susie D____ she only lives down't road. And other two same - seems to be four of 'em, gang of four, it's just them four all't time, you know, what I can gather wi' what she tells me like that the main ... she's got them main three. I think she gets on wi' others but they're her friends.

118 R ... Are they friends outside school as well as in?

119 Dad Well they see one another but they don't actually because ... I don't let 'em go far see from house -they don't live far away but now she's getting a bit older she's gonna start going like you know this summer, now lights - nights are getting lighter she'll be able to go down if she wants. But she has seen 'em and she has played with 'em but you know, not as much as when she's at school, but that's me not letting her go, you know what I mean, I like her to be near house when she's out, now she's getting older she'll be able to go down.... She'll be alright now, she's sensible enough.

120 R Going on to other relationships, who is she closest to in the family?

121 Dad Who is she closest to?

122 R Mm.

123 Dad I er, you know, it's a funny question that. I know she thinks a right lot about her really (indicating younger sister) .. I know they have their moments .. I mean sometimes she's like a little mother to her and that. Er, well - I can't really put that ... I would say her sister really, yeah. I would yeah.

124 R Mm.

125 Dad She's close to me, Diane and me - we're separated, I don't know if you know like but she's close to her but she's

126 R She's closer to her sister?

127 Dad Aye. I think ... I think she's like a little mother to her, aye.

128 R In what way?

129 Dad Well ... she dun't like to see her being picked on, if she thinks anybody's picking on her she gets reight broody. She gets made - 'I'll see to them' and all that.

130 R She's protective?

131 Dad Oh aye, aye, like I said they have their own arguments but I don't think she'd see any harm done to her. I know she allus sticks up for her. Really though she's close to us all, really but I would say, I would say like that she might change now she's getting a bit older that I think she'll grow away as she gets older when she starts wanting more independence. I think it'll come when she's thirteen or fourteen. I think she'll grow away from her then, but as they are now they .. she's good with her. She learns her a lot of things, and she'll come home and she'll learn her sums, you know, or ... she's got a little typewriter upstairs - she takes her on that and stuff lots of things with her.

132 R So they learn it together now?

133 Dad Well aye, she's learning her really. She lets her do things for her you know, like go on typewriter.

134 R And how does Diana behave with other people, you know if you have visitors to the house or you're at a function where there were people she didn't know very well?

135 Dad Normally alright, in fact when we have been out or people's been here she's been alright. Sometimes shows off kids do don't they. She seems alright, she's good mannered wi' 'em, if we go into anybody's house or owt she's good mannered, she's been told to be anyway, I mean some kids don't do they, no matter what you say to them? But she's been alright, she's been fine.

136 R So would she be free with people? I mean would she talk to people?

- 137 Dad Oh aye, yeah, aye. I think she would yeah. she goes to my sister's a lot - I've got five sisters see and she visits them - they've got kids. My oldest sister she's got two lasses at ... who's older than her, whey they've left school and that and she's open with 'em, you know, she's not talks and everything and lets 'em know what's going on like. When I see my sisters they tell me things and they come from her obviously. So she does tell yes, she's not shy or owt like that.
- 138 R Is that true with adults and children or is she better with adults or better with kids?
- 139 Dad I think she's better wi' adults, I think she talks to adults more, especially like my sisters.
(knock at the door)
- 140 Diana Oh no not Dawn and Vicky. Do I have to play out?
- 141 R I was asking you about how she was with adults and you said when she goes round to your sisters she talks freely to them.
- 142 Dad Yeah, I think she'd talk more to adults, especially women, not so much my brother and that or my dad or anybody, but wi' my sisters and older women, oh aye, she likes a good natter, she does honestly, aye.
- 143 R And you said she was freer and more talkative with adults than she would be with children? Have I got the wong...?
- 144 Dad Well, I that's what I've seen, I mean I don't know ... I mean I've seen her at school with kids and she's allus in a huddle talking there, you know, but I don't really know what she's saying or owt do I - I mean, but I know what she says to my sisters and that and she's open about everything and she'll talk about most things and I mean, er my sisters anyway they've got girls themselves they know what they like to talk about and all these things don't they?
- 145 R Yeah.
- 146 Dad So, yes, she's quite free with 'em and everything, she dun't have no problems.
- 147 R We'll just have a clear example of her friends coming round to call for her.
- 148 Dad She nearly knocks the door down that lass dun't she? I often think who is this and when I get there she's only a little lass.
- 149 R Has Diana got any hobbies or out of school activities that she likes to do?

- 150 Dad Well she ... hobbies? I don't know if you'd class it as hobby, but she's got a stereo thing in her bedroom; she likes to listen to records, she loves listening to records. You know - I could class as a hobby, we go walking, only round here like at weekends, she likes to go for a walk which I'm surprised about 'cos I like to go for a walk in summer anywhere, as long as its a walk. She seems to enjoy that. I know she likes swimming, she keeps pestering me to take her swimming but I've never got round to it yet and I shall have to, but er, you know, as for owt else, er we've got these usual things where she collects pop things, you know, what all young lasses I suppose. But I wouldn't say she were really stuck on one thing apart from records - she likes listening to records. She buys these magazines, you know, but I can't think of owt else she's really stuck on, you know.
- 151 R You mentioned about her transferring to a secondary school and you said that it might be a but problematic for her, she might be a bit worried about it.
- 152 Dad Well, she ... when I spoke to ? she'd. they'd a choice of two, and she ... I've asked her which one she wants to go to. The one I want her to go to is E- M-, its near on, its only through t'parks, you could walk it in five minutes, but she's on about .. she's heard it's not very good there and some of her friends is going to H-, so I want her to go to E- M- but she's half and half, she wants to go to H-. I think it depends where her friends, biggest part of her friends go or should I say them three who she's really thick with sort of thing. Where they go to she's gonna want to go and I think she's a bit you know she will get what she wants to do. I've tried to persuade her to go to E- M- but obviously if she dun't want to go down to E- M- and she wants to follow her friends and go to H-, I'm gonna have to give in to it like, but I'd like her to go to this one 'cos its closer at E- M-, but it's not a major problem, I suppose wherever she goes she'll settle in, but that's the only thing I can see like, you know.
- 153 R Mm.....
- 154 Dad I mean she's heard this E- M-'s no good and she dun't like it and all that but I think she might have just said that 'cos she wants to follow her friends sort of thing, I don't know, but we've a while yet, we'll sort that out.
- 155 R It's a year yet isn't it before she's got to make her mind up?
- 156 Dad Yeah.
- (Pause).
- I mean I think ultimately anyway she'll please herself, I don't want to push her into owt like that, I wouldn't say go down to E- M- if her friends have gone up there, she could go where her friends are. That's basically what she wants to do, so she'll do that.

- 157 R What about when she is in school, are you hoping that she'll stop on at school or do you think she'll leave at sixteen?
- 158 Dad Well we've been talking about - talking about that other week to her. I would like to see her stop on, I mean if she's unhappy at school and she dun't want to stop on that's up to her I mean, but I would - she knows this anyway - I would like to see her stop on and go further but we'll have to see, I mean it's alright us saying that but you have got the I think biggest part of you has got to do what that kid wants to do haven't you? I mean at sixteen or so she's either gonna want to stop on and get better qualifications or whatever or she's just not gonna be bothered at all and if she's not gonna be bothered I don't think you can make 'em. You know what I mean, it's no good saying - trying to make her to go if she's gonna be unhappy doing that because I don't think she'll learn 'cos if they don't want to learn they won't learn will they? But we'll see - I would like her to stop on - I've told her this anyway, I said if you do you get you know, you get better prospects - I didn't say prospects to her I'm not sure she'd know owt about 'em, you'd get better jobs and stuff and you know, I think it'd be better but we'll see, we'll see what she thinks in a few year's time about that one.
- 159 R Does she talk much about her future?
- 160 Dad Not a right lot but she's usually but all she wants to do, if ever I ask her what she wants to be she says doctor. (laughter)
I hope she can be but I doubt it. Or a nurse you know - I'm surprised she said doctor, there's a lot of girls say 'I want to be a nurse' and things like that. Dawn's - little 'uns mother had idea of what she wants to be, she wants to be a teacher - Dawn, but I think that's because she's got a soft spot for Miss B- at school see and she's her idol, she really loves that woman like. But er, she thinks a doctor, or a vet she once said, 'I'd like to be a vet', I don't know if it were a passing phase but she dun't talk too much about it now. I think that'll come a bit later when she gets to about fourteen I think, she'll have a better idea then I think.
- 161 R Have you any ideas what you'd like her to do?
- 162 Dad I'd like to see her do something with computers or summat 'cos I think that's where future lies, summat you know, all these firms are using 'em now. Er, they use them for various things - everybody uses them don't they? Hospitals, every walk of life now and they'll only become even more. If she could get onto that and she liked it, I would say that - yeah. You know you can use computers in everything as I say - accountacy and't lot don't they, so I'd like to see her to go into summat like that - whether or not she will I don't know. She ... there's a lot of girls going to like social work as well in't they and all sorts of things then again... anyway I think it's a constant struggle

is that, they're allus looking for money aren't they? Things like that. Whatever political climate is they get cutbacks andthat and then they get rubbish jobs don't they? It's a paradox, they must be ... they're happy in doing it - they're thinking they're helping somebody and yet half time they can't get money to do job. I suppose teaching's same, they've been at it reight, left and centre haven't they with these silly cutbacks? It's stupid, but it's like ... but I would like to see her go into something like that aye, 'cos I think if she could get some qualifications in that area, you know, I don't think she'd have much trouble at all getting a job, a steady job, a decent job. But as I say she might turn round and want to do sumamt entirely different. So we'll have to see.

163 R I've asked about the obvious things you know, starting school, finishing school and finding a job; is there anything, any other event or a person that's had a major effect on Diana?

164 Dad Er I don't think so, I don't think anybody's impressed her ... no, nowt hits me, nowt out of orDawnry. I know she likes my grandmother, her ... my mother, her grandmother. She really likes her and I mean she's a this past couple of years anyway 'cos we weren't here a lot like, she lived abroad like in't war a lot and she seems to she's got arthritis and that, she's... her hands swell up now and again and she can't do a lot and Diana's allus helping her like you know, and I think my mother has had a effect on her in certain ways, she looks up to her I know that, she really ... you'd call it ... admires her, er you know when she talks about her like, she keeps saying how kind she is and all that She's had an effect on her yeah, I think, I'd ... you know, outside of family and that I think my mother has a bigger effect on her than anybody else in certain ways.

165 R You mentioned earlier that you and your wife had split up, and if you don't want to talk about that that's fine. I was wondering how Diana had reacted to that.

166 Dad Well it's not like as if, you know, she's .. it's not as if she doesn't see her, she goes to her house at weekends, she's got a flat like. She goes there Saturday, she's Saturday, Sunday, she sees them two or three times in't week anyway and it's obvious it's not ideal, but it were better than the situation we'd got when she was here. Er, some you know a bit of a bad atmosphere I must admit, but they seem quite settled to the situation and I mean they're alright yes, they are alright genuinely, they are happy enough. They see her regular, they see - obviously they're living here, they see me every day ... I think they prefer it to when we were living together 'cos we were allus arguing, we couldn't have carried on you know, no way it could have carried on, so we .. we got divorced anyway, went to court to get custody of kids sorted out - what we was gonna do, it were all done amiably - is that the right word?

- 167 R That's the right word for it.
- 168 Dad Right and it seems to work and they're alright, you know, they're quite happy. I don't think it's upset them that much actually.
- 169 R It struck me how open you were because you mentioned your wife's name a few times while we were here, because obviously they've got contact with her.
- 170 Dad Oh aye, aye, I mean we get on better now you know because we're not together all't time, so it is better; it's not ideal I suppose but it's better. In fact we're quite happy, those kids is alright, aye. But as I say she sees them regular, she can come and go when she wants, it's as simple as that. She does anyway, she comes and seen 'em two or three times a week, she comes Saturdays, she goes to their house with 'em, comes up here Sundays, she did all day Sunday, alright.
- 171 R The last question is to ask you to describe Diana, what kind of person is she?
- 172 Dad My opinion of Diana? Er, let me think. Sometimes she can be deep, I don't think she tells you everything, there's lots she keeps to herself and I know she likes to be liked, I think it upsets her if she thinks somebody dun't like her but I don't know anybody that dun't like her but if she thinks they don't that can upset her. And I think she likes to help people if she can, and I know she likes rewarding for it when she's done summat, you know, I don't mean like buy her, I mean just thank you and good lass and all that sort of thing. And I think she's got easy-going nature you know, she's not ... I don't think she'd ever fall out wi' anybody, be vindictive or owt. She's gentle, I think she's got a gentle nature, you know what I mean, I don't know if you do. Some people come across as gentle and some people come across as a bit hard, she comes across to me as gentle as if she's gonna grow to be one of these - what can I say? - soft women, if you know what I mean, not
- 173 R You mean a sensitive ...
- 174 Dad not a go getter, aye, sensitive, yeah.
- 175 R Not a go getter, you mean ...
- 176 Dad No, I mean I don't think she'd push too hard, anybody or anything bites other finger I think she'd be happy to carry on. If she though everybody else were happy Diana'd happy, that's what I think.
- 177 R So she wouldn't rock the boat? She wouldn't ...
- 178 Dad I don't think so, no, she gives me that impression anyway. No I don't think she'd rock any boat, she likes to see everything running smoothly. Er, I don't know what else

to say. She's happy enough, she seems happy.
Likes a good laugh I know that, aye she does. Likes jokes,
practical jokes, silly things (laughs).