



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Understanding Internal Exclusion: An Exploration of How Senior Leaders in
Mainstream Secondary Schools Make Sense of Their Experience

J Faure Walker

Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology

**School of Education
University of Sheffield
2021**



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Understanding Internal Exclusion: An Exploration of How Senior Leaders in
Mainstream Secondary Schools Make Sense of Their Experience

Josie Faure Walker

Supervised by Dr Penny Fogg

Research thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of

Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology

**School of Education
University of Sheffield
May 2021**

*I chew over the word 'liminal'
and remember how in the class I teach
at university we talked about how portals
in fantasy stories are 'liminal',
a space or moment 'in between worlds'
or on the edge of one world but not quite
in another,
where things are transient, temporary
or provisional
it can be a moment full of promise
or it can be a moment of anxiety or danger*

**–Michael Rosen, *Many
different kinds of love*, 2021**

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am indebted to the two senior leaders who put aside time to take part in this study during the busy and uncertain start of the 2020 academic year.

My supervisor and tutor, Dr Penny Fogg, has been an incredible source of support and guidance throughout the planning and completion of this thesis. Always challenging me to do better, her encouragement has enabled me to develop as a researcher, writer, and psychologist.

Lastly, I am very grateful to my husband and daughter for their patience and understanding while I was completing this thesis. COVID-19 affected me personally during this time, and I spent over a year rehabilitating from the virus. There were many months where my health was significantly impacted, and they supported and nurtured me so that I could recover.

Abstract

Internal exclusion (IE) describes the liminal physical or metaphorical space between a child's inclusion in mainstream class and exclusion from school. IE can be also known as “inclusion, learning support, exclusion, isolation, intervention or nurture groups” (Burton, Bartlett, & Anderson de Cuevas, 2009, p.151). Exploration of IE is limited to several studies (Gilmore, 2012; 2013; Gillies, 2016; Greenstein, 2014; Preece & Timmins, 2004). Taken together, these suggest that IE is constructed by staff and pupils as both support and sanction, and there is a significant diversity of approaches. In this study, I contribute to the critical Educational Psychology literature by taking a social constructionist and post-structuralist approach informed by the work of Foucault (1977/1991) to understand how senior leaders made sense of IE. I conducted unstructured interviews with a headteacher and assistant headteacher of two mainstream secondary schools in England at the start of the Autumn 2020 term, and analysed the data using a narrative approach (Riessman, 2008; Squire, 2013). Findings suggest that participants made sense of IE in relation to psychological discourses of behaviourism, humanism, and the psycho-medical, that were at times incongruent with one another. IE was identified as a technology that operationalised disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977/1991), yet it was subsumed into discourses of support for social, emotional and mental health (SEMH) needs. Risk to the core business of school was meaningful. These findings provide a valuable contribution to educational psychologists' (EPs) understanding of IE and show how making these discourses visible enables them to be challenged. I conclude with practical implications for EPs, limitations, and recommendations for future research.

Contents

Introduction.....	8
Overview	8
Definitions and Prevalence	9
Hidden Exclusion	13
Internal Exclusion	15
Literature Review	17
Overview	17
Features of Internal Exclusion	18
Practices Associated with Internal Exclusion.....	26
Remaining Issues in Understanding an Ambiguous Exclusionary Practice.....	29
Taking a Critical Approach to ‘Behaviour Management’	34
Chapter Summary.....	38
Methodology	39
Context and Rationale	39
Narrative Methodology.....	44
Data Collection	46
Data Analysis.....	50
Reflexivity.....	54
Ethical Considerations	56
Quality of the Research	58
Chapter Summary.....	62
Findings: James	63
Overview	63
Story Summaries	63
Themes.....	66
Summary.....	79
Findings: Phil.....	80
Overview	80
Story Summaries	80
Themes.....	83
Summary.....	95
Discussion	97
How Do Senior Leaders Make Sense of the Practice of 'Internal Exclusion' During a Period of School Disruption Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic?	97
As Identity Performance	98
As an Assemblage of Psychological Paradigms.....	99
As a Simulacrum of Inclusion	114
As an Embodiment of Management	123

Chapter Summary.....	135
Conclusions and Recommendations	136
Overview and Concluding Comments	136
Implications for Educational Psychology Practice	137
Limitations.....	145
Recommendations for Future Research.....	147
References	149
Appendices	181
Appendix A: Reflexive Statement	181
Appendix B: Abbreviations.....	183
Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet.....	184
Appendix D: Participant Consent Form	186
Appendix E: Researcher Biography.....	188
Appendix F: Interview Troubleshooting	189
Appendix G: Transcription Glossary	190
Appendix H: Analytical Notes Made During Transcription of James’s Interview .	191
Appendix I: Analytical Notes Made During Transcription of Phil’s Interview.....	195
Appendix J: Sample of Annotated Transcript from James’s Interview.....	200
Appendix K: Samples of Research Diary.....	203
Appendix L: Reflections on James’s Interview	207
Appendix M: Reflections on Phil’s Interview	208
Appendix N: Ethical Approval Letter	209
Appendix O: James’s Interview Transcript	211
Appendix P: Phil’s Interview Transcript	262

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Exclusions and alternatives to exclusion: A continuum of provision. From Gazeley, Marrable, Brown & Boddy (2013), *Reducing inequalities in school exclusion: learning from good practice*, p.25. Office of the Children's Commissioner. p. 14
- Figure 2. Visual interpretation of internal exclusion at St Thomas's. p.115
- Figure 3. Visual interpretation of internal exclusion at Windbrook school. p.116

Introduction

Overview

I wrote this thesis in the shadow of the COVID-19 Pandemic. The two senior leaders that participated in the study did so at the very start of the Autumn 2020 term, after the first national lockdown had forced the closure of schools to the majority of pupils on 20th March 2020. It was unlike any school year that they had known before, as the international pandemic continued to impact upon all areas of life. Although schools reopened in September 2020 with infection control measures, in January 2021 they closed again to most children due to high national infection rates. At the time of writing, they have remained open since 8th March 2021.

The period of school closure presented an opportunity to reflect upon practices that had taken place in schools prior to March 2020. Due to the low numbers of pupils in school during the lockdown period, I anticipated that exclusions and associated practices would be much reduced. I reasoned that the lower number of children in school relative to staff would result in greater support with learning and consequently, there would be fewer behavioural incidents.

Internal exclusion is a poorly defined practice and research from an Educational Psychology perspective is limited. It is commonly applied in secondary schools in England (Mills & Thomson, 2018) and involves a child being kept

separately to their class on the school site. Internal exclusion may also be known as “inclusion, learning support, exclusion, isolation, intervention or nurture groups” (Burton, Bartlett, & Anderson de Cuevas, 2009, p.151). It is therefore a liminal space; children placed there are neither ‘inside’ nor ‘outside’ of school. In this chapter, I will establish the problem of the as yet, little explored phenomenon of internal exclusion. I will begin by providing definitions and account for the prevalence of exclusionary practices in relation to inclusion. My prior expectations and experience are important to an understanding of the context in which the research was undertaken, and a reflexive statement is presented in Appendix A.

Definitions and Prevalence

Defining Inclusion

Starting a discussion about internal exclusion first requires an understanding of inclusionary discourses and related practices. Inclusion stands for “values of equal opportunity, social respect and solidarity” (Norwich, 2014, p.495). The right to an education for children identified with SEND is enshrined in statements of international human rights (UNESCO, 1994) and national legislation. The SEND Code of Practice states that “the UK Government is committed to inclusive education of disabled children and young people and the progressive removal of barriers to learning and participation in mainstream education” (DfE, 2014, p.25; see Appendix B for abbreviations).

A theoretically defined inclusion entails all children being included in an learning that is appropriately tailored and adapted to their individual needs (e.g. Ainscow, 1995; Frederickson & Cline, 2015). Defining inclusion in practice, meanwhile, might acknowledge that these individual differences means that children identified with SEND may sometimes be taught in specialised spaces and provisions away from their mainstream peers (Warnock, 2010). In political discourse, inclusion has been used specifically to describe the education of children identified with SEND in mainstream schools, when David Cameron called for an end to “the bias towards inclusion” (2010, cited in Runswick-Cole, 2011, p.112). Inclusion, therefore, seems to be a slippery concept that is highly context-dependent. In this thesis, I adopt a practical definition of inclusion that describes an ongoing process that is ever evolving, as opposed to a clearly defined attainable outcome (Naylor, 2005).

Formal Processes: Fixed Term and Permanent Exclusion

In stark contrast to models of inclusion, exclusion describes the removal of a child from a school setting so that they are no longer able to participate. Headteachers are provided legal powers to exclude children on both a fixed term (FTE) and permanent (PX) basis (Education Act 1993; 1996; 2006; 2011). Rates of permanent exclusion from secondary schools rose steadily between 2013/14 and 2017/18 (DfE, 2019a) and have declined slightly in the most recent data (DfE, 2021a). The decrease is welcome; there is considerable evidence that children that have been excluded permanently experience adverse health, economic, and social and emotional outcomes (Berridge, Brodie, Pitts, Porteous, & Tarling, 2001; Daniels

& Cole, 2010; Timpson, 2019). There are also significant barriers that impact upon children and young people who have been excluded being able to return to mainstream schooling (Lown, 2005; Pillay, Dunbar-Krige, & Mostert, 2013; Thomas, 2015).

Nevertheless, while permanent exclusions reduced slightly in the 2018/19 academic year, numbers of fixed term exclusions continue to rise (DfE, 2021a). It is reasonable to assume that the reduction in permanent exclusions is reflected in this rise in fixed term exclusions, and therefore there remains a persistent problem with the inclusion of some children in school. Educational psychologists have an ethical responsibility in terms of addressing social exclusion (British Psychological Society [BPS], 2018), therefore it is crucial that the underlying processes of exclusion in schools are understood. It is also important to consider 'hidden exclusions' such as off-rolling and partial timetables alongside exclusion figures, and I will address these later in this chapter.

Publicly available data, collected as part of the legal process of exclusion monitoring, reports the reasons that children are excluded from school. Among fixed term and permanent exclusions, the most common explanation is 'persistently disruptive behaviour' which has been recorded as the cause for FTEs in an increasing number of cases (DfE, 2021a). Between 2016/17 and 2017/18, 13% more FTEs were ascribed to persistently disruptive behaviour (DfE, 2019a), and the following year saw another 10% increase (DfE, 2021a). There are also patterns in the data to suggest intersections of vulnerability that make pupils further at risk of

exclusion. In 2018/19, Travellers of Irish heritage, Gypsy Roma, and mixed White and Black Caribbean children were by far the most likely to receive a FTE, and boys were three times as likely as girls (DfE, 2021a). Paget and colleagues (2017) conducted research with a large sample and found that a risk of exclusion was associated with underlying mental health conditions, language or social communication difficulties, and being from a poorer background. These characteristics were sometimes compounded by experiencing poor relationships with parents and teachers. An explanation for the persistent use of exclusion is that schools are not yet being flexible enough in accommodating students displaying these intersecting vulnerabilities.

Children with identified SEND or an EHCP are much more likely than the general school population to receive either a FTE or PX (DfE, 2019a). The government's inquiry into support for SEND in May 2020 acknowledged this concerning pattern (House of Commons, 2020). Significant weaknesses were identified in existing processes that failed to address the need for early intervention for children labelled with "challenging behaviour" (House of Commons, 2020, p.11). Parent-carer forums reported a lack of action taken in response to their concerns, and that "young people were left to get to a crisis point and to fail" (ibid., p.11). The DfE have recently proposed that universal approaches, such as 'behaviour hubs' and school mental health support teams would benefit pupils identified with SEND at risk of exclusion (House of Commons, 2020). Accordingly, sharing 'good practice' through the provision of behaviour hubs continues to be the principal approach of the DfE (Williamson, 2021). While these data suggest a concerning trajectory away from

the inclusion of children identified with SEND, there are less conspicuous forms of exclusion that are not recorded in official figures that warrant further exploration.

Hidden Exclusion

The DfE (2017) statutory guidance on exclusions states that:

Informal' or 'unofficial' exclusions, such as sending a pupil home 'to cool off', are unlawful, regardless of whether they occur with the agreement of parents or carers. Any exclusion of a pupil, even for short periods of time, must be formally recorded. (DfE, 2017, p.10)

Unlawfully sending a child home is one form of hidden exclusion, and others include 'off-rolling', that describes the removal of a child from the school's roll (Done & Knowler, 2020; 2021; Mills & Thomson, 2018; Timpson, 2019) and use of partial timetables (Harris, Vincent, Thomson, & Toalster, 2006). In order to understand legal processes of exclusion, Gazeley, Marrable, Brown and Boddy (2013) examined the data from 29 schools and provided case studies for six. Figure 1 presents a visual representation of the variety in forms of exclusions used in participating schools.

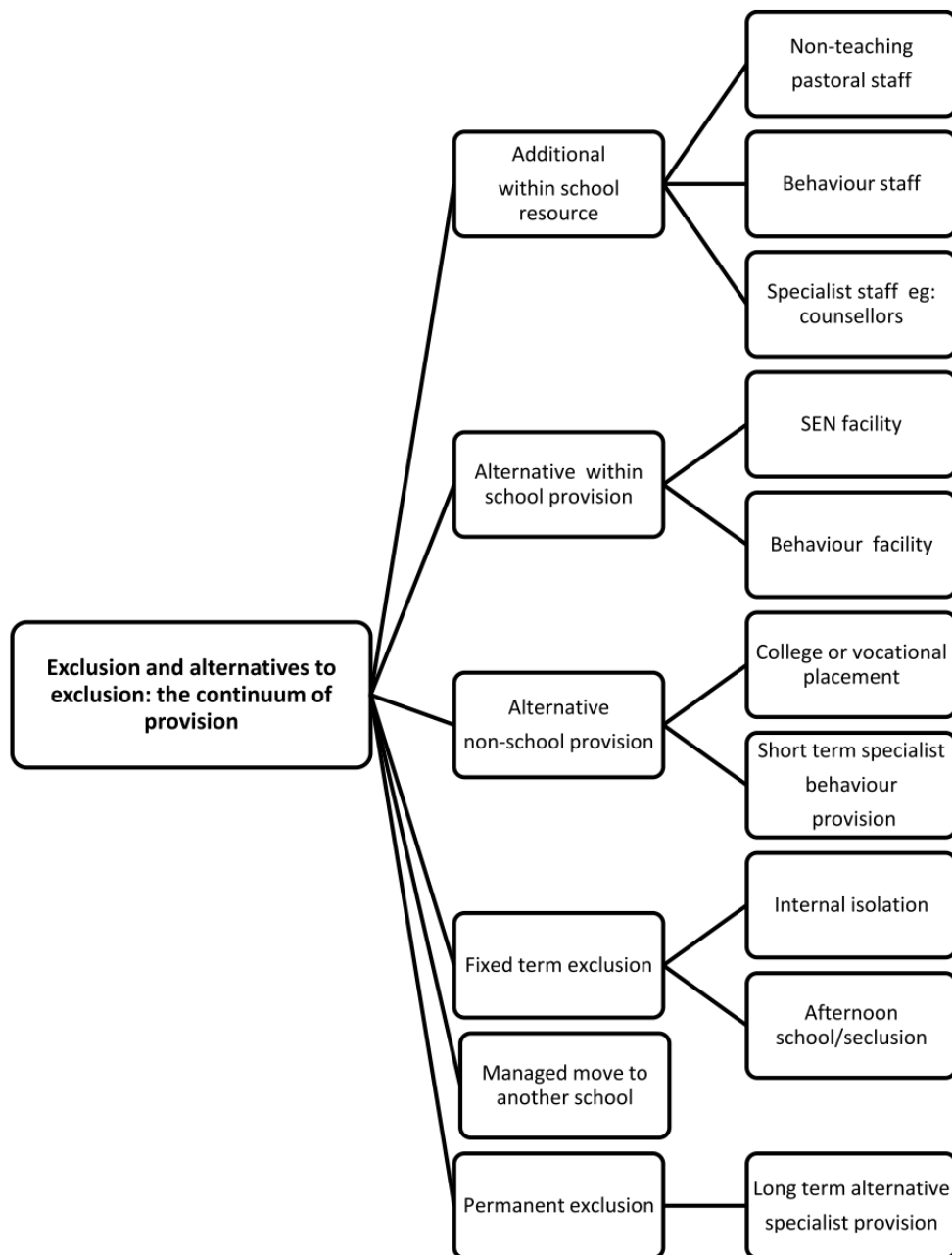


Figure 1. Exclusions and alternatives to exclusion: A continuum of provision. From Gazeley, Marrable, Brown & Boddy (2013), *Reducing inequalities in school exclusion: learning from good practice*, p.25. Office of the Children's Commissioner.

Gazeley and colleagues' (2013) study considers that remaining on the school site can be considered a FTE, yet in the DfE's data (2019a; 2021a) a FTE always

involves leaving the school for a fixed period. Gaining an accurate understanding of the use of FTEs where children remain in school is therefore impossible to determine from the data available from the DfE. These forms of exclusion include in-school provisions and resources that are not accounted for, such as Learning Support Units (LSUs; Gillies, 2016; Gilmore, 2012, 2013), or simply standing outside the classroom or headteacher's office (Power & Taylor, 2018). To understand these forms of exclusion further, I adopt Munn, Lloyd, and Cullen's (2000) term 'internal exclusion' (IE), to reflect its inherent containment of pupils 'internally' on the school site, while simultaneously excluding them from their mainstream classes.

Internal Exclusion

The Department for Education's (2016) guidance for schools on behaviour refers to internal exclusion in terms of "seclusion / isolation rooms" (DfE, 2016, p.12) that enable students to be moved away from other children. Where they are used, schools are required to state this within the behaviour policy. It is defined that only in the most "exceptional circumstances" should there be "any use of isolation that prevents a child from leaving a room of their own free will" (p.12). Safeguarding, health and safety, time to eat, and access to the toilet are of stated importance. This guidance also specifies that "schools should ensure that pupils are kept in seclusion or isolation no longer than is necessary and that their time spent there is used as constructively as possible" (DfE, 2016, p.12).

The review by Timpson (2019) orients internal exclusion, including isolation, as a positive alternative to permanent exclusion. In this respect, internal exclusion is recognised and to an extent, recommended as an approach. Yet schools are left to individually determine whether and how they use it. Of the limited research accounting for its prevalence in England, Mills and Thomson (2018) found that more than 50% of the 143 mainstream secondary schools studied were using “internal inclusion units to support pupils at risk of exclusion” (p. 60). Given that it is a common practice across the country, further exploration of educational and related literature is required to illuminate the practice of internal exclusion.

Literature Review

Overview

I have established that internal exclusion is a poorly defined form of exclusion applied in a large number of secondary schools in England. It is reasonable to assume that children being placed in internal exclusion are likely to be vulnerable to other forms of exclusion, such as FTE or PX, which are associated with significantly poor outcomes. Those at risk of exclusion are of interest to the Educational Psychology community and of direct relevance to the work of EPs. Our role is primarily concerned with the inclusion of children and young people, especially those identified with SEND, including SEMH (DfE, 2014). The following section will inform an understanding of what is currently known about the features of internal exclusion in mainstream secondary schools by addressing key themes in the existing literature.

To conduct the literature review, I ran key word searches over a number of months using University of Sheffield StarPlus library, Google Scholar, and APA PsycInfo and ERIC academic databases. Key words and phrases included “internal exclusion”, “isolation”, “inclusion unit”, “inclusion centre”, “inclusion room”, and “exclusion”.

Results were then narrowed down by including additional terms such as “secondary school”, “behaviour” and “SEMH”. After identifying the small literature base of high quality relevant literature that directly focused upon internal exclusion, I followed up references within these articles in a ‘snowballing’ process of identifying further literature. In doing so, I included work in related fields that included criminology, sociology, and disability studies.

Features of Internal Exclusion

As Disciplinary Sanction

The literature directly pertaining to internal exclusion is limited to a handful of studies (Gilmore, 2012; 2013; Gillies, 2016; Greenstein, 2014; Preece & Timmins, 2004). In order to understand the features of internal exclusion specifically as a disciplinary sanction, I have included research where internal exclusion is examined in relation to wider studies regarding working with children with behavioural difficulties (Goodman & Burton, 2010), or to other forms of exclusion (Munn et al., 2000).

Separation from the Mainstream Classroom. A particular characteristic of internal exclusion is its inherent separation and segregation from the mainstream classroom, as a “highly visual spatial strategy of punishment” (Barker, Aldred, Watts, & Dodman, 2010, p.380). Among staff interviewed in the existing literature, one shared characterisation of internal exclusion units is as a “sin bin” (Gillies & Robinson, 2012a, p.159; Preece & Timmins, 2004, p.26). However, in much of the literature reviewed, internal exclusion is evaluated positively by those studied. Gilmore’s study of staff (2012) and pupil (2013) perspectives of an ‘inclusion room’ (IR) involved questionnaires with 30 staff members as well as nine interviews with staff at a school in South-West England. Staff reported that the inclusion room had resulted in reduced FTEs, and benefited both academic attainment and inclusion (Gilmore, 2012).

The participating school in this study had received an Excellence in Cities (EiC) grant to establish the IR (Gilmore, 2012). The EiC was a national initiative in 1999 by the Labour government that was piloted with 25 local education authorities (LEAs) and, by 2001, included approximately a third of all secondary schools in England (Kendall et al., 2005). Part of the EiC programme included the establishment of Learning Support Units (LSUs; Gillies, 2016), used “to provide specific support for pupils with barriers to learning and who would benefit from time away from the normal classroom” (Kendall et al., 2005, p.10). Supporting Gilmore’s (2012) findings, Kendall and colleagues’ (2005) large-scale study identified that teachers reported that LSUs were a beneficial aspect of school. However, they felt that working in the LSU was challenging and the role was poorly defined.

Isolation and Developing Controversy. Isolation has been a contentious practice in recent years, and this is reflected in the available literature regarding internal exclusion. Gillies's (2016) research into Behaviour Support Units (BSUs) provides the most comprehensive analysis of IE that I encountered. From a criminological perspective, Gillies (2016) applied an ethnographic method over three years to examine internal exclusion in three mainstream secondary schools. By symbolically containing troublesome behaviour to the BSU, she interpreted that risk was contained from the remainder of pupils (Gillies, 2016). In all schools studied, isolation was used to enforce "strict obedience" (Gillies, 2016, p.53). Likewise, the inclusion room in Gilmore's (2012) study included individual booths that presented rules for pupils to copy out, such as not being able to talk or needing to put their hands up to gain the manager's attention. Again, staff were positive, and the SENDCo suggested that "some children find the regime of sitting in silence for five hours actually quite powerful" (Gilmore, 2012, p. 44). Nevertheless, isolating pupils away from their peers so that they focus entirely on their school work is in opposition to models that acknowledge learning is constructed in collaboration with others (Vygotsky, 1978).

Isolation has been a topic of debate in media coverage and a number of pressure groups have emerged aiming to limit its use. It has been described as cruel and negatively impacting upon the wellbeing of pupils (Craggs Mersinoglu, 2020) and there are reports of legal action being taken by parents against schools due to children spending lengthy periods in isolation booths (Mind, 2019; Perraudin, 2018). One legal challenge has been directed at the DfE due to the poor guidance concerning isolation and impact on children identified with SEND (Staufenberg, 2019). The national initiative Ban the Booths (2019) campaigns for the closure of isolation booths and is supported by the Association of Educational Psychologists (AEP) due to the conflict of this practice with inclusionary principles (e.g. UNESCO, 1994).

Removing the 'Problem' Child for the Benefit of Others. A notable theme across the literature on exclusion is that school staff value the benefit to the remaining pupils when a pupil with troublesome behaviour is removed (Gilmore, 2012; Goodman & Burton, 2010; Munn et al., 2000). Resonant with philosopher John Stuart Mill's (1861) utilitarian theory, it is deemed ethically preferable to prioritise the interests of the greater number of people than those of an individual. Yet while the remaining class benefits, children in internal exclusion may be sidelined from learning entirely; the practice does not necessarily involve continuing with learning. While LSUs imply additional support for learning, the DfE (2016) guidance positions internal exclusion as punishment. Accordingly, pupils are sometimes required to complete punitive, repetitive tasks such as writing lines (Munn et al., 2000).

The impact of children with troubling behaviour on other pupils is relevant to the work of educational psychologists as it is a common concern among school staff making referrals for Local Authority EP support (Stanbridge & Mercer, 2019). It is a particular tension that requires EPs to work both for the individual child while being supportive of staff and, accordingly, the wider functioning of groups in schools. It is also a feature of the legal frameworks that children with an EHCP are associated with potential disadvantages to other children. A child with an EHCP is required by the Local Authority to be placed in a mainstream setting unless it is incompatible with “the wishes of the child’s parent or the young person, or (b) the provision of efficient education for others” (Children and Families Act 2014, c.3, s.33.2).

Drawing attention to a conflict between the needs of the individual and that of the group, ethical questions are raised regarding rights and entitlement to provision. Armstrong (2018) argues that contrasting individual needs with the “‘core business’ of schooling” results in the exclusion of pupils that are highly vulnerable (p.999-1000). In creating a dichotomy between an individual child’s needs and those of the wider school, discriminatory decisions about the segregation of children, including into internal exclusion, may be legitimised.

As Support

A consistent finding in the literature is the conflation of internal exclusion as simultaneously sanction and support (Gillies, 2016; Holland & Hamerton, 1994; Mills & Thomson, 2018; Munn et al., 2000). Internal exclusion is described by Munn and

colleagues (2000) as “a bridge between strategies classified as sanctions or support... sometimes rather uneasily as part of both” (p.76). The following sections expand upon some of the themes identified with internal exclusion constructed as support.

A Smaller Scale Than the Mainstream Classroom. Several studies have identified that both senior school staff and pupils perceive the small scale of internal exclusion units as a strength (Gazeley et al., 2013; Mills & Thomson, 2018; Preece & Timmins, 2004). Staff participants in Gazeley and colleagues’ (2013) research identified that internal exclusion enabled pupils to experience success in achieving GCSE qualifications as being in a smaller group was conducive to completing their work. Staff emphasised the benefit of there being no impact on pupils’ opportunities for future study as internal exclusion was not recorded (Gazeley et al., 2013).

Similarly, pupils using the ‘inclusion centre’ in Preece and Timmins’ (2004) study reported that its smaller teaching environment was a major advantage. They felt they could get the help they needed with their work and learn strategies to manage their behaviour in mainstream lessons. While this emphasises the opportunity to return to lessons, Goodman and Burton’s (2010) study differed in its findings. The teachers reported that children identified with behavioural difficulties were repeatedly placed in the LSUs, spending most of their time away from the main classroom. The use of LSUs in this way calls into question how this seemingly benign form of internal exclusion is congruent with a genuine commitment to the inclusion of all pupils. Further, it suggests that further adaptations to mainstream

schooling could be beneficial to fully include all children. These might be pedagogical, as well as considering how staff relate to pupils labelled with behavioural difficulties.

Emphasis on Relationships. Several of the studies relevant to an understanding of internal exclusion refer to what was formerly termed Behavioural, Emotional, and Social Difficulties (BESD), indicating a change in understanding behaviour as an aspect of SEND (Burton & Goodman, 2011; Goodman & Burton, 2010). Although the most recent SEND Code of Practice orients SEMH with mental health rather than behaviour (DfE, 2014), in practice, troublesome behaviour remains associated with SEMH (Norwich & Eaton, 2015). Pupils identified with troublesome behaviour and the staff that support them speak of the value in building positive relationships with one another (Burton & Goodman, 2011; Preece & Timmins, 2004). Relationships were particularly salient for the SENDCos and support staff in Burton and Goodman's (2011) case study, who felt that they were provided with more time than mainstream class teachers to form relationships with children. Participants described their approach as providing a "safe haven" (ibid, p.141). This was perceived to be of particular importance for children from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds and sometimes chaotic home lives, that may have consequently been identified with BESD.

The proliferation of strict, so called 'zero tolerance' behaviour policies in secondary schools (McCluskey, Kane, Lloyd, Stead, Riddell, & Weedon, 2011) has been challenged in research from the USA that found poor evidence for a reduction in troublesome behaviour and an exacerbation of already exclusionary processes

(American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008). Some local authorities have developed guidance to support schools with alternative approaches to behaviour policy founded upon a relational understanding of behaviour as a form of communication (Babcock Learning and Development Partnership, 2020; Brighton and Hove City Council, 2018). Based on an understanding of attachment and rooted in the work of Bowlby (1969/1997), this guidance emphasises that for children who have had difficult early attachment experiences, any form of exclusion is experienced negatively (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2018). Accordingly, internal exclusion may seem incongruent with these approaches since it implies detachment from relationships with peers and usual teaching staff.

Summary

This section has considered the features of internal exclusion in existing literature. It is evident that internal exclusion has been constructed as a disciplinary sanction that is also understood as offering benefits for some pupils, including those identified with SEND. While staff and pupils report advantages of the smaller scale of internal exclusion and opportunities afforded to build relationships, its underpinning rationale, as well as that of isolation, remains unclear. It appears that the substantial periods that some pupils spend in internal exclusion (e.g. Gillies & Robinson, 2012b) is in conflict with international (UNESCO, 1994) and national declarations on the commitment to educational inclusion (DfE, 2014). The following section will consider internal exclusion more broadly, delving beneath contemporary examples to understand related practices and their emergence. Shaped by the genealogical approach taken by Foucault (1977/1991), I will briefly trace the development of

discourses that describe segregating practices as support. In doing so, I will illuminate the contradictions and tensions inherent to understanding internal exclusion.

Practices Associated with Internal Exclusion

Nurture Groups

Nurture groups were instigated by Marjorie Boxall, Educational Psychologist, in the 1970s to counter the perceived increase in social, emotional and behavioural needs in a group of young learners starting primary school (Boxall, 1976, 2002). Based on theories of attachment (Bowlby 1969/1997), they were founded upon humanistic principles of meeting individual need. Nurture groups involved creating a homely atmosphere in a separate room in school for a group of pupils, emphasising the modelling of positive relationships and including particular practices such as eating breakfast together (Reynolds, MacKay, & Kearney, 2009). There was a resurgence of interest in nurture groups in the 1990s after the publication of texts such as Bennathan and Boxall (1998), and the charity Nurtureuk (2021) trains and provides a quality mark of accreditation. While the research literature mainly concerns primary nurture groups (Hughes & Schlösser, 2014), nurture groups at secondary school have been the subject of research (Colley, 2009; Cooke, Yeomans, & Parkes, 2008). Colley (2009) identifies that the larger scale of secondary schools means that often, there is entirely separate provision for learning, behaviour and nurture.

There are tensions between including the model of the nurture group with that of inclusive practice. When nurture groups emerged in the 1970s, the segregation of a group of children identified as having specific difficulties was more commonplace (e.g. Laslett, 1977). By separating children from their mainstream peers, they are inadvertently characterised as a group deserving to be segregated due to their behaviour (Farrell & Ainscow, 2002). The authors also suggest that there is a reduced burden on the class teacher to differentiate learning for children in the nurture group, resulting in further disengagement from learning. Critiques have also drawn on the work of Foucault (1977/1991) and Rose (1990) to propose that the nurture group encourages children to rationalise and nurture themselves rather than depend on others to do so (Thomson & Pennacchia, 2016).

Social and Emotional Learning Curriculum

In a similar vein, curriculum approaches aiming to develop social and emotional skills are a feature of some internal exclusion provision. Social and emotional curricula became increasingly widespread following the implementation of Every Child Matters (ECM) policy incorporated into the Children Act (2004) deployed by the New Labour government. ECM was concerned with the identification and protection of vulnerable children. Schools' remit included the requirement to work with outside professionals to mitigate the risks posed in their lives. Curriculum approaches included universal interventions that adopted a health model in seeking to 'immunise' children from future social, emotional, and mental health difficulties

(Merrell & Gueldner, 2010). Interventions include the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning curriculum (SEAL), a national initiative focusing on empathy, motivation, self-awareness, social skills, and managing feelings (Department for Education and Skills [DfES], 2005). School staff working in internal exclusion have been found to value the formalised curricula of SEAL (Gillies, 2016; Gillies & Robinson, 2012b; Greenstein, 2014), as well as more informal opportunities to calm down and reflect (Preece & Timmins, 2004). Teaching SEAL using 'circle time' was embraced by staff in the BSUs in Gillies' (2016) research, who rejected a zero tolerance approach to behaviour.

Despite its popularity, national evaluation demonstrates that the SEAL curriculum has poor impact on intended social and emotional outcomes (Humphrey, Lendrum, & Wigelsworth, 2012). Its varied implementation was due to schools not taking a whole-school approach and limited staff training (Lendrum, Humphrey, & Wigelsworth, 2013). In addition to the limited efficacy of the SEAL programme, Gillies and Robinson (2012a) argue that it serves to perpetuate systemic prejudice. By constructing the problem as children's emotional health needs, attention is drawn away from critiquing the structures of the institution that were systematically excluding them (*ibid.*). The authors implicate the SEAL programme in providing staff the confidence and language to view children in the BSU as having low self-esteem, lacking aspiration, and being unable to regulate their emotions. Further, the SEAL programme was ineffective at preventing the later permanent exclusion of children in the BSU (Gillies & Robinson, 2012a).

Remaining Issues in Understanding an Ambiguous Exclusionary Practice

Variations Between Schools

Large-scale research that has sampled a number of schools has identified the significant variation in approaches to internal exclusion (Kinder, Harland, Wilkin, & Wakefield, 1995; Mills & Thomson, 2018; Timpson, 2019). Kinder and colleagues (1995) report findings from 30 schools regarding approaches to what were at the time referred to as ‘disaffected’ pupils. Isolation or withdrawal units in some schools were contrasted with provision that, while still considered behaviour support, focused more on learning (Kinder et al., 1995). As well as dissimilar approaches to how internal exclusion was characterised, schools differed in the extent to which it was applied. Some schools sent children to withdrawal units soon after the onset of troublesome behaviour chiefly for the benefit of remaining pupils in the lesson, while others considered it an infrequent, serious sanction more akin to FTE or PX (ibid.).

In Mills and Thomson’s (2018) analysis of alternative provision more broadly, internal exclusion was described by some schools as a short-term sanction, whereas in others, a longer-term use of isolation was used. In a minority of secondary schools, a more personalised and child-centred approach was taken (Mills & Thomson, 2018). However, it remains poorly understood why some schools take this approach while others do not. While there are acknowledged national pressures upon all schools as a consequence of the standards agenda and academisation of schooling (Courtney, 2015a; Done & Knowler, 2020), it is reasonable to assume that

there are differences at a school level due to senior leaders' interpretation of national initiatives alongside their own values and constructs around exclusion.

Attributions and Behaviour Intentionality

It is apparent from Gilmore's (2012) study that some of the staff participants felt that disciplinary sanctions were only appropriate where a pupil could control their behaviour. A member of support staff suggested that "where there is an uncontrollable urge in terms of their behaviour, it's not fair that they are constantly in the IR" (Gilmore, 2012, p. 45). This excerpt is interesting as it suggests that the staff member ascribed an ethical aspect to the pupil's control of behaviour. In other words, where there is a sense that a child could control their behaviour but is choosing to act in a defiant or difficult way, it is perceived as less acceptable than when the behaviour is uncontrollable. Accordingly, alternative explanations for troublesome behaviour such as a child's self-protection from perceived threat, are not acknowledged (Johnstone & Boyle, 2018). The discourse surfaced by the headteacher in Gilmore's (2012) study is relevant to internal exclusion as it introduces intentionality as a potential factor in constructing whether a child's needs are understood as behaviour, representing poor intent, or SEND, and therefore morally acceptable.

To understand the psychological aspects of this further, it is helpful to consider Weiner's (1980) three-part model of attribution. The theory incorporates: the locus, and whether it is considered to be internal or external to a person; stability,

describing whether this is thought to be stable or unstable; and controllability, relating to whether someone's behaviour is felt to be within their control. In Weiner's (1980) study, behaviour that was perceived to be controllable but external, such as being drunk and stumbling in front of a car provoked disgust, whereas behaviour understood to be uncontrollable and internal, such as being ill and struggling to walk, provoked sympathy.

Weiner's (1980) attribution theory is applicable to understanding how school staff construct troublesome pupil behaviour. In Stanforth and Rose's (2018) study of temporary exclusions from lessons, many staff ascribed both individualising, or internal, factors, as well as external, contextualising factors to explain pupils' challenging behaviour at the same time. Internal or within-child factors were identified as well as contextualising factors, such as those relating to the teacher's lesson. In addition, wider systemic factors relating to the pupil's home lives, such as safeguarding concerns, were noted. Interestingly, there was a preference for punishment and withdrawal of pupils even where the problems were understood as being outside of the child's control. This demonstrates that participants were able to maintain opposing explanations concurrently (Stanforth & Rose, 2018) as cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). These findings present a context for why school staff might recognise the significance of external influences on pupil behaviour and yet internal exclusion remains positively received (e.g., Gilmore, 2012). It implies that internal exclusion, intended to focus upon an individual child and their behaviour, may be recognised by school staff as an inappropriate solution to the contextual factors causing pupils difficulties. As I have established, existing literature suggests

internal exclusion is still viewed positively by staff. Further exploration of these processes from a psychological perspective is warranted.

The Role of Senior Management in Internal Exclusion

Existing literature suggests that the separation of internal exclusion provision from other areas of school is replicated in the relationships between staff who work closely with pupils there and those who do not (Burton & Goodman, 2011; Gillies, 2016). For pupils at the school studied by Gillies (2016), it was the support staff, specifically the mentors, who developed an advocacy role for the children in the BSUs, and often negotiated with class teachers following conflicts.

Gilmore's (2012) research highlighted disparities in staff understandings of internal exclusion, where the nurturing approach of support staff was contrasted with the view of the headteacher, who identified internal exclusion with inclusion and stated that "inclusion is about sending a consistent message. I never wanted the room to be a nurturing environment. I don't want there to be confused signals to the children" (Gilmore, 2012, p.44). Differences between the views of management and support staff were also raised in Burton and Goodman's (2011) study. The SENDCo and their team took a relational approach, and felt that their work was not valued by senior management. The limited access to additional training and professional development meant that staff supporting pupils did so relying on informal conversations rather than a defined approach, which further entrenched the hierarchies with teachers and leaders in school.

The shared ethos between the LSU and the rest of school was deemed to be particularly important by the senior leaders in Kendall and colleagues' (2005) study. Yet senior leaders felt that there was a poor overarching strategy for the LSUs, identifying a lack of planning for pupils who were successful in the LSU yet found mainstream classes unsuitable (Kendall et al., 2005). As internal exclusion was positioned as a supportive measure additional and separate to the mainstream classroom, it did not seem to contribute to adaptations to make the mainstream classroom more suited to all children and thus aligned with inclusive practice (e.g. UNESCO, 1994).

Interpretations of Behaviour Policy

Schools are required to state the use of internal exclusion in behaviour policy (DfE, 2016), yet individual staff application of behaviour policy in practice is highly variable (Gillies & Robinson, 2012a; Maguire, Ball & Braun, 2010). Maguire and colleagues (2010) found that teachers were not always aware of their schools' behaviour policies, and sanctions were often applied that reflected local practice and 'what works'. On the other hand, teachers valued that rules were stated in behaviour policy, giving them credibility so that they could be universally applicable, such as those regarding appearance and uniform. Given the variety of different policies for interpretation, subject differences, school staff and their orientation towards discipline, Maguire and colleagues (2010) resolved that what is "enacted in practice at the classroom level, is a bricolage of disciplinary policies and practices, beliefs and values" (p.166).

Summary

This section has reviewed several issues identified across the literature relevant to understanding internal exclusion. There appear to be highly variable approaches at the school and individual staff level, yet there is an absence of literature that seeks to understand this in more depth. Despite the rise in fixed term exclusions in recent years (DfE, 2019a; 2021a), there remains a paucity of research that explores how senior leaders such as headteachers or members of the senior leadership team make sense of the practice of internal exclusion. The following section will critically review literature relevant to behaviour management practices to understand the role of these discourses in constructing internal exclusion.

Taking a Critical Approach to 'Behaviour Management'

Behaviourist Paradigm in Education

The approach to understanding children's behaviour in English schools is generally conceived within a behaviourist paradigm (Harold & Corcoran, 2013). Originating in animal experiments, behaviourist psychology aims to control behaviour through operant conditioning (Skinner, 1953). Accordingly, the Department for Education (2016) guidance states that behaviour should be "managed, including the use of rewards and sanctions" (p.3). Suggested measures that may be taken to address poor behaviour include writing lines, losing privileges, missing break or lunch times, community service, being placed 'on report', temporary, and permanent exclusion (ibid.). Behaviour policies in schools often follow an escalating process of

increasing severity of sanction, beginning with an initial warning and later, in some cases, resulting in removal of a child from the lesson (Goodman & Burton, 2010).

The origins of educational psychology are in the identification of deficit and segregation of children deemed to be 'subnormal' (Billington, Williams, Goodley, & Corcoran, 2017; Skidmore, 2004). These habits persist in contemporary practice and "no matter how well intentioned, 'blame the victims', typically the child and the family" (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002, p.93). It is the locating of the problem within the child, whether identified as behaviour or a social, emotional and mental health need, that leads to the supposed remedy being to try and change that individual as opposed to the systems and structures around them. These might include the approach to teaching, curriculum, relationships, or routines of the school day. Rather, behaviour management makes the child the site of change.

A Foucauldian Approach to Discipline

The thinking of French post-structuralist philosopher Michel Foucault (1966; 1977/1991; 1982) provides a framework that is helpful to understand these processes. Foucault's work is concerned with "how human beings are made subjects" (1982, p.208) by the discourses that convey power within the particular *epistemes* or acceptable ways of thinking and ordering thought during certain periods of history (Foucault, 1966). Foucault's (1977/1991) work traces the history of the modern prison, analysing its roots in the public spectacle of torture of the mid-18th century towards a more superficially 'gentle' form of punishment and the

decentralised discipline and surveillance of modern times. Among the modes of objectification referred to by Foucault (1977/1991) are dividing practices, that are both spatially and socially dividing (Rabinow, 1991). Given what I have established so far in this review, these dividing practices would seem to be particularly applicable to making sense of the practice of internal exclusion.

Armstrong (2018) takes an international view in clarifying the approach to behaviour management in English-speaking countries. The 'manage-and-discipline' model of behaviour is rooted in Foucault's (1977/1991) ideas and represents a strategy that conveys disciplinary power, where teachers are positioned as enforcers of the norms provided:

1. Behaviour as a fundamental phenomenon can be quantified and controlled.
2. Children's behaviour can be reduced to variables which can be manipulated and managed.
3. Given the right skills and training, the teacher can have complete technical control over the classroom behavioural environment.
4. Technical, professional skills necessary for behavioural compliance of students are required by teachers.
5. Those who do not respond to this exercise of power are unmanageable: a threat to the orderly classroom. (Armstrong, 2018, p.1000)

Foucault's (1977/1991) work has also been applied to internal exclusion by Barker and colleagues (2010), who identified patterns of spatial distribution that

facilitate the disciplinary gaze and punishment. However, the human geography perspective taken by the authors of this study does not consider the psychological complexity of internal exclusion, given the compelling discourses of support and social and emotional learning already discussed in this chapter. Ball (2013) proposes that “the operation of discursive practices is to make it virtually impossible to think outside of them; to be outside of them is, by definition, to be mad, to be beyond comprehension and therefore reason” (p.20-21). The discourses surrounding internal exclusion may therefore limit the ways in which troublesome behaviour is constructed.

Summary

As the preceding section has identified, discourses of behaviourism suggest that the manage and discipline model is pervasive in mainstream secondary schools in England (Armstrong, 2018). A Foucauldian reading of behaviourism offers an additional layer of analysis to understanding internal exclusion. Existing literature indicates that senior leaders are likely to be influential to the deployment and interpretation of internal exclusion in their schools. Further exploration of internal exclusion from an educational psychology perspective can identify the psychological paradigms applied to discourses of support, as well as the ways in which discipline operates in discourse.

Chapter Summary

I have provided an overview of the context surrounding the provision of internal exclusions for secondary schools in England that situates the study in relevant literature. The available literature demonstrates that, while internal exclusion is a common practice valued by staff, it is an informal and 'hidden' form of exclusion that risks pupils that are already vulnerable being further disadvantaged. I have shown that significant variations between schools and between senior and support staff mean that there are inconsistencies so that what takes place in practice is likely to be highly individual and specific. Educational psychologists work closely with children and young people that are using or at risk of using internal exclusion, therefore in-depth psychological understanding will illuminate how educational psychologists can intervene in these potentially exclusionary practices. The following chapter will explain the basis for conducting the research.

Methodology

Context and Rationale

Research Question

I have established that there is limited research that informs an understanding of the origins and functions of internal exclusion from an educational psychology perspective. Given the potential impact of this practice in education settings and the significant implications of the COVID-19 Pandemic on schools at the time that the research was conducted, I arrived at the following research question to orient the study:

How do senior leaders make sense of the practice of 'internal exclusion' during a period of school disruption due to the COVID-19 Pandemic?

Overview

In this chapter, I will explain the basis on which the research was conducted and my ontological and epistemological position. I will clarify and provide a rationale for my choice of a narrative approach and explain how I used the unstructured interview method to understand how two senior leaders made sense of internal exclusion. My approach to analysing the data will be explained and I will attend to ethical considerations and the quality of the research.

To address the research question, I conducted interviews with a headteacher and assistant headteacher of two mainstream secondary schools in different areas of England. These took place in August and September 2020 when schools were about to, or had recently reopened to all children following the first closure to the majority of pupils from March 2020 due to the COVID-19 Pandemic. Due to these restrictions, interviews took place remotely. My approach to interviews was relatively unstructured, underpinned by a narrative ontology that understands that humans make sense of the world through telling stories (Bruner, 1986; Riessman, 2008; Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou, 2013). I expected that participants would be continuing to make sense of their experiences of internal exclusion, and other practices in relation to children at risk of permanent exclusion.

Qualitative Research

Aligned with the 'turn to language', qualitative approaches continue to be a burgeoning field in psychological research, enabling "thick, detailed description" of phenomena and social constructs (Stainton Rogers & Willig, 2017, p.10). As I was concerned with how meanings were constructed by individual senior leaders in mainstream secondary schools, I deemed a qualitative approach to be appropriate to generate the richness of data required. Moreover, my approach was interpretative and post-structuralist, underpinned by a curiosity about the meaningful psychological and social discourses in participants' accounts (Squire et al., 2013).

Epistemology and Ontology

Epistemology is defined as the study of the nature of knowledge. Social constructionism is one approach that can be traced back to the ideas of philosopher Nietzsche and beginnings of postmodernism (Burr, 2003), later adopted and developed by Gergen (1973). A social constructionist approach invites critical observations of the social world and asserts that knowledge is culturally and historically specific (Burr, 2003). Rather than essentialist intentions of traditional psychology that attempts to describe individual traits, social constructionist researchers are interested in the interactions between people (ibid.). At the same time, social constructionism is an ontology, as it offers an understanding of existence, being, and reality in the world. In this respect, social constructionists orient “language as a pre-condition for thought”, aligning the social world with its construction in language (Burr, 2003, p.7).

There are debates relating to the coherence of a social constructionist ontology with an acknowledgement of some basis to empirical reality. I align my position with that of Gergen (2001) who accepts the existence of a reality outside of discourse, yet claims that it is always situated “within a historically and culturally circumscribed tradition” (p.424). In relation to this study, it is important to orient an understanding of internal exclusion with reference to historically and contextually defined knowledge. Further, social constructionism is an appropriate epistemology to

adopt to understand internal exclusion since existing literature suggests that it is a practice rooted in the discursive constructs of discipline, behaviour, and support (Gillies, 2016; Holland & Hamerton, 1994; Mills & Thomson, 2018; Munn et al., 2000). Accordingly, I consider school behaviour policy, government policy, and talk about internal exclusion to be socially constructed.

Narrative Psychology

Beyond a methodological approach, narrative is a paradigm; a way of viewing and interpreting the social world that understands that humans make sense of the world through telling stories (Riessman, 2008). Contemporary narrative methods have emerged from a number of traditions of research and practice. In the Western world, narrative methods are often associated with the educational philosophy of John Dewey (1916, 1933) who posited that people reflect upon and make sense of continued experience in order to learn and take renewed action. Narratives are the 'loose packages' that result from the interactions between ethical values, understanding of self, our life stories, and wider societal narratives (Crossley, 2011).

I have taken an approach to narrative which recognises that stories are shaped by their intended audiences and function as discourses (Squire et al., 2013). Exploring these discourses uncovers "historical contingencies, and in this vein how they can be interrogated and reversed" (Tamboukou, 2013, p.90). My position was further developed by readings of critical educational psychology that reflects upon the role of psychologists in contributing to the discursive construction of deficit

(Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Williams, Billington, Goodley, & Corcoran, 2017).

Accordingly, I was mindful that educational psychologists are somewhat implicated in constructing, as well as resisting, the exclusionary practices that they witness in schools.

Alternative Methods Considered

Initially, I planned to use an ethnographic methodology (Campbell & Lassiter, 2015), incorporating discourse analysis of the school behaviour policy and the everyday talk in a school's internal exclusion unit (Potter, 2004; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). My intention was that this would enable an exploration of the collective sources and influences that contribute to constructing meaning within a particular setting. However, I was constrained by the restrictions put in place in March 2020 as a consequence of the COVID-19 Pandemic, and these infection control measures presented significant logistical challenges to conducting an ethnography. Following discussions with my supervisor, I decided that focusing on individuals' understanding of internal exclusion would more successfully reveal how they constructed it. After consideration of a range of approaches congruent with a social constructionist approach, I decided that narrative would be appropriate to explore how senior leaders made sense of this hidden form of exclusion.

Narrative Methodology

Core Principles

A key principle of narrative is its “inherent sequentiality” (Bruner, 1990, p.43), and Sarbin (1986) posits that it is narrative that creates structure for experience. Accordingly, all areas of life experience are structured by stories with a beginning, middle and end. In this sense, narrative can be considered a cognitive process, where “the narratable self is therefore discursive, provisional, inter-sectional and unfixed. It is not a unitary core self, but rather a system of selves grappling with multi-levelled differences and taking up subject positions” (Tamboukou, 2017, p.43). Taking this provisional notion of the self, I reflected upon Riessman’s (2008) exploration of the functions of telling stories: to recall the past, to persuade, to engage the listener in the narrator’s experience, to argue, to entertain, to mislead and to promote action for social change (p.8-10). Of particular relevance to the present study was the rhetorical potential of stories, due to the controversial basis of internal exclusion. Given the opportunity to tell stories, therefore, senior leaders were able to engage me as a listener and witness to the version of themselves positioned in their experiences of exclusionary practices.

Narrative is closely related to discourse. The field of discursive psychology is concerned with everyday talk (Willig, 2008). Discourse analysis “refers to an instance of situated language use” (Burr, 2003, p.63), that when viewed through “macro social

constructionism” extends into the wider use of “language as a cultural resource for his or her own ends” (p.63). A narrative approach, meanwhile, enables both an opportunity to understand an individual’s making sense using what are “sometimes contradictory layers of meaning” (Squire et al., 2013, p.2) as well as the deeper reading of the meanings through links to culturally available discourses. A study approaching discourse from a social constructionist lens, therefore, does not seek to identify beliefs or attitudes assumed to be inherent, structural, properties of the speaker. Rather, “they are manifestations of discourses, outcrops of representations of events upon the terrain of social life” (Burr, 2003, p.66). A post-structuralist and postmodern Foucauldian approach to discourse is one that explores historical, social and political influences on these discourses (Tamboukou, 2013). To achieve these ends, my study employed a narrative approach to identifying and analysing the stories within the spoken interview, as well as its discursive features.

Narrative in Related Research

Narrative methodology has been used in related fields of study, such as headteachers’ (Chase, 1995) and teachers’ narratives of their experience, drawing on ‘personal practical knowledge’ (Clandinin, 2013; Connelly & Clandinin, 1985). Chase (1995) interviewed female school superintendents, who manage a number of public schools, equivalent to an executive headteacher in the United Kingdom. Unstructured narrative interviews enabled latent narratives to be surfaced. These revealed that, despite their considerable seniority, interviewees were subjected to sexism, suggesting ‘narrative difficulties’ bringing together different experiences of

self (Chase, 1995). The narrative difficulties were not identified as personal or psychological, but discursive and cultural. Of particular interest to Chase (1995) was the difficulty in reconciling the two “discursive realms” of success and achievement alongside inequality (p.284). This study is especially applicable to the aims of my research as it addresses the potential for seemingly contradictory narratives to be explored in the talk of school senior leaders.

Similarly, Chase and Bell’s (1990) interviews with gatekeepers to superintendency identified that while they were supportive of female leaders, they remained accustomed to power being retained by men in these positions. In failing to address systemic bias, women leaders were constructed solely as individuals who were required to dismantle barriers themselves. These findings are meaningful to my study as senior leaders are discursively positioned as agentic leaders in policy (e.g. DfE, 2016) yet face systemic pressures of competing inclusion and performance agendas that limit their influence (Done & Knowler, 2020).

Data Collection

Participants

I sought participants who were senior leaders in mainstream secondary schools to inform the research question. As existing research from Mills and Thomson (2018) indicates that the majority use internal exclusion in some form, it was expected that the practice would be familiar to all senior leaders, regardless of whether it was applied in their schools. The perceived efficacy of internal exclusion was not part of my approach to sampling. I made this decision on the basis that there

is as much to learn from narrative accounts where a process appears to be working as where it is not (Chase, 2013).

Participants were recruited through my existing contacts. Initially, I contacted individuals who had been previous colleagues including those that worked in secondary schools, had been in teacher training or related postgraduate study, and asked them to distribute information sheets and consent forms to senior leaders that they knew (Appendices C and D). I received one expression of interest from a headteacher. I continued to email existing contacts and sent out an email with the information sheet and consent forms for the study to the Educational Psychology Service (EPS) in which I was on placement as a trainee EP. Following this, I received a response from an assistant headteacher with responsibility for behaviour and attendance. There was a target of three participants for the study to represent a diversity of experiences, and I continued to attempt to recruit in the Autumn 2020 school term. An interview was arranged with the SENDCo on the senior leadership team of another school in November 2020, however the individual withdrew from participation before the interview took place. I resolved that two participants were sufficient sample size given the quality of existing interview data and the in-depth approach taken to analysis.

To ensure that participants fully understood what taking part in the study involved, I spoke with the senior leaders by telephone and we exchanged emails. They had the opportunity to ask any questions about the study, and after reviewing information sheets they completed consent forms. I sent both participants a short biography and troubleshooting sheet, that explained what to do in the interview in the

event of communication difficulties arising from internet connectivity issues (Appendices E and F).

Interviews

Context. At the time interviews were conducted, secondary schools were about to or had very recently reopened to all children. Schools had been closed to all but the most vulnerable children and those with critical worker parents from March 2020 until the end of the Summer 2020 school term. National debates taking place at the time culminated in advice from the National Education Union (NEU) to its members in January 2021 not to work in unsafe conditions (Coughlan, 2021). Another period of national lockdown was announced and the second period of school closures in England lasted until 8th March 2021 (Institute for Government, 2021). As such, it is important to emphasise that both senior leaders were corresponding during a period of significant uncertainty, with rapid adjustments required to cope with the infectious characteristics of the virus.

Considerations of Remote Interviews. Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic restrictions in place, it was necessary to complete interviews remotely. I had originally planned to complete pilot interviews as part of the research. However, the sudden adjustment to work patterns following the impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic meant that there was little time available for this to take place. My priority was conducting the interviews at the start of the Autumn 2020 term, since I anticipated that the return to full school opening would be an opportune moment for reflection upon practices of internal exclusion.

Interviews took place using the video calling platform Google Meet permitted by the University of Sheffield ethics guidance. Video interviews lasted approximately one hour and were audio recorded on a dictaphone and using a computer software program. Video was solely used in order to benefit engagement and rapport, and was not recorded. There was a distinct advantage of video calls over in-person interviews, as participants from a wide geographic area were able to participate.

Nevertheless, limitations of remote interviews need to be acknowledged. Being able to form rapport using remote interviews is more challenging, and video calls are likely to be shorter than in-person interviews, with fewer words spoken (Krouwel, Jolly, & Greenfield, 2019). To address these considerations, I made additional efforts to demonstrate active listening skills, using non-verbal utterances and facial expressions (Iacono, Symonds, & Brown, 2016). I was aware that there could be technological issues that might impact upon building rapport, such as abrupt termination of a video call during an interview (Hanna & Mwale, 2017). In practice, this was only an issue in one interview, where the internet signal was reduced for part of the interview and necessitated the video being turned off, but audio remained functional.

Questions and Prompts. Interviews were unstructured, so that participants could control the sequencing of topics and extend their accounts with stories (Mishler, 1991) rather than reports (Chase, 1995). I asked both senior leaders at the start of the interview “can you tell me about your experience of internal exclusion?”. Where participants spoke in general terms without reference to stories of experience,

I responded with prompts such as to “tell me about an occasion when that happened” or “tell me about when you first came across this”. Both senior leaders intuitively shared stories in their accounts, meaningfully linking events that might individually seem inconsequential together in a sequence (Salmon & Riessman, 2013). As narrative accounts typically involve a longer turn at talk (Riessman, 2008), I was careful not to interrupt participants when they were telling stories.

Data Analysis

Finding a Way Forward

As I began to analyse participants’ accounts, I was struck by a desire to offer a conceptually neat and clearly defined process to systematically analyse them. Yet the more I read and learned about narrative, the more complex the field seemed to become, and once I felt that I had gained a foothold on the literature it seemed to fall away into more complexity. Narrative approaches do not offer a simple ‘recipe’ for how to go about analysis (Squire et al., 2013). I have come to appreciate that it is the nature of narrative to feel uncontained and uncontainable. The approach to the narrative methodology that I have presented, therefore, is built upon readings of Bruner (1986; 1990), Riessman (2008), Squire and colleagues (2013), Tamboukou (2013; 2017), Mishler (1991), Willig (2008), and Emerson and Frosh (2009). These readings enabled me to determine an analytical strategy for the research, which I will explain in the following section.

Stages of Analysis

Transcription. Following the interviews, I transcribed audio recordings verbatim and reviewed them several times to ensure that they were representative of the data. Interview transcription was a lengthy and careful process, and the transcript reflected any noticeable hesitations, laughs, and short pauses as potentially influential in exploring the research question (Riessman, 1993; see Appendix G). Line numbers were added to support referencing, and line breaks introduced to aid readability as well as represent the rhythm of speech. As I transcribed each account, I made initial notes to record ideas that informed the later analysis (see Appendices H and I). Identifying data, such as participant, internal exclusion unit name, school, or area names were not included in the transcripts. Pseudonyms were selected using a random name generator and the senior leaders were assigned the names James and Phil.

The transcript was read through multiple times, and I frequently re-familiarised myself with the original audio recording and made amendments to transcripts (Hiles & Cermak, 2017). Transcription was considered an interpretative act forming part of the analysis (Riessman, 2008). At this stage, I created alternative names for participants' schools and renamed their internal exclusion provision, attempting to capture some of the meaning of their original titles while ensuring anonymity.

Identification of Stories. Each reading was colour coded with notes so that I could return to the transcripts to understand the development of the analysis (see Appendix J). The raw transcript was divided into a sequence of individual parts, specifically identifiable stories that demonstrated sequentiality (Bruner, 1990; Labov, 1972). Identifying stories required the beginnings and endings to be noted, assisted by noticing the cues in the speaker's talk, such as indicating they were about to offer an example (Riessman, 1993). However, a degree of judgement was required as stories were not always neatly bounded in this way. Stories that recurred throughout the accounts were named. I found it was important to hold these individual stories in mind simultaneously with the whole story, in consideration of "whether an interview in its entirety is viewed as *the* story or if instead is seen as containing 'stories' along with other types of accounts" (Mishler, 1991, p.107).

Identification of Broad Themes and Meaningful Phrases. I took a thematic approach to analysing James and Phil's accounts aligned with Riessman's (2008) guidance. At this early stage of analysis, the focus was on 'what' was said, as opposed to the 'how', 'why' and 'for what reason'. In recognition of the emergent nature of this research, I began with applying the broad methodological guidelines provided by Squire (2013), first describing interviews thematically, before developing and testing theories, moving between these and the interview transcripts themselves. This 'hermeneutic circle' combined both bottom-up and top-down approaches to interpreting the data. It differed from Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis as it concerned "sequencing and progression of themes within interviews, their transformation and resolution" (Squire, 2013, p.57). Accordingly, my

interpretation of themes was influenced by their sequencing over the interview. It was my intention to try and maintain the stories of their accounts (Riessman, 2008).

Analysis of Latent Themes Within and Across Stories and Themes. As the richness and depth of the data became clear through repeated readings of each interview, I referred to Murray's (2000) levels of narrative analysis to structure my reflective notes. Levels include the personal, describing an individual's interpretation of the world; interpersonal, regarding the interaction between interviewer and interviewee; positional, concerning the differing social positions of these actors; and societal, regarding the broader social context (p.339-343). I began to record thoughts about each level of analysis alongside fragments of text on the transcripts of interviews themselves, returning to previously recorded ideas as I re-read transcripts and noted certain themes becoming more prominent or meaningful than others. As these analytical ideas became increasingly formed, I began writing early drafts of analysis, and kept a record of my reflections in a research diary (see Appendix K).

Themes that were not immediately apparent in the initial readings of the data were identified through repeated closer readings. My approach was akin to Chase's (1995) description of trying to bring the submerged story to the surface, although I acknowledge my role in relation to the data was constructive rather than archaeological. Interviews were re-read paying particular attention to the interaction between myself as a listener, and the interviewee as narrator and how this shaped the resulting data (Mishler, 1991). Considering the interpersonal level of analysis following Murray (2000) involved analysing the prompts and questions that were

asked and when, and pattern of the production of stories or otherwise. These emergent narratives were increasingly recognised as socially situated identity performances (Mishler, 1999). I identified the role of professional identities in shaping some of the discourses provided (Gee, 2014) and the instances where these roles became particularly apparent.

In-Depth Analysis of Sections of Transcript. I returned to Willig's (2008) narrative interrogation of text. These concern the content, tone, themes, and psychological and social constructions of the narrative. Gergen and Gergen's (1984) definitions of narrative types from optimistic to tragic also informed my analysis at this stage. I identified the relationship of themes in the text with one another, and how these narratives positioned both the protagonist and other people.

Finally, I used Wiggins' (2017) discursive devices to complete a fine-grained analysis of the transcripts. I identified the commonly occurring extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986), pronoun use, and footing shifts (Wiggins, 2017). I continued to approach the task as a 'hermeneutic circle' (Squire, 2013) involving close readings of transcript with that of discursive devices to identify them in the transcript. Less commonly found devices such as agent-subject distinction, emotion categories, and stake inoculation (Wiggins, 2017) were also considered.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity can be understood as “opening the way to a more radical consciousness of self in facing the political dimensions of fieldwork and constructing knowledge” (Callaway, 1992, p.33). As an ongoing process throughout the research, I approached being reflexive as a self-awareness of the decisions that I made during my developing analysis. Of particular interest to me was the empathy that I felt for James and Phil as senior leaders struggling to reconcile the practice of internal exclusion with their preferred narratives. I understand that these emotional responses and expectations of the data influenced what was interpreted (Howell, 2015). I used skills that I had developed from my psychological training to reflect upon my emotional response to the interviews and the research more broadly. I recorded initial reflections after interviews (see Appendices L and M) and discussed them with my supervisor. In particular, I noted that James shared some of my values and I felt empathy for his experience, while at times, I felt more detached from Phil’s. I wondered if, perhaps, this was due to the discursive devices used by James that resulted in me feeling that we had a shared perspective. I also found that Phil’s account caused me to recall my previous experience as a teacher in school, a profession from which I had ultimately felt forced out, due to conflict with my personal values of inclusion.

Emerson and Frosh (2009) suggest that there is a tension between taking a critical approach to narrative research and privileging the voice of participants. The authors’ narrative study concerned a boy who sexually abused others, a topic that is significantly bound by ‘moral panic’. While the topic of my research was not as emotionally sensitised, internal exclusion remains a practice which has resulted in

social disapproval in the media (e.g. Ban the Booths, 2019). I made attempts to 'restrain foreclosure' prior to the final stages of analysis (Emerson & Frosch, 2009). This is resonant with 'bracketing', an approach used in grounded theory and phenomenology research that seeks to put prior knowledge and assumption to one side so that participants' accounts are privileged (Gearing, 2004). Successful bracketing would involve incorporating both internal suppositions, such as personal or political views and experience, and external suppositions of the phenomenon in question, such as my understanding of the history of internal exclusion and its systemic relationship to schools (Gearing, 2004). I felt that I was able to withhold some of these considerations during the early stages of analysis, but as I explored more latent themes, I increasingly developed a view about the use of internal exclusion that is reflected in the latter chapters of this thesis.

Ethical Considerations

The research project was assessed and approved by the School of Education at the University of Sheffield in July 2020, prior to potential participants being contacted (see Appendix N). Given the timing of the research during the COVID-19 Pandemic, there were additional ethical considerations as a result of the pressures that school staff were facing during the interview period. For example, being particularly conscious of the changeable nature of guidance to schools, and how this might impact upon participant availability.

The project provided participants with the opportunity to reflect upon their aims, purposes, values and circumstances alongside their experiences. The unstructured interview method enabled James and Phil to change their minds and approach the topic differently throughout their accounts, acknowledging the changeable basis of the narratable self (Tamboukou, 2017). I sought to provide participants with transparency about the data that they had provided by sending them transcripts of their interviews. This allowed them to have a record for themselves and to be able to reflect on what was said.

Nevertheless, narrative research conveys an ethical tension between the researcher's double relationship with the participant; both as a listener and interpreter of their account (Josselson, 2007). The author suggests that what is revealed by participants in their narrative accounts reflects the relationship with the researcher, and it is the subtle and interpersonal elements, such as empathy and emotional responsiveness, that facilitate stories being told. The interviews, therefore, were a collaborative endeavour (Mishler, 1991). Developing this, Corbin and Morse (2013) underscore the importance of considering what the motive behind participation might be. During an initial phone call, James revealed that he was taking part as a favour to the mutual friend that had previously worked in his school, and because he was interested in the topic. Phil, meanwhile, did not disclose any information about what motivated him to participate.

The interpretation of participants' accounts conveys a certain power (Squire, 2013; Stainton Rogers & Willig, 2017). I was aware of this tension in transcribing and analysing the data. As a researcher, I was required to understand the meanings that I felt that they had conveyed in a short interview. Therefore, I emphasise that my findings are merely my own interpretations of the interview data (Riessman, 2008) and that these are constrained by my own assumptions, experience and culture (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003).

Further, while I had in mind a theoretical framework from the existing literature that I might interpret in the resulting data (Foucault, 1977/1991), I recognise that there are ethical implications in reading these accounts solely through the lens of these ideas (Stainton Rogers & Willig, 2017). I sought to resist the temptation to force my data into these concepts, rather use a simultaneously top-down and bottom-up approach (Squire, 2013) that also revealed the areas of interpretation that could not be accounted for in existing theories or concepts (Stainton Rogers & Willig, 2017). Accordingly, it was important to demonstrate a sensitivity to the data (Yardley, 2017) especially pertinent given the scant existing literature on internal exclusion from an educational psychology perspective.

Quality of the Research

Traditional criteria of quality in quantitative research are not applicable to qualitative study. Instead, characteristics of rigorous qualitative research include its sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, transparency and coherence, and

impact and importance (Yardley, 2000, p.219). I will consider each of these quality characteristics in turn.

Sensitivity to Context

I have demonstrated how the research was grounded in the relevant theoretical and research literature, and it is within the uncertain context of internal exclusion that the study is situated. Accordingly, sensitivity to context required me to be aware of the controversy of some practices linked to internal exclusion, such as the use of isolation, and a reflexive stance that did not assume how participants might make sense of this before data was collected.

Narrative research does not intend to achieve generalisability by representing a typical set of participants through the selection of who to take part (Crossley, 2011). The conception of the self in narrative psychological research is inherently relative and variable, therefore claims cannot be made that are generalised to wider populations. Given that the approach to sampling participants was to approach schools to identify interested participants, it was a small and self-selecting sample of senior leaders. Further, the accounts that I have presented cannot be used to infer how other senior leaders might make sense of internal exclusion. Instead, they enable readers to understand a possible interpretation of how these senior leaders made sense of internal exclusion.

Commitment and Rigour

A prolonged engagement with the topic was evident, due to my prior experience as a secondary school teacher and involvement with children experiencing exclusionary practices as a trainee EP. I have sought to demonstrate my commitment to understanding and applying a narrative approach. The sample was found to be adequate to provide the information that was needed for a slow, in-depth and thorough analysis (Squire et al., 2013; Yardley, 2000). The role of the researcher, according to Riessman (2008), is to demonstrate how the epistemologies and methods used have been deployed to critically evaluate the material provided, given the evidence, and with an account demonstrating reflexivity and rigour.

Transparency and Coherence

Trustworthiness and coherence are appropriate substitutions for the post-positivist notion of validity (Riessman, 2008). Attempting to define whether a participant account is coherent with a 'real' phenomenon is problematic in narrative projects, yet is "strengthened if the analytic story the investigator constructs links pieces of data and renders them meaningful and coherent theoretically" (Riessman, 2008, p.191). I sought to demonstrate trustworthiness by identifying points of convergence and otherwise in the accounts. I was not concerned with trying to validate them in reference to a presumed 'reality' external to participant accounts and sense-making. By displaying the transcripts as primary texts, I invite the reader

to inspect them in respect of my interpretations (see Appendices O and P). Providing these transcripts also enables the absent participants to retain agency over the words spoken (Emerson & Frosh, 2009).

Impact and Importance

Usefulness of the research can be determined by the applications for which it was originally intended, and whether it benefits the community whom it represents (Yardley, 2000). I have sought to provide a study that demonstrates theoretical value to inform the absence of literature on the topic of internal exclusion from this perspective. In addition, I hope that this research also has practical utility for the practice of educational psychologists. As the researcher, my practice will be impacted by an understanding of how discourses shape the way that children are constructed in secondary schools and further, how these might be challenged through consultative approaches, to promote inclusion.

Mertens (2015) proposes another criterion to demonstrate quality in research; that of its transformative potential. The study was inherently attentive to participant voice, given that interviews were unstructured. Both participants were asked the same initial question, and both deviated quite considerably in their talk from this specific topic. Accordingly, the stories that they told and sequence in which they told them revealed insights that address the research question, namely how they *made*

sense of internal exclusion in relation to other, related experiences, intentions, or stories. As narrators, they were able to tell stories that resisted the prevailing cultural discourses (Burr, 2003). These linkages lead to potential ways in which participants were able to tell an alternative story to the one that 'internal exclusion' may have initially presented. These allow them to develop ways in which their own stories can be used as a tool for emancipation by re-storying the existing narratives available to them.

Chapter Summary

I have explained that the research was underpinned by social constructionist epistemology to understand how two senior leaders made sense of the practice of internal exclusion. I used unstructured interviews as a qualitative research method and analysed them using a narrative approach. The experience-focused narrative analysis involved identifying stories before themes that related to the research question (Riessman, 2008, Squire, 2013). Further readings of the text identified discursive devices (Wiggins, 2017) and features pertinent to an in-depth analysis of language and story structure (Willig, 2008). This enabled me to identify discourses in the text that pertained to power/knowledge and its effects (Foucault, 1977/1991). The following chapter will present and analyse the findings and tease out key patterns in the data.

Findings: James

Overview

In this chapter, I will begin with a series of summarised stories that I have constructed from the interview with James, told in the first person to orient the reader in his experience. Next, I will explore themes in relation to James. Throughout the findings, I have used participants' own terminology for internal exclusion; in James's case it is the "inclusion centre" (65). I have named this Epiphany, and the school St Thomas's.

Story Summaries

An Autobiography

Me and My Values. I have a very inclusive view, and I've put that into practice. I took in refugee students that other schools wouldn't take, and they transformed the school. I gave places to children with heartbreaking stories. Other schools just wanted them out, so I took them in. Some of the other schools see the behaviour centre as an opportunity to get rid of challenging children and that really upsets me. Those schools are all outcome-driven and overly concerned with high expectations and academics. I believe school is for everybody.

Changing a School Culture. Eight or nine years ago behaviour was poor in our school and there were a lot of exclusions. We did lots of training and it was hard work. After three or four years, things began to get better, and the school culture

changed. Children looked to each other and learned that it was a tolerant, loving, caring environment. By that point, hardly anyone was using our inclusion centre as it was no longer needed. Now there are no permanent and few fixed term exclusions.

Being Entrepreneurial. Because no one was using our inclusion centre, the staff in there were doing nothing, they were sitting around playing cards! We were at the pub one Friday after school and I came up with the idea of selling places in the inclusion centre to other schools. At the behaviour centre, they do individual restorative work, group therapy, football, their learning, and have parent contact. We sell places by the day on a flexible basis, and last year we made £250,000 – that’s a lot of money for a school. We know the idea works, because the children don’t come back.

The Political

The Destruction of Industry. There was a school in Salford, near where I’m from. No children were ever entered into an exam. The teachers just wanted to have their days pass with minimum disruption. Even without exams and grades, the children would finish school and find good jobs in the factories or docks. Then the government decided that everyone had to stay in school beyond 15 or 16, sometimes against their will. In the mid-1970s to late 1990s we just couldn’t resolve how to deal with this as a society. It caused sheer misery for a great deal of people, and permanent exclusions were rife. People were just wiped out.

The Evolution of the Inclusion Centre. After the 1997 election, we teachers were told that children couldn't be 'disappeared' into PRUs any more and would need to stay in school. It was a cost cutting agenda. Without any ideas or any money, we were told we'd have to keep them. We were shocked at first, but over time, schools got used to it, and then the inclusion centre became a useful part of the behaviour policy. Schools used to work together, so if a child needed a fresh start at a different school, children would be passed between them. Some restorative work was starting to take place. Then, after the 2010 election it became entirely about keeping fixed term exclusions down, and children would just spend all day in inclusion centres. They were used deliberately to keep certain children out of class. By about 2013/14, schools really had no money and local authority support services had been cut significantly. The only thing schools could do to manage difficult children was use the inclusion centre. When I became a headteacher, I wanted to go back to those progressive days in the early 2000s and use the inclusion centre more restoratively again.

Who's Out of Class and What Background They Come From. We used to get RAISEonline every January, and it would break down the data on exclusions in relation to categories the government was interested in, like ethnicity or free school meal status. These days there's hardly any data in there because the government just looks at what they're interested in, and it isn't that. I've said to my senior leadership team that we should be monitoring this because we need to know if children from certain ethnic groups are sent to the inclusion centre regularly.

My Vision for Society

I Don't Want to Live My Life Behind a Wall. I want to be able to walk down the street and do what I want to do, I don't want to live my life afraid behind a wall. You have to address the issues not just send children home or to a PRU. They just keep children off the streets, they don't work.

Setting Children up to Fail. In the 1980s, schools used a zero tolerance approach. We don't use those terms any more, instead schools are about high standards and high expectations. It's the same thing with different language. Schools create an atmosphere of fear, putting lots of pressure on parents and setting the bar so high. Children are essentially set up to fail.

Themes

The Protagonist in Context

The Headteacher Sets the Weather. Throughout James's account, he frequently returns to what he refers to as his "central point" (1075) that "the tone is always set by the management of the school (.) by the headteacher" who "creates the weather" (99-102). At times he refers to the senior leadership team, "where the head and the senior leadership team... have a positive progressive ethos where they *genuinely* believe in inclusion... then the inclusion centre becomes somewhere where we seek to improve and transform" (573-577). These statements, using agentic language and the first-person plural pronoun, signify the choices and agency

of the senior leadership 'we' (Pomerantz, 1986; Wiggins, 2017). James explains that "an inclusion centre reflects the values and ethos of the school which come (.) nine times out of ten (.) from the values and ethos of the headteacher" (757-759).

James creates an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986; Wiggins, 2017) by going on to describe schools run by highly educated but "*miserable misanthropic* individuals" (549) that result in a miserable school with "no positive ethos" (556). It is these headteachers "who would provoke a parent from a challenging family" (1167), implying these incidents are used as a basis for a fixed term or permanent exclusion. Where there is a negative school culture, James reasons, the inclusion centre "becomes a dumping ground" (558). The notion of a "dumping ground" implies that children are left in a room and no further action is taken. James uses this extreme case formulation to contrast the "dumping ground" with the approaches of his school's internal exclusion provision, Epiphany, a name that suggests restoration and redemption.

Inclusion as an Ethos. It is James's ethos and values that leads to his school being inclusive, having an "embracing view of all" (105). He frequently tells short stories that provide insight into his humanity: the type of collectivist society in which he wishes to live, his struggles with convincing staff about the need to include a child that other schools have excluded, his entrepreneurial insight in opening a "behaviour centre" (767) for other school based on a restorative model, and feeling taken advantage of by other schools that used his behaviour centre as a means to "get rid" of children (1478, 1524).

Throughout his account, James draws a contrast between his own inclusive approach in his school to that of other schools that have stricter standards of behaviour and uniform. While he implies differences in opinion, he does not consistently criticise the practices of other schools, as “you could argue that some of these schools are more successful than mine... more parents want their children to go there (.) the results are better” (1134-1136). These tensions are evident in his approach to the behaviour centre that was established at St Thomas’s, since he proposes that many of the children are sent by other schools for relatively petty misdemeanours compared to the higher threshold at his school.

The Young Person. While James briefly refers to children and young people taking themselves to Epiphany, he also uses agentic language to describe school staff taking them, positioning the young person passively, such as when they are “temporarily removed to have a restorative conversation” (376). Simultaneously, James frequently describes young people as “resilient” (341), who may have explosive disagreements and fights with others, and then “half an hour later they’re back in class again as if nothing has happened” (342-343). These script formulations seem to make general statements about young people that represent them as a homogenous group whose behaviour is somewhat irrational and inconsistent.

Epiphany is positioned as an “oasis” (267) from the troubles that children and young people bring into school. James links this to the socio-demographics of the area. In his talk, Epiphany is constructed on the periphery to the main school, to be used for a child to have “time out” (321) from situations of heightened emotion and

fights, acknowledged as an everyday occurrence of school life. He makes several references to Epiphany's separation and space from the rest of school and that it is a reflective space for the children that use it.

Inclusion/Exclusion

The liminal space between inclusion and exclusion is a significant theme throughout James's account, with the word inclusion having multiple, seemingly contradictory meanings, such as: an inclusive ethos, the inclusion centre, and the inclusion process. These nebulous constructions of inclusion are considered within the themes below.

Inclusion Is Keeping People in School. In his account James tells several political stories about government directives, which require schools to keep increasing numbers of children in school over time. He seems to reason that the legislative changes that made it a statutory requirement for young people to remain in school until age 16 were particularly damaging in conjunction with the impact of the destruction of industry during the leadership of Margaret Thatcher. James contrasts the progressive use of internal exclusion during the years of Tony Blair's New Labour government with a negative characterisation of inclusion centres as "holding centres and pens" (62) during the years of the 2010 Coalition government. It was the financial pressures of austerity, and the need to reduce exclusion figures without additional resources being provided to schools, that resulted in his seeing, as an Ofsted inspector, "cupboards where naughty kids are in" (130).

Young people that are in school, listed on the school's roll or inside its physical boundaries, are thought to be included. In this narrative, the academic purpose of school appears to be less meaningful and is absent in James's talk. He does raise one example of learning in relation to inclusion:

We can't however (.) create jobs for everybody

We can't introduce a sort of tripartite education system (.) cos that's been tried and failed

Inclusion maybe (.) will help us-

Without any thought (.) without any money

Without any theolog- y'know without any theory

This might help keep people in school. (482-488)

In this example, James appears to use inclusion to mean internal exclusion. It is a simple binary conception of inclusion and exclusion that reasons that internal exclusion will help keep young people in school, simply because they are not physically removed. It is noteworthy that James indicates that there is no theory underpinning the internal exclusion, which is in contrast to other sections of his account where he is very clear about his ethos as inclusive. This characterisation of the inclusion centre is different to when James speaks about Epiphany as a transformative space for the young person, and is more reminiscent of the PRUs he describes being used simply to keep young people off the streets. Here, James seems to be reconciling his identification of himself as an inclusive leader and

needing to keep exclusions very low, while managing with no resources, clear theory or structure around the use of internal exclusion.

James provides an extreme case formulation of technical education being tried and failed (Pomerantz 1986; Wiggins, 2017), with no further elaboration, to close further discussion on the topic. He creates a common sense or taken for granted assumption in his account, that not all young people either want to, or are able to, continue with academic schooling to this age, and therefore a technical education is what is required. The possibility of making curriculum modifications that might be appropriate for the young people and enable them to make academic progress is not considered. In sum, James comes to the conclusion that it is the physical inclusion on the school site that satisfies the 'inclusive' principle.

Marketised Education as Tragicomedy. James describes the discourse of education in England reflecting “the ethos of our society- it’s very competitive (.) it’s very sort of laissez-faire (.) it’s *exceptionally* dog eat dog” (1424-1426). He refers to this competitiveness throughout his account, storying a conflict with his inclusionary principles. To draw a contrast with his own school, James uses humour to present comically exaggerated school policies among more competitive and high performing schools, where children are required to bring numerous coloured pens, several pairs of shoes for PE and where “you would be sent home (.) for not having your tie on right” (1081-1082). These schools are “*sup-erbly academic* and overly arrogant” (1027).

James tells a story ridiculing the hierarchies between schools; at a conference he attended “the executive heads and the superheads and the chief execs” (1212) sat together. He jokes that he doesn’t think that ‘we’, or the school leaders that are not “superheads” got smaller portions of food, but the classification and hierarchy is nevertheless, “*bonkers!*” (1214). Here, James demonstrates the use of category entitlements (Wiggins, 2017); while the “superheads” are painted as comical and ludicrous, James constructs his identity as an ordinary onlooker. These narratives aimed to entertain, and prompted me to laugh, establishing a shared understanding of the phenomenon of competitive hierarchies among schools.

These individual comical stories are told throughout James’s account, yet there is a tragic tone to his overall narrative about the current education system in England. Given the competition between schools, the cross-school collaboration that James describes in the early 2000s with schools sharing inclusion centres is now “just a fallacy” (1427). Having been a hallmark of his account of successful and progressive inclusive practice, James was no longer able to work collaboratively with other schools and relationships with them were hostile and lacked trust. Instead of sharing inclusion centres, St Thomas’s had monetised the relationship with other schools by establishing a behaviour centre that charged a day rate for children that had been temporarily excluded from school and offered a short-term alternative placement.

The “Inconsistency in the Inclusion Process”. James makes several references to the “inclusion process” (1005), which he contrasts with clearly defined

permanent exclusion procedures. James talks about participating in exclusion panels that usually uphold the exclusion, as they follow a serious contravention of the school's behaviour policy. Conversely, the "process" (1005) of inclusion is not related to a behaviour policy in James's account, and he talks about how other schools using the behaviour centre at St Thomas's do so for wide-ranging reasons. James states that "the threshold in one school (.) could be much much *higher* (.) than it is in my school... I'm not saying I tolerate bad behaviour or I accept it (.) but *I kind of understand it*" (1090-1094).

James highlights the focus of Ofsted on schools' rates of fixed term and permanent exclusion and reasons that it meant that they were now concerned with schools' use of internal exclusion. James had been an Ofsted inspector, and his assimilation with the aims and intentions of the organisation made him keenly aware of the performance of his own school. The publicly available information on school exclusion that exposed the "gender (.) ethnicity (.) free school meals" status of excluded children meant that, as a headteacher, "you are held to *account* for it" (150-151). It was important to James that his inclusive principles, extensive experience and authority were reflected in his school's low exclusion figures.

Language That Disguises Exclusionary Discourses. James provides an account of other schools that create a hostile environment of "such fear and no-go zone (<b) that there (.) the children are removed (.) before they even start" (1182-1183). While James refers to approaches labelled "zero tolerance" (1141) as no longer being acceptable, it is now "a language of high expectations and high

standards” (1187) used for the same purposes as zero tolerance, essentially “you’re not welcome here” (1191). These schools are based in ethnically diverse areas, and yet the schools do not represent its community. He likens this to current debates on race and ethnicity in the USA, representing a critical approach to race when he states that “they’re still talking about... we need to find a way of dealing with our non-white citizens (.) it’s just it’s the same message (.) it’s just the language has shifted” (1253-1255).

James constructs his identity as an inclusive leader most specifically in relation to ethnicity, speaking on several occasions about his intention to include refugee children from a range of ethnic backgrounds. He also talks about children and their families in appeals against permanent exclusion who are often “black and poor and uneducated” (222) yet whom, with better advocacy, would have the exclusion overturned. In so doing, James contrasts “the language of inclusion” (1257) with the structural racism in wider society, positioning himself in opposition to it. He evidences his commitment by contrasting the reduction in exclusions at St Thomas’s with the high rates of exclusion among Black Caribbean boys several years ago.

James expresses concern that Epiphany was sometimes used reactively by teachers, and that when this happened, a higher proportion of children from ethnic minority groups and those eligible for FSM were sent there. It is revealing that James describes the potentially damaging use of Epiphany here as it is the only part of his account where he implies that using the centre is of some disadvantage to the child.

It appears to contradict the version of Epiphany as a sanctuary, and his inclusive ethos. Acknowledging that this could be discriminatory, James positions himself as agentic by stating his intention to collect data on the demographics of children using Epiphany.

Isolation Booths Help Children to Work. While James speaks extensively about Epiphany and the behaviour centre, it is only in the final ten minutes of the interview that he mentions the isolation booths at St Thomas's. He does so immediately after expressing the will to gather more demographic data about children being sent to Epiphany reactively, suggesting that they are linked as concerns that are potentially problematic and as yet unresolved. Acknowledging that isolation booths have been controversial, James reasons that they encourage children to work. The counselling and therapeutic approach of both Epiphany and the behaviour centre are aligned with the inclusive ethos described elsewhere in James's account. However, the isolation booths suggest an approach to learning based on behaviourist notions of rules and compliance, intentionally excluding the social aspects of learning by limiting exposure to others and confining the child in a small space. It seems that James is attempting to reconcile his inclusive ethos with the constraints of requiring the physical containment of children at school, and that isolation booths appear a pragmatic compromise.

What Works

With No Money. James frequently returns to the theme of money from various perspectives; the costs of sending children to PRUs, the economy of inclusion centres, and neither the local authority nor schools having enough money. Throughout his account, James tells stories about specific costs to convey financial pressures, such as that of a boy in Year 8 currently being sent to a PRU at a cost of over £7000 while the school is only funded £5000 for his place. The tone of the narrative seems to justify the use of the benefits of using the PRU, despite it being costly for the school, as “I *do not* want to permanently exclude for reasons we’ve spoken about” (179-180).

It was the relative disuse of Epiphany at St Thomas’s that led to the selling of places at the behaviour centre to other schools for £70 per day, paid for on a flexible basis. James compares this to the £60,000 a year that an independent PRU might arrange with a school at the start of the year for a number of children, determining that “business wise” (964) it has worked well, with the school earning £250,000 from the behaviour centre in the last academic year. James seems to rationalise the marketisation of the behaviour centre as it underpinned by an ostensibly inclusive rationale. Given the position of St Thomas’s in James’s narratives of other schools that are more academic and financially successful, the story of the behaviour centre is of the protagonist in a vulnerable position successfully taking agency over the school’s future.

Locating the Problem and Restoring the Child. In constructing the role of Epiphany, James speaks about attempting to understand where the problem is located:

So we would say for example if the child is having a number of issues in a number of classes there's a problem (.) ...

if it's *common* (.) right across a number of lessons there's a clearer issue going on (<b)

And y'know we might identify what the issue is and realise that there's some restorative work that needs to be going on there

And he'd be taken out of class (.)

for a period of time into the inclusion centre (<b). (270-278)

Once the problem has been located within the child, then restorative work needs to take place and the child is "taken out" (277) to have the work done to them. James talks about some internal exclusion units that he had seen as an Ofsted inspector, constructing those that focus on health and wellbeing as the most positive. In accord with his narrative of a marketised and pressured school system, he jokes that those where children were doing Yoga were probably a rushed attempt to impress the inspector and not representative of usual practice.

Treating children at Epiphany is consistently constructed in relation to the skills, qualities and training of the staff. James characterises addressing troublesome behaviour as a straightforward process; when the member of staff was skilled

enough, “99% of the time it works” (597). This conception of the problem here is that the staff member can resolve issues through a rational process using restorative approaches acting *on* the child. James’s description of the dynamic of the intervention was highly reminiscent of the medic’s consulting room:

We’ve got various different small rooms and we employ counsellors and psychother- therapeutic mentors (.) and very very experienced LSAs who have worked in our inclusion centre for years

They can try to address the problem work with parents etcetera. (280-283)

It was revealing in James’s talk that he made the distinction of the problem as locatable within the child, alongside the critical political and systemic narratives that were evident elsewhere in his account.

Rules Are Needed in an Institution. James sometimes refers to rules, linking them to those in society, so as to emphasise the role of school as a precursor for life and employment. For example, “learning how to respect obey the rules... makes school work well” (367-369). School and COVID-19 rules are linked to consequences and are clearly stated to children and printed in school planners. James associates rules with both punishment and inclusion, to mean internal exclusion, stating that:

One of the things about punishment and inclusion is not just (<b) for the victim
Or the or the or the receptor of the punishment

It's a really good thing in an institution for the other children to know about
Y'know in society we do have laws and we do have regulations (357-360)

It appears that James values rules for a collective benefit. Nevertheless, he recognises injustices in the application of strict behaviour policies, particularly in other schools. Yet the use of rules as a means of control at St Thomas's, whether for collective aims or in a hierarchical sense, is not acknowledged. There are links with the disavowal of the young person's agency evident elsewhere in his account. Perhaps, through minimising the agency and voice of young people, it becomes more tolerable to continue with practices that might otherwise be recognised as ethically problematic.

Summary

James's account constructs his identity as an ethically minded, agentic protagonist, putting what is best for the child and their future functioning in society above all else. His narrative describes a struggle with directives from successive governments, financial constraints, and open hostility with other schools in a very competitive education system. The insights into James's humanity are scattered throughout his account. While he speaks openly about the congruence between himself as an inclusive headteacher and a notion of internal exclusion that is rooted in ethical principles, there are instances of narrative difficulty in his account where it seems that he has not yet reconciled his inclusive ethos with the practice at St Thomas's.

Findings: Phil

Overview

This chapter presents the findings from the interview with Phil. As in the previous chapter, story summaries will be followed by an exploration of identified themes. I have named Phil's school Windbrook, and the internal exclusion provision Growth Hub.

Story Summaries

The Machine and Me

Our Organisational Change Story: From Inadequate to Good. The school I work in went through difficult times, behaviour was poor and there was lots of staff absence. Management had to take the bull by the horns and stamp some authority across the school. Teachers were held to account, many had to leave, and brought in emotionally intelligent people that were firm but fair. We needed to be quite punitive then, and it wasn't really fair on the pupils, but we had to do it to raise the standards across the school. We used isolation and it was at risk of being a dumping ground. Once I started as head of behaviour and attendance, I made some changes and isolation became the Growth Hub. It was more about the children reflecting on what they'd done wrong, and it did have an impact.

“What This Is All About”. There is one young lady in our school from a disadvantaged background that comes to mind. She got it wrong a lot of the time, she was a difficult child. The punitive measures didn’t work well for her, and her parents were at loggerheads with the school. The right, quality staff started having more conversations with her and the family to think about solutions, and the family started to trust that we did care and were supportive. Her behaviour improved drastically, she did relatively well in her GCSEs, and she’s now in sixth form. I said to my colleague today, that if we can turn that kid around, and if she leaves school and goes to university or on to an apprenticeship, then that really is what this is all about.

The Changes I’ve Made

Abandoning ‘Isolation’. Personally, I have some reservations about how isolation has been used over the seven years that I have worked at the school. When it was classed as inadequate, the school had an isolation room, and it was too punitive, and I didn’t feel proud of it. Over time I have recruited the right people, and they made the difference in helping pupils reflect on what had happened in a more empathic and less punitive way.

My New SEMH Hub. I have been planning a new SEMH Hub and I’m quite excited about it. It’s going to be used to identify and provide interventions for problems that young people have, like anxiety, low self-esteem, and anger. We had to take matters into our own hands as the social care support children that don’t meet CiN thresholds are just not effective. The SEMH Hub will take referrals from

parents and children too, who can make self-referrals. We've identified difficulties that some of the children have and we will use effective off-the-shelf programmes to make it happen. When I launched it with staff, they were really enthusiastic, and I've had 25 out of a hundred staff come forward to do it. They'll be paid extra to run the sessions after school. It seems like an easy fix to me. These programmes are designed for these problems and if it works, we'll expect to see fewer fixed term exclusions, better attendance, and fewer incidents of negative behaviour recorded in our systems. I want children to come forward and say that they had this problem, and this helped them understand and fix the problem. When the COVID-19 situation calms down we'll launch the SEMH Hub properly.

The Times That We're in Now: COVID-19

Closing the Growth Hub. Pupils don't go to the Growth Hub now because, due to COVID-19, we can't have children from different year group bubbles mixing in there. I'm quite comfortable with replacing the Growth Hub with a system of expectations and sanctions. Pupils still have the chance to reflect, but now it's with a senior leader standing outside the classroom.

The Integrity of Our COVID Principles. We haven't got the capacity as a school for the mixing of year group bubbles in the Growth Hub; the space, the cleaning, it's just not possible. I don't see how you can have a mediated conversation with a child who's in the wrong area of school, mixing with their mates in different year group bubbles, and purposefully breaching the integrity of the Covid

rules that we have for our safety. So, there are occasions where pupils have had to be sent home because they are not complying with our Covid rules.

Themes

What's Right

“Moral Purpose”. Phil offers a brief story about an Ofsted inspection, when inspectors asked if ‘internal isolation’ was “just an alternative to excluding kids... simply trying to massage numbers of exclusions” (110-111). Phil aligns this approach to internal exclusion with using it as “a dumping ground” (116), and reasons that it was not used in this way due to the ethical values of staff at Windbrook. The overarching story being told in Phil’s account is of good over evil, the protagonists of the story being “the right people” (1139); staff whose “moral purpose” (668) enables them, through empathy and consistency, to control the behaviour of pupils. In this narrative, Phil is positioned as an active protagonist, as although he does not refer to his own conversations with pupils, he was responsible for appointing these “*emotionally intelligent*” staff (462).

Being Reasonable and Managing the Unreasonable. Phil refers to the capacity to have reason, or be reasonable, when relating to the behaviour of children and young people in school. He tells a brief story relating to a the request from a teacher who is “not being *unreasonable*” by asking for a child to “stand outside the room” because “you’ve been doing *that*” (219-221). It is the intentional non-compliance with reasonable requests that results in sanctions; where pupils are

“purposefully ignoring our instructions then (.) they are *sanctioned*” (140-141). Where there is demonstrable intention not to comply with ‘our’ instructions, presented in the first-person plural pronoun to emphasise that they are mutually understood (Wiggins, 2017), the pupil, now positioned as a third person subject, is passive, and receives a sanction.

Being reasonable is particularly salient in Phil’s account of school life during the COVID-19 Pandemic. He frames a story about a child’s exclusion by asking “how can you have a conversation with a child who’s been in the wrong area when they *completely knew* that they shouldn’t be in that area (.) and they’re actually breaching the *safety* (.) and the *integrity* (.) of these covid principles” (516-520). Phil appeals to the reasonableness of the ‘ordinary’ onlooker to judge the extraordinary unreasonableness of a pupil breaching the COVID-19 rules. In diminishing the child’s capacity to make reasonable judgements, adults’ moral right to make decisions in the child’s best interests is enhanced.

A dichotomy is created in Phil’s account between the school, positioned as a unified entity, facing the logistical and practical limitations of the COVID-19 rules for safety, and the unreasonable individual pupil wilfully failing to comply. Phil explains that previously, the Growth Hub was used where there was such a conflict, and the child needed to be “out of circulation” (25). Now that there are restrictions on the mixing of year group bubbles, it is reasoned to be a question of “capacity as a school” (142) as they “just *haven’t got the capacity* and where- where it’s unavoidable (.) pupils have been excluded” (146-148). The disclaimer of “where it’s

unavoidable” (147) is used to close down any discussion about possible alternatives; there is no alternative to pupils being removed, because of their unreasonableness (Wiggins, 2017).

Containing Risk

A Difficult Demographic. Phil expresses struggles with engaging with the ‘disadvantaged’ or poorest White British community at Windbrook school, identifying them as “a *difficult* demographic to change” (374). Phil’s narrative implies that the values held by this group of students and their families were different from those of the rest of the school community. He tells a story about a young girl who “was a *difficult* child” (406), whose parents were at “loggerheads with the school and the decisions we’d made- {Hmm} sanctions that we’d put in place” (412-414). Phil makes sense that through staff having conversations “*with the right people* and the *quality* staff in place (...) {Hmm} they were able to elicit (.) elicit from the family that we *do* care we *are* supportive” (417-420). He reasons that school staff needed to work harder to support children from this group than they did with other children, constructing school as a means of ameliorating what were perceived as negative influences on children in their lives outside of school. Nevertheless, the additional support for these pupils is not expanded upon in Phil’s account, beyond having additional conversations with parents that express the school’s care, and providing pupils with the opportunity to “calm down” (20) when distressed.

Phil talks about being frustrated with the low-level multi-agency support from

social care for children that were identified as having additional vulnerabilities in their home lives. He reasons that it has:

Little impact

In much of the work that's done when we refer

I think there's more effort in terms of the application is more effort

Then we've got to go and speak at meetings and describe the issues

And then the *actual outcome in the end* is often er (.)

Futile (.) if I'm honest with you. (865-870)

Phil adds that there are often delays in accessing the support from social care and contrasts this with the planned interventions in the SEMH Hub. It is positioned as a positive alternative to social care support as “the maximum wait time to get on a programme is probably six weeks” (873).

The Right People Can Take Control. Phil's over-arching narrative is of school improvement. He tells a story about seven years ago, when the school was “in a difficult place (.) was was Ofsted inadequate” (260-261). The school adopted “more of an authoritarian... more of a punitive approach” (276-278). Phil describes the process of transforming the school from a position of failure to wrestle it towards an optimistic future, using decisive, agentic language; “take the bull by the horns and (<b) stamp some authority within the school community... *clear lines* in the sand” (281-285). He reasons that it was necessary to use punitive approaches to convey

authority, and the approaches taken had been reinforced by the external validation of an Ofsted 'good' rating.

Phil refers to the deployment of particular members of staff to work directly with children, thinking “*carefully* about the people that are gonna go to these er *heightened* er (.) situations and just make sure we send the right people there (.) and we haven't got an inexperienced member of staff {Hmm} going to deal with a tricky situation and and it blowing up and the kid then {Hmm} does summat else or storms out the school” (240-248). Situations that are “*heightened*” and at risk of “blowing up” are precarious and risky. In this narrative, Phil appears to be wrestling with something unmanageable. He seems to reason that “the right people” can gain control over this risk by directing the use of physical space and applying sanctions including exclusion (242).

Phil draws a dichotomy between the approaches of pastoral and teaching staff in his narrative of the school's Ofsted story from inadequate to good. It was through appointing “some really good people” who were teachers, as opposed to the previous non-teaching heads of year, that helped the school on its journey to improvement (314). It is “the assertiveness that teachers typically have (.) stronger teach- experienced teachers” (323-324) that are able to balance “empathy fairness er (.) being pretty resilient as people (.) and *sticking to* the er clarity about the rules... providing that level of empathy” (328-332). These characteristics are contrasted with “pastoral staff who pupils *really liked* (.) who you'd get the *same pupils all the time at their door* (.) like a *gaggle of kids* outside their door every day and nothing really was

moving forward... there wasn't improvement in their behaviour (<b) erm we just weren't happy with it" (334-341). The dialectical opposition is between teachers who are constructed as strong, assertive, and able to make a tangible impact to change pupils' behaviour, while pastoral staff take what appears to be a relational approach that is more concerned with identifying and meeting individual need. In his preference for controlling risk, Phil constructs his role as maintaining the smooth running of the school.

Dealing with Risk to Maintain Health and Safety. Phil emphasises that a firm response to behavioural incidents is important to maintain the integrity of rules. In particular, he expresses concern about COVID-19 being broken: "you either ignore it (.) and (.) er then the whole thing erodes and the kids start wandering all over- or you deal with it and you punish them" (482-485). Phil reasons that exclusion as an acceptable sanction for a child who is "breaching the *safety* (.) and the *integrity* (.) of these covid principles" (519-520), referring to government advice published. Covid rules are acknowledged in Phil's talk as overriding the reflective conversations he mentions elsewhere. "At the end of the day they've actually made people unsafe and... we *haven't got* anywhere to put them" (523-524). The restrictions on physical movement as a result of the COVID-19 Pandemic are important in Phil's narrative; an issue that is simultaneously highly difficult to control and dangerous in terms of the risk of transmitting the virus.

Negotiating the Growth Hub

Avoiding the Term 'Exclusion'. Phil negotiates the language of internal exclusion throughout his account. Following the initial interview question asking him to speak about his experience of internal exclusion, Phil responded that “we’ve never called it internal exclusion... what we’ve particularly avoided is the term exclusion” (9-10). Instead, Phil refers to a child being taken “out of circulation” (25) and using “mechanisms” (678) to try and unpick the issue. Although Phil expresses discomfort with the language around exclusion and isolation, when speaking about data on the use of the Growth Hub, he initially refers to exclusion, a possible example of parapraxis (Laplanche & Pontalis, 1988). Phil contrasts the Growth Hub with internal exclusion as a “dumping ground” (116) by stating that pupils would only spend up to a day there, “rarely beyond that” (30). It is also notable that, in response to the initial interview question about ‘your’ experience of internal exclusion, Phil responds in terms of “our experience” (31). Speaking in the interview as a representative of the school management rather than as an individual encourages his account to seem more credible.

When asked about his experience of internal exclusion in the initial interview question, Phil comments on “internal isolation” (92-93), revealing a conflation of the terms isolation and exclusion. He goes on to say that he would “genuinely frown on the fact of it being isolation” (95-96), yet acknowledges that “literally speaking” (97) Growth Hub is isolation, as it is “away from the school community” (98). Phil seems to acknowledge the practice of isolation, perhaps with the negative associations of

isolation booths. His preferred use of the term is as a description of pupils being physically separated from their peers. It seemed important to Phil that being isolated in Growth Hub was not “a *direct punishment*” (100), rather it was fulfilling a need to keep pupils away from others to “allow that time of reflection” (103).

Phil constructs the Growth Hub by negotiating how it diverges from isolation and the “dumping ground” (116) he defines elsewhere in his account. Yet when speaking about how a child comes to use the Growth Hub, Phil describes:

Allowing pupils to calm down and s- meeting them in the middle (.)
understanding their point of view (.) listening to them (.) and then ultimately (.)
Erm (.) a decision is made that there m- there may well be a period of time
where that child needed to *be er erm*
Out of circulation. (20-25)

Phil begins by describing an empathic approach, suggesting a collaborative conversation is had with a child or young person, “and then ultimately... a decision is made” (23-25) where the first person pronoun is removed, so that rather than a member of staff making the decision, it is simply enacted by school staff. The power to make the decision and exclude a child is hidden and therefore remains unquestionable.

The Mechanics of Behaviour Processes. Phil’s talk draws upon the metaphor of school as a machine, with frequent references to the different

“mechanisms” (678) in use. The Growth Hub is a “mechanism... for the school to identify” (52-53) those children that were “needing to be placed outside of the classroom and somewhere else” (55). It is the mechanism within the machine of the school as an institution that can identify, select and action the physical placement of pupils in the school. The Growth Hub here is positioned within a process of identifying where a child should be, suggesting that the classroom is not a suitable place for all children and indicating that there are thresholds that determine where a child should be placed.

Phil’s account reveals that Windbrook school was in a transition period between ceasing use of the Growth Hub and starting a new SEMH Hub. Now that the Growth Hub is no longer in use, Phil refers to different ‘mechanisms’ used that relate to tracking behaviour “more *thoroughly*... more sort of *forensically*” (166-167). There is now:

A clear system of warnings in the *classroom*

Er (.) pupils are given a *great* opportunity to get it right

To behave

If they don’t (.) senior leaders come and speak with them and they will endeavour to get them back

And then of course if it isn’t a significant breach of the behaviour policy (.) (<b)

And if they *fail* (.) *they are excluded*

And they are sent home. (83-90)

Phil's story of the school's organisational change, and his contribution as leading behaviour and attendance, is one of transforming a punitive behaviourist paradigm into a more pragmatic approach, using a "solution focused mindset" (295). The "empathy when we have conversations with pupils" (299) is also meaningful, often tempered with needing to "*remind* them of the *rules*" (301). There appears to be a narrative difficulty for Phil, where he is attempting to reconcile the organisational approach favouring the behaviourist paradigm with an intention for more reflective and open conversations with pupils and their families.

Internal Exclusion for Mental Health. While the Growth Hub is oriented around triage and diagnosis of presenting problems, the SEMH Hub is constructed in relation to treatment. The Growth Hub is positioned as part of a process to identify a child that "needs to be *outside* of the classroom" (159). Triaging children in the Growth Hub involves "*work with parents* and the SEN team to identify a *plan* moving forward for that child" (161-163). Phil speaks briefly about considering the potential explanations for the child's difficulties and whether they have SEND and if curriculum modification was needed. Consideration is given to the teachers, classes, and other pupils, as well as the possibility for blending their mainstream placement with time in an alternative provision. Having been removed from the classroom and triaged at the Growth Hub, the child becomes the site for change and development.

The SEMH Hub, meanwhile, is constructed as a solution; a treatment for SEMH needs, including the use of a referral system where teachers, parents and children themselves could refer; "pupils can *reflect* on the issue that they've got (.)

they can make *self-referrals*" (723-724). Phil's account emphasises the interventions that he plans to use in the SEMH Hub as "off the shelf programmes which when used correctly *can be effective*" (922-923) signifying a diagnosis and treatment approach to social, emotional, and mental health. Two programmes are referred to: one local to the area of Windbrook school that provides mental health training to schools, and 'Starving the Anger Gremlin' (Collins-Donnelly, 2012), a cognitive behavioural approach to anger management. Phil reasons that these programmes would offer a simple, "*easy win*" (918). Although his account differs from James's as he speaks less about external agencies, he does refer to mindfulness sessions with a mindfulness coach for anxiety. Programmes at the SEMH Hub are expected to result in fewer fixed term exclusions, improved attendance, academic progress, fewer negative behaviours and more rewards recorded on the school data systems. He tells a story about an ideal child that might say "these are the things that were wrong with me (.) these are the issues I've had (.) and this is how this has helped me (.) this is how I'm different now" (996-999). The child is constructed as individually capable of identifying and correcting what was 'wrong' with them. In this construction, environmental influences such as peers, curriculum, or family are minimised.

"Mechanisms of Reflection". Phil describes the Growth Hub as equipped with laptops with meditation software applications; "mechanisms of reflection so pupils could reflect (.) on their own" (678-679). Phil uses the phrase "we provided them with" (680) and then "we allowed them to read (.) we allowed them to relax" (682-683). When in the Growth Hub, pupils are represented as achieving a

submissive and compliant state, linking to valued intellectual activity and presented as an ideal. In being “allowed” (682) to read, Phil constructs the Growth Hub as a space that controls the physical bodies in a way that benefits the child. It is the member of staff “who was emotionally intelligent who could... get them to reflect on what’s gone on” (686-687). The capacity of emotional intelligence is particularly meaningful to Phil, and it may be this quality that means that the staff member can “get them to reflect” (687), which suggests being persuasive or convincing. There is a contrast between Phil’s construction of the child as a passive subject when in the Growth Hub, and the narrative of the wilfully unreasonable pupil breaking COVID-19 rules that is raised in other parts of his account. In drawing this distinction, Phil seems to justify the control applied in the Growth Hub as it contains the risk of disruption.

The emphasis on pupils reflecting allows an understanding of “what has been the problem (.) the breakdown” (14). Although this is referred to on several occasions, Phil does not elaborate about any actions taken after that reflection; whether there are mediations between staff members and the child, or parents are involved, for example. Phil’s narrative constructs reflection as a final point rather than a step towards resolution, positioning the child as an individual being responsible, and perhaps capable, of making changes to their own behaviour. This construction serves to further diminish the role of others in causing the child distress. Within this account, it seems that the child is expected to cope individually and resolve their difficulties.

The Persistence of Punitive Measures. Phil emphasises that he is speaking in a personal capacity when referring to his discomfort with the Growth Hub: “personally I er (.) want to avoid having such a room (.) or having such a need for anything like this in school” (33-34), “I don’t want punitive measures (.) I don’t want there to be detention (.) I don’t want there to be an isolation room” (770-771). However, it has been “the reality” (36) that there is a room used for pupils who are sent out of lessons at Windbrook school.

There is a discrepancy between Phil’s statement of feeling “quite comfortable with” (82) the change to removing the Growth Hub and the emphasis on reflection, and his discomfort with the isolations, detentions and exclusions that he speaks about throughout his account. This tension is apparent across Phil’s descriptions of internal exclusion at Windbrook School, reflecting a struggle between his own intentions for the school and “the reality” (36) that is faced in terms of resources and in respect of the COVID-19 restrictions.

Summary

Phil’s narrative positions him as a protagonist negotiating risk alongside concerns about exclusionary practices. He has been instrumental in appointing staff who are “emotionally intelligent” (686) with “moral purpose” (668) that enable children to reflect on their behaviour. It seems that constructing internal exclusion as

reflective is a means to make its use more ethically palatable. Nevertheless, Phil seems to acknowledge that the Growth Hub essentially remains isolation from the school community. His preferred construction of the Growth Hub is as a triage for identifying “someone that needs to be *outside* of the classroom” (159) as a means to access further support. The new SEMH Hub, in contrast, will provide treatment and diminishes the need for the Growth Hub. The following chapter will discuss key patterns from the findings in both accounts, with reference to relevant literature.

Discussion

How Do Senior Leaders Make Sense of the Practice of 'Internal Exclusion' During a Period of School Disruption Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic?

This thesis has sought to explore how senior leaders make sense of internal exclusion. Two participants took part in unstructured interviews and I analysed the findings using a narrative approach. In this chapter, I will connect these findings to existing literature. In doing so I will show the significance of understanding internal exclusion to Educational Psychology practice and educational professionals.

Through this additional analysis, I will argue that participants made sense of internal exclusion by deploying an assemblage of discourses including discipline (Foucault, 1977/1991) and psychological theory. I will discuss the psychological discourses of behaviourism, humanism, and the psycho-medical in these accounts, and examine where they did not seem congruent with one another. The tension between values-based inclusion and the practical and political pressures faced by senior leaders was notable. I emphasise that taken as a whole, the interviews represent Discourses (Gee, 2014) that offer insights into the differing professional identities of senior school leaders and educational psychologists, highlighting the role of EPs in social justice.

As Identity Performance

I did not anticipate the extent to which professional identities would contribute to the findings of this thesis. During analysis of the data, I began to view talk in the interview as “interactive identity-based communication using language” (Gee, 2014, p.24). Both James and Phil were aware of my professional role and I expect that the stories they told were “designed with a specific audience” (Hydén, 2013, p.129). Internal exclusion was thus constructed around both the enactment of the senior school leader and the anticipation of my position as a trainee educational psychologist. The interaction of these professional roles produced Discourses that seemed to elevate the curative aims of a psycho-medical approach to internal exclusion. Moreover, different intersections of my identity will have influenced the stories they told, such as my being female, my ethnicity as White British, and the information in the short biography sent in advance.

As interviews were unstructured, I was particularly aware of a change in tone in James’s interview, as he became familiar with the rules and assumptions that I had created. I noted two moments in the interview where James introduced stories that he wanted to tell, apparently without reference to a prompt or question. The first was about his opening of the behaviour centre (770) and then, at around 40 minutes into the interview, raising his concern about the lack of monitoring of reactive uses of Epiphany that he suspected were biased against ethnic minority groups. Here, it seemed that James was learning from how I had responded to his earlier talk and “what particular meanings are intended by questions and wanted in their answers in

a particular interview context” (Mishler, 1991, p.54). My impression was that he had gone on to tell stories more freely after this point.

Phil and James appeared to differ in their approaches to the interview, which may have reflected the sampling of each participant’s school. Phil was recruited to the study through contacts at my EPS, meaning that he knew I was on training at that service and that I knew his school. James, in contrast, was quite some physical distance away and had no professional connection to me. As a result, Phil’s talk may have been more guarded than James’s, given that his anonymity from me was not as clear. As an assistant headteacher, being critical of the existing regimes might have felt like it carried a degree of risk, whereas for James as headteacher and with no connection to my EPS, he may have felt more able to talk freely in the interview.

As an Assemblage of Psychological Paradigms

Behaviourism as Usual Practice

The Pervasive Discourse of Reward and Sanction. A discourse of behaviourist operant conditioning, using rewards and punishments (Skinner, 1953), was evident in both Phil and James’s talk. Rules and discipline underpinned both schools’ approaches to behaviour management, itself “an influential educational cliché” (Armstrong, 2018, p.997). Behaviourist thinking underpinned the mechanistic, “normal (.) processes” (Phil, 177) that Windbrook school had returned to following the closure of the Growth Hub. As an engrained and pervasive approach,

participants did not expand upon its use, whereas they were more descriptive about reflection and restoration instead.

It is unsurprising that reasoning from behaviourist psychological theory dominates in discourse about school behaviour, given that it has been the preferred narrative of the Department for Education (e.g. 2016). As many educational psychologists have experience as teachers prior to their retraining in the profession, perhaps it is unsurprising that, according to Hart's (2010) findings, EP's views on classroom 'behaviour management' seem to be aligned with those of teachers, and behaviourist approaches are preferred. The discourse has remained pervasive; in March 2021, immediately prior to the wider reopening of school settings following closure due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, the Secretary of State for Education, Gavin Williamson, spoke to the National Education Summit. Williamson highlighted that:

Improving and maintaining good discipline in schools is absolutely vital at any time but even more so now that many children will have fallen behind in their education... evidence-backed, traditional teacher-led lessons with children seated facing the expert at the front of the class are powerful tools for enabling a structured learning environment where everyone flourishes.

(Williamson, 2021)

Behaviour is Chosen. Behaviour is constructed as a choice; if pupils do not make the right choice, "they need to be held to account" (Williamson, 2021). This narrative of troublesome behaviour suggests that it is underpinned by wilful non-

compliance. During the international crisis of the COVID-19 Pandemic and implications for schools during their partial opening over the past year, the DfE has maintained the discourse of discipline and catching up with learning. Alternative approaches have emerged in response, such as the recovery curriculum (Carpenter, 2020).

Phil drew upon DfE policy in his account, emphasising teachers being reasonable and children that were unreasonable needing to be sanctioned, reinforcing that that children “will follow reasonable adult instructions the first time – without dispute” (Williamson, 2021). This totalising discourse gives no consideration as to why a child may be behaving as they are, and what it might be communicating. Instead, behaviour management is constructed as requiring expertise to manage, and DfE-appointed ‘tsars’ such as Tom Bennett to publish guidance, including on “in-school units” (DfE, 2019b, p.14). As a central feature of governance in the neoliberal tradition, the sharing of good practice establishes and implements norms, while shaming those perceived to be under-performing (Done & Knowler, 2020). Moreover, determining good practice centrally rather than in collaboration with the school’s community risks perpetuating the artificial separation of behaviour from its context.

Technical Control of the Classroom. Phil and James both emphasised the technical skill and training of teachers, senior leaders, or other professionals as a core component in successful internal exclusion. For Phil, emotionally intelligent, skilled and experienced teachers were required to work with children, and were able to “get them to reflect” (687). Aligned with Armstrong’s (2018) manage and discipline

model, such staff “have complete technical control over the classroom behavioural environment” (p.1000). Children that are unresponsive to “this exercise of power are unmanageable: a threat to the orderly classroom” (ibid.).

The acceptance of poor behaviour was particularly difficult for James and Phil to reconcile with their narratives of themselves as agentic leaders. For example, James said that he understood child behaviour, rationalising “where it comes from... what’s making this child tick” (1095-1098), perhaps reminiscent of Bowlby’s (1969/1997) inner working model that maps patterns of behaviour onto prior experiences. While James said that St Thomas’s had a higher threshold for internal exclusion than other schools, presumably because it was understood as communicating need, it remained important that he did not tolerate or accept “bad behaviour” (1091). Tolerating incidents of troubling behaviour within his account implies a failure of the school’s power to control its pupils, redolent of DfE narratives of failing schools and Tom Bennett’s declaration of a “national problem with behaviour” (2017, p.14). In supporting the established narrative of consistency, high expectations, rewards, and sanctions, Bennett’s (2017) review recommends that DfE funding is provided for schools to create new internal exclusion units as a short-term measure. These policy discourses deployed at a strategic national level may make it particularly difficult for senior leaders to conceive of alternative ways of understanding behaviour and thus internal exclusion.

Humanistic Approaches

Humanism as a philosophical stance is the common secular world-view of the Western world, and is associated with values such as pragmatism and progress (Besley, 2002). Accordingly, humanistic psychology is concerned with uncovering the essence of a real, true self, and the fulfilment of individual need towards self-actualisation (Maslow, 1943). I identified humanist discourses in talk about reflection, restoration, and individual agency, which I will now discuss in greater depth.

Reflection, Restoration, and Redemption. Reflection was foregrounded in Phil's account while James emphasised the restorative purposes of internal exclusion. The internal exclusion provisions were named in ways that positioned them in terms of growth, reflection and redemption. While the Growth Hub at Windbrook school emphasised that reflection was required in order to 'grow', St Thomas's faith orientation characterised internal exclusion as redemptive. The school's naming of the provision was aligned with a Christian discourse that "is salvation oriented...it is linked with a production of truth – the truth of the individual himself" (Foucault, 1982, p. 783). Congruent with a humanistic approach, the school's power was therefore contingent upon exposing the content of an individual's mind, revealing their soul, conscience, and being able to correct where it has gone wrong (Foucault, 1982). In other words, St Thomas's internal exclusion was constructed to 'convert' a child back to the norms and expectations of the classroom.

Both Phil and James drew on psychological theory in their accounts of reflection as a positive tool for growth, relating to Dewey's (1933) notion of educative experiences following reflection. There were elements of a humanistic approach to supporting pupils to self-actualise in both accounts, emphasising empathy and reflective conversations (Rogers, 1954). James constructed Epiphany as an "oasis" (267) that shares the name and perhaps some of the intention of the nurture group with the same name in Cooke and colleagues' (2008) study. However, beyond these particular terms, further descriptions to activities and practices associated with the nurture approach were absent in both accounts.

Both participants provided accounts that drew upon the paradigms of behaviourism and humanism. However, the tension and conflict in how these discourses construct behaviour was not acknowledged. For example, rather than adopting unconditional positive regard as a guiding principle (Rogers, 1954), in Phil's talk there was a limit to which the pupil could be 'allowed' to be disobedient before discourses of behaviourism returned and exclusion was warranted. It was expected that "they've got to listen when we ask them to reflect" (Phil, 182). The inconsistent and contradictory theories that emerged in participants' talk reflects what Allen (2018) describes as the conflicting and fragmented aims of education in the West more generally. Senior leaders' accounts hinted at the "piled-up assemblage of battered, repurposed and reinvested educational techniques and demonstrates how they are held together in the contorted being of the educator" (Allen, 2018, p.59).

The Systemic Subsumed into the Individual. Phil noted systemic influences on a child's behaviour such as the curriculum, teachers, peers, or home issues, echoing considerations of Bronfenbrenner (1979). Even so, he seemed to prefer to escalate disciplinary sanctions as opposed to exploring the potential causes of a child's presenting behaviour. Phil's approach was congruent with that of the school staff in Stanforth and Rose's (2018) study, who felt that children should receive individual sanctions despite acknowledgement of environmental factors underlying troublesome behaviour. Similarly, Phil appeared to be grappling with conflicting discourses of individual need alongside the risk of disruption, which emerged as a strong concern in the analysis. In light of the pressured school system and accountability they faced as senior leaders, the priority was the smooth running of school to facilitate academic achievement.

The child with troublesome behaviour was often constructed by senior leaders both as subject to disadvantageous environmental influence yet agentic in being able to address it. Phil and James acknowledged the impact of poverty, crime, or difficulties in relationships with peers and staff on children in school. They seemed to retain the perception that reflection or therapeutic interventions with adults would enable children to have some control over the difficulties that they had identified. While this discourse ostensibly empowers children in being able to make changes in their lives, it risks denigrating the significance of continuing systemic influences on a child and resulting impact on their behaviour. Further, this discourse does not seem to appreciate the challenges that children face in having adults listen and act upon

their concerns, particularly among those who have been identified with troubling behaviour (Nind, Boorman & Clarke, 2012).

Limits to Discourses of Support. It is thought that humanism emerged in Rogers' (1954) work in response to Skinner's (1953) behaviourism. I propose that these discourses coexisted to construct behaviour in different ways in Phil and James's talk. The child was constructed as reflecting, but entirely passive. A reflective practice approach could be congruent with the aims of narrative therapy to externalise the 'problem' to understand how it operates (White & Epston, 1990). However, narrative therapy would position the young person actively in their construction of the problem (ibid.). Rather, Phil's emphasis on a child needing to reflect seemed to reveal reflection as one of the "coded signs of obedience" that form part of the regulations and communications that make up the discourse of discipline (Foucault, 1982, p. 787). Failure to behave reasonably and comply with reflection makes the child's behaviour or mental health an object subsumed into further disciplinary technologies such as enclosure, a term used by Foucault (1977/1991; 1982), that aligns with internal exclusion.

In this discussion, I have already referred to the incongruence between Phil and James's narratives of reconciling providing empathy while enforcing rules. In line with existing research, internal exclusion was characterised as an uneasy combination of both support and sanction (Munn et al., 2000). Sanctions were applied for retributive purposes, and as a deterrent to other children in school. In this way, senior leaders' accounts demonstrated that poor behaviour would not be

tolerated, asserting the power of the institution to make decisions to exclude and isolate individuals that contravened its rules. Conversations that were constructed around empathy and reflection were offered, yet there seemed to be a limit to which senior leaders were prepared to offer this approach before sanctions were applied.

These findings are aligned with Thomson and Pennacchia's (2016) case studies of 11 English alternative education providers. The authors found that talking therapies were offered to pupils, but behaviourist discourses framed them; failure to comply with the behaviourist regime initiated the talking therapies, and if they did not work, harsher punishment followed. This discourse is well captured by Hodkinson and Burch (2019) in their Critical Discourse Analysis of the SEND Code of Practice (DfE, 2014), "you may have our support but if you disturb normality you will be supported to be excluded" (p.164).

The Clinic

While behaviourist and humanist psychological discourses were evident in both participants' accounts, it was conceiving internal exclusion within the psycho-medical paradigm of identification and treatment (Skidmore, 2004) that they were most hopeful about. The discourse of the Clinic constructs social problems as diseases, deploying a medical gaze empowered by scientific knowledge (Foucault, 1973/2006). At St. Thomas's, specialist visiting counsellors and psychotherapeutic mentors worked with children in individual rooms; at Windbrook school, published

programmes that had a record of research efficacy would be used in the new SEMH Hub.

The Self-Governing Child in the SEMH Hub. In titling the provision at Windbrook school, language from the SEND Code of Practice (DfE, 2014) was used to explicitly orient the Hub with SEND rather than behaviour. Given the SEND orientation of the SEMH Hub I was surprised that neither the SENDCo nor educational psychologist were mentioned in Phil's account. The omission can perhaps be explained by Phil's understanding of the Hub as low-level intervention while educational psychologists at the local authority in question were generally involved at a higher level of need.

On the other hand, this oversight might be reflective of the perceived relationship between SEND and behaviour, of which Phil was appointed lead. Phil's narratives of behaviour elsewhere in his account were focused upon the individual child having to reflect, follow rules, and behave, particularly those relating to COVID-19. Yet the SEMH Hub conceptualised behaviour as an identified need, such as anger, low self-esteem or difficulties making friends. The SEMH Hub presented an alternative paradigm to that of the incongruent behaviourism and humanist approaches associated with Growth Hub.

Taking a psycho-medical approach is resonant with the 'psy complex' (Ingleby, 1985), later termed 'psy' discourses by Nikolas Rose (1990). These discourses incorporate the language and tools of psychology to identify and treat those children

that deviate from perceived norms. This medicalised discourse was identifiable in senior leaders' accounts, suggesting that the aims and intentions of the SEAL programme (DfES, 2005) and related approaches to social and emotional learning remained pervasive.

Foucault's (1978/1991) notion of governmentality is relevant to further understanding the aims of the SEMH Hub. As Gordon (1991) describes, governmentality combines a notion of government as the "conduct of conduct" to manage behaviour, and rationality, seeking to be clear and systematic (p.2). Accordingly, self-governance describes an autonomous person that can apply ethics and reasoning to regulate their own conduct (Dean, 2009). Phil's affinity for reflection was particularly aligned with the concept of self-governance. He referred to software in use in the Growth Hub that allowed independent reflection, which contrasts with the group work and counselling that James emphasised. Thinking ahead to the SEMH Hub, Phil told a story about a future pupil that might identify that they have been helped by the intervention and how they are now different. Accordingly, the self-governing child is constructed as being able to manage their own risk without the school directly needing to govern them.

Distancing Internal Exclusion from a Dumping Ground. When internal exclusion was working well, senior leaders seemed to ascribe it to successful psycho-medical treatment. They were clear that their schools' use of internal exclusion was dissimilar to a "dumping ground" (James, 558; Phil, 116), resonant with the "sin bin" described by staff at the school studied by Gillies and Robinson

(2012a, p.159). These characterisations imply that the internal exclusion provision was not being used purposively. It appears that the association with a “dumping ground” (e.g. Phil, 116) is also of concern to contributors to the Timpson (2019) review. Their recommendations may have influenced the DfE, causing them to propose guidance on the use of in-school units and on “mental health and behaviour in schools”, suggesting that the purpose of internal exclusion might be to create mentally healthy pupils (DfE, 2019b, p.14).

For James and Phil, it was the ‘psy’ interventions that dissociated internal exclusion from a “dumping ground” (James, 558; Phil, 116). Phil emphasised reflection, mindfulness, and health-based interventions while James spoke about group therapy and counselling. It was the specialist staff brought in from a “psychotherapeutic organisation” (874) based in a “psychiatric unit” (876) that made the difference at St Thomas’s. James was positive about the impact of a mental health approach to internal exclusion, yet the procedures enabling children in receipt of these interventions to return to mainstream classes remained unclear. While Phil did not speak as openly as James about staff from ‘psy’ professions, the new SEMH Hub at Windbrook school would deliver interventions based on cognitive behavioural therapy (Collins-Donnelly, 2012) and a health promotion model that included learning about healthy eating, physical activity, alcohol, smoking, and drugs. Phil reasoned that moving towards a health-based model was a valuable alternative to the Growth Hub, presumably as it avoided using such visibly punitive practices as isolation.

The Emotional Health and Wellbeing Agenda. In 2017, the Departments of Health and Education (DHE) published a green paper called 'Transforming Children and Young People's Mental Health'. Rooted in the psycho-medical paradigm, it was concerned with "diagnosable mental health conditions" (p. 3) and aimed to integrate emotional health and wellbeing into schools to reduce waiting times for Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS). This green paper was the Conservative government's incarnation of the ECM agenda of the early 2000s and later Targeted Mental Health in Schools (TaMHS) initiative. TaMHS emphasised both the SEAL programme and, to a lesser extent, provision of nurture groups to address social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (Department for Children, Schools, and Families, 2008).

There is a historical precedent for increasing emphasis on mental health in education. Taking a genealogical approach, Ball (2013) traces back to the advent of mass education in England in the 19th century. Over time, punishments in school have become less about visible punishment, such as the cane, and more aligned with "reformatory and therapeutic practices" (p.50). These are apparent in the proposed interventions at the SEMH Hub, and the restorative individual and group counselling at Epiphany. Both share the intention to reconstitute the child, with the expectation that children would then display behaviours more aligned with developmental norms.

Adopting psycho-medical interventions risks reducing broader issues, such as social inequality and poverty, into manageable individual problems that apportion blame and ownership to individuals (Ingleby, 1974; Zembylas, 2016). A Foucauldian account of these processes ascribes the origin of positive psychology, the concordant turn to social and emotional learning, and in particular, mindfulness meditation, to Christian confession (Reveley, 2015). Technologies of the self, such as mindfulness, are “looking and listening to the self for the truth within” (Foucault, 2000, p.236). Taking a critical approach illuminates these as practices of self-governance that fulfil neoliberal intentions of subjects caring for themselves, thus reducing the burden of subjects on the state (Reveley, 2015).

Thus far, this discussion has cautioned that it may be reductive to address troublesome pupil behaviour as individual need, treatable through individualised interventions that draw on psychological approaches. Nevertheless, I value applying psychological thinking to education to understand pupils’ experiences. I do not wish to denigrate the progress described in senior leaders’ accounts, especially Phil’s, in beginning to conceive behaviour as representing need rather than wilful non-compliance. Phil aligned the Growth Hub with isolation in his narrative, revealing that, despite its optimistic name, it was still associated with a “dumping ground” (116). The discourse of reflection in Phil’s account seemed more aligned with Foucault’s (1982) coded obedience than a genuine intention to understand a pupil’s perspective.

The development of the SEMH Hub represents progress towards identifying behaviour as communicating need. What I felt was unrealistic was that the SEMH Hub would be a simple, easy solution to a complex set of problems. It was attempting to act upon children to bring them in line with developmental or behavioural ideals of high self-esteem, friendships, and anger, for example, when these were likely to be elements of a much more complex, and systemic, series of circumstances. Nevertheless, I recognise that these interventions, and social and emotional learning more broadly, can empower children to develop alternative subjectivities (Reveley, 2015). Attempts to develop new models of internal exclusion, such as those described in participants' accounts, address the limitations of isolationary practices, and demonstrate the intention to include pupils with troublesome behaviour within the school's available capabilities and resources.

Summary

In this section, I have established that senior leaders in this study seemed to draw on psycho-medical discourses as well as those of behaviourism and humanism. When faced with troubling pupil behaviour, participants perceived approaches influenced by humanistic psychology to be insufficient to exert control over children's behaviour. 'Psy' discourses, originating in the identification and remediation of deviations from behavioural norms, were felt to provide a positive addition to the pervasive behaviourism of the manage and discipline model (Armstrong, 2018). I have highlighted that such an application of the psycho-medical paradigm to working with children with identified SEMH difficulties warrants caution.

Despite its curative aim, the insidious creep of pseudo-therapeutic into the classroom risks segregating and marginalising individual children and diverting attention away from systemic considerations about why they are presenting with the ‘problem’ behaviour.

As a Simulacrum of Inclusion

Internal Exclusion Relative to the Main School

Through attending to the problematic content and narrative difficulty in Phil and James’s talk, I was able to analyse the boundaries of available cultural discourses around inclusion. Both senior leaders negotiated the language of internal exclusion during the course of the interview, and preferred to use terms that avoided its association with exclusion, such as “inclusion centre” (65) or the Growth Hub. In both accounts, internal exclusion was constructed as a component within a more complex system of rules, sanctions and spaces in school. Growth Hub and Epiphany were characterised as stopping points in a process; if not successful, other forms of exclusion remained a tangible threat. James spoke about an array of internal exclusion provision: Epiphany, used both proactively and reactively, providing counsellors and therapeutic mentors; the behaviour centre, used by children from other schools and offering the same support as Epiphany, but kept separate; and isolation booths, based in the same space as Epiphany but conceived differently, solely as “a space of work” (1336). A visual interpretation of my understanding of how internal exclusion is sited within and alongside the main school at St Thomas’s is depicted in Figure 2.

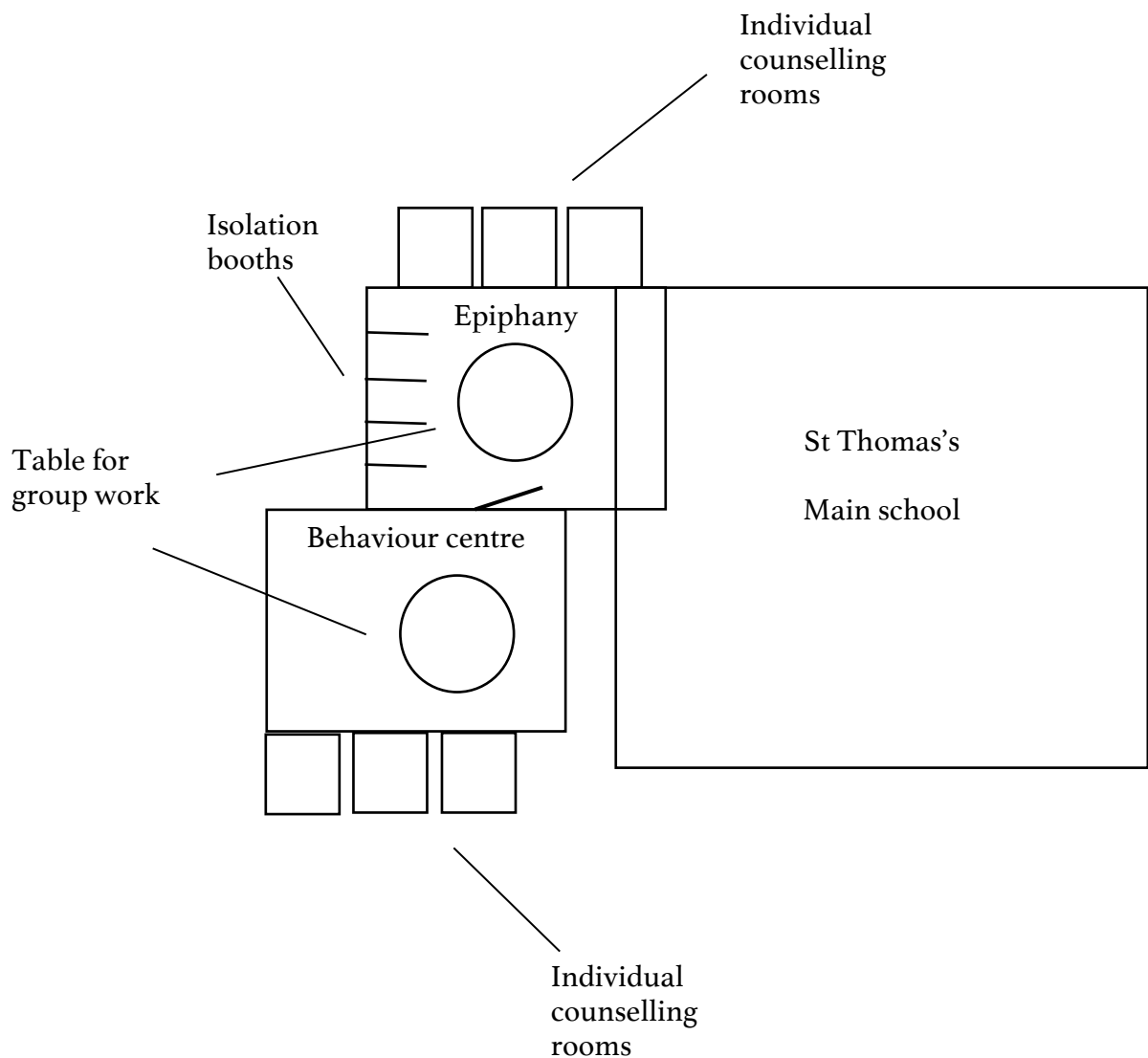


Figure 2. Visual interpretation of internal exclusion at St Thomas's.

At Windbrook school, the Growth Hub had been disbanded during the period of the COVID-19 Pandemic. While Phil described its success when introduced, he expressed dissatisfaction with using formalised internal exclusion provision and preferred what Power and Taylor (2018) term as informal exclusion by asking a child

to stand in the corridor. As an alternative to using the Growth Hub, Phil preferred “forensically” (167) tracking and monitoring behavioural data instead. If a pupil persistently contravened rules, they were sent home, despite this being unlawful (DfE, 2017). As a result, Windbrook’s provision was now less physically separate from the main school than before (see Figure 3.).

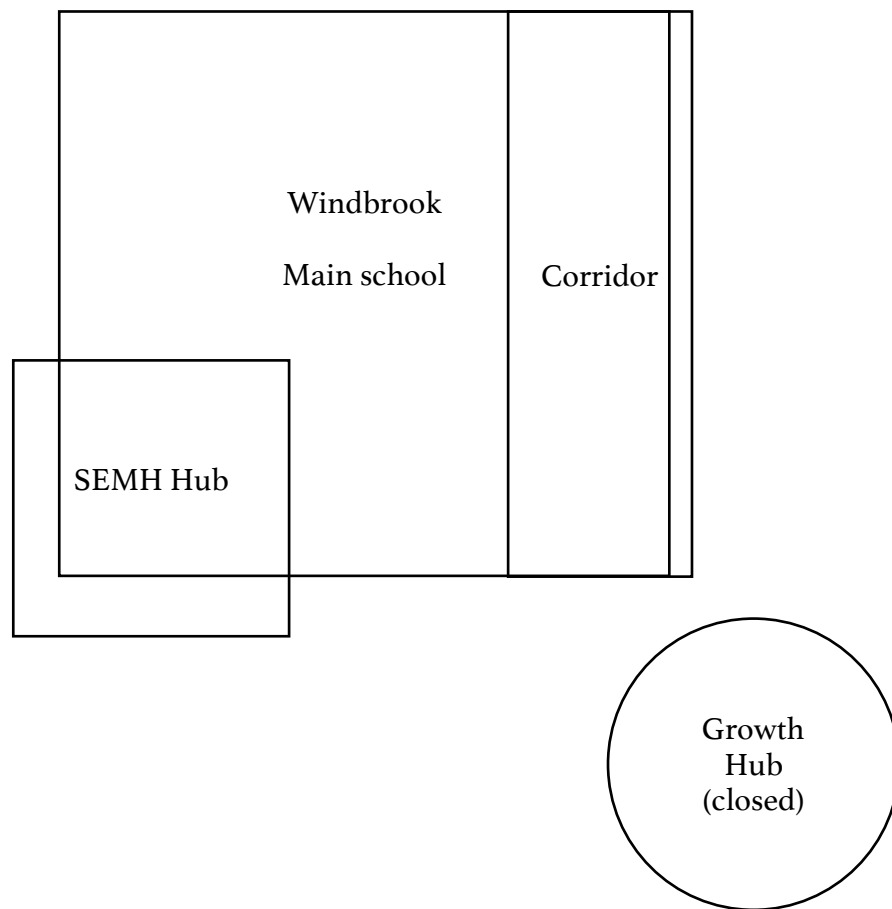


Figure 3. Visual interpretation of internal exclusion at Windbrook school.

Inclusion, Integration or Segregation?

Segregation describes the historical placement of children identified with SEND in special units or separate buildings (Frederickson & Cline, 2015). Children expected to integrate with the majority in school differ from those in an inclusive context, that will have made accommodations to the curriculum, materials and procedures for the benefit of all children (Ainscow, 1995; Frederickson & Cline, 2015).

The removal of behaviour from the descriptor BESD to focus upon SEMH within the SEND Code of Practice is relatively recent (DfE, 2014). Both Phil and James's accounts seemed to reflect an uncertain relationship about whether behaviour was communicating need and deserved associated interventions, or was simply being "naughty" (James, 344) and thus required sanctions. Weiner's (1980) attribution theory was applicable in light of Phil's construction of a child wilfully failing to follow COVID-19 rules, and thus deserving a sanction. Accounts shifted between discourses of sanction, support, and treatment. This slippery terminology meant that, rather than associate internal exclusion with historical segregation of children with SEND (Skidmore, 2004), time spent separated from peers could be justified as fulfilling a treatment role.

Given the medley of functions suggested by the findings of this thesis, I propose that, aligned with Slee's (1995) description of behaviour support units, internal exclusion continues to present a façade that conceals the unsuitability of the

mainstream classroom for a proportion of pupils. While Ofsted (2019) recognise the narrowing of the curriculum and its impact upon inclusion and equality, the policy discourse continues to reiterate didactic ‘chalk and talk’ teaching and learning (Williamson, 2021). Consequently, we are distracted from considering the possibility of transforming mainstream schooling and the curriculum.

Discourse of Deviance

A discourse of deviance assumes that some pupils have inherent limitations in their capacity to learn (Skidmore, 2004), rooted in the belief that a proportion are educationally ‘subnormal’, as stated in the Education Act (1944). Epitomised in the work of Cyril Burt, appointed the first educational psychologist in 1913 and resonant of the impact of the ‘psy’ complex on education, this discourse supports the identification and removal of children deemed ‘ineducable’ (Skidmore, 2004). While Phil spoke about the Growth Hub in relation to behaviour, his talk about its use to identify pupils need a different curriculum or placement (50-73) was somewhat reminiscent of this discourse.

Social class was significant in both participants’ accounts, as they constructed schools’ social role as providing additional support to particular groups of children. Phil constructed a subset of White British pupils as a stubborn minority that was “quite a *difficult* demographic to change” (374). There are historical antecedents to this discourse. Cultural deprivation theory emerged in the social reform of Victorian times, seeking to explain inequalities in academic achievement with deficits in the

culture of the working classes (Skidmore, 2004). More recently, large-scale research in the 20th century identified “a group of children who were unwilling or unable to respond appropriately to the values, rewards, and expectations that for the culture of the school, and the culture of the largest society for which school was a vital preparation” (Rose, 1990, p.188). Accordingly, children from disadvantaged backgrounds exhibiting stubbornly persistent poor outcomes are felt to need additional, intensive early intervention, such as the Head Start programme (Rose, 1990; Skidmore, 2004). The SEMH Hub was particularly aligned with such intentions. While ostensibly founded upon an egalitarian ambition to minimise the impact of psychosocial disadvantage, these interventions justify the increasing governance of children’s mental lives (Rose, 1990). Further, they uncritically foreground the aspirations and values of the middle classes without acknowledging that these are socially constructed and therefore relative and contestable.

The Purpose of School

Ideological, or values-based inclusion, is a theoretical concept and differs to the practice of inclusion in schools (Norwich, 2014). In James’s account, inclusion had varying connotations that seemed to reflect the distinction between the inclusive values he held and being inclusive in practice. He constructed values-based inclusion as an ethical position, one that deems all children deserving and welcome in the school. At the same time, James talked about inclusion to express a child’s presence in a setting or PRU, and the internal exclusion provision as the “inclusion centre” (65). He described previous practices of children spending all day every day,

segregated from peers in inclusion centres. While James alluded to these segregating practices no longer being acceptable, he did not seem to acknowledge the conflict between the notion of an “inclusion centre” and values-based inclusion. Gillies (2016) notes a similar adoption of this language into exclusionary practices in her case study with BSU staff, where inclusion is “used as a verb to describe the expulsion of troublesome or troubling difference to the margins of school life” (p.183).

In James’s account, it was the changing of the political guard that resulted in the different rationales of inclusion; his story of the New Labour era describes inclusion as a cost-saving measure to keep children inside schools and out of PRUs. After the 2010 coalition government came to power, James describes that internal exclusion was being used “just to keep kids out of class” (54). Consistent with the discourse currently adopted by the DfE (Williamson, 2021), it is keeping certain children out of their mainstream classes that enables the continuation of the core function of school; the academic advancement of the majority. The language of high expectations and zero tolerance epitomises this discourse, and results in the exclusion of children who pose a threat to academic performance, relaying the message “you’re not welcome here” (James, 1191).

Confusing Inclusion with Punishment

Norwich (2014) argues that inclusion as an ideological position is a totalising, pure concept that “has no negative aspects” (p.499). It cannot cope with deviations in its application to practice. I support Warnock’s (2010) position, acknowledging that inclusive practice might include pupils occasionally spending time in other settings or areas of school. Inclusion is not a matter of whether children learn in the same room, or even the same building, as other children, but that they are entitled to an appropriate education. Since any group of learners represent significant diversity, acknowledgement of individual need and additionality to core provision is logical (Norwich, 2014). I argue that Phil and James adopted the principles and language of specialist provision into their constructions of internal exclusion, akin to how a supportive integrated resource might function as an adjunct to mainstream education. As internal exclusion remained associated with sanction in these accounts, there was a risk that a special educational need, typically SEMH, was conflated with a need for punishment.

My analysis has shown that participants were attempting to reconcile values-based inclusion with practice in the complex negotiation of terms used in their accounts. I emphasise that the social capital and academic pressures upon them as senior leaders are significant and unrelenting. Nevertheless, the ways that both Phil and James made sense of internal exclusion in their schools was most closely aligned with segregation or integration rather than attempts at inclusion (Ainscow, 1995; Frederickson & Cline, 2015). James seemed to have the most significant

narrative difficulty in reconciling values with practice, as his identity as an inclusive leader was a key feature of his narrative. Phil had assumed a more resolved position by attempting to replace internal exclusion with a series of SEMH interventions. It was particularly notable that neither Phil nor James spoke in any depth about reintegrating into the classroom after time spent in internal exclusion. After taking part in reflective or restorative interventions, there might have been opportunities to address adjustments to teaching approaches or relationships with staff and peers. Instead, children seemed to be expected to subsume into the fixed and immutable mainstream classroom, or take up a place in alternative provision.

Summary

I have argued in this section that participants' narratives constructed children with troublesome behaviour subjugated into internal exclusion in ways that were sometimes incongruent with values-based inclusion. Internal exclusion was positioned on the periphery of the main school in both accounts, with pupils' trajectory into the provision clearly identified but their route out of it less certain. For Phil, this had resulted in reformulating internal exclusion entirely and replacing it with interventions intended for SEMH. It remains the case that individual children whose behaviour was troublesome were identified as requiring additional provision, yet adaptations to the mainstream classroom were overlooked.

As an Embodiment of Management

Creating New Models of Internal Exclusion

A common view between participants was that the local authority was no longer in a position to provide support to schools. Phil felt that the early intervention social care support was ineffective, and James positioned the lack of support for schools within a political narrative of austerity and financial cuts to public services. Both schools had responded by creating their own 'start-up' models of internal exclusion, aligning the stories of their creation with a progressive narrative to convey agency and success (Gergen & Gergen, 1984). These new models of internal exclusion were ideologically contrasted with a "dumping ground" (Phil, 108), and I suspect that expectations of my position as a trainee EP may have caused them to emphasise the 'psy' interventions.

The behaviour centre at St Thomas's had successfully capitalised on other schools' demand for places at a PRU on a flexible basis. This new PRU was based upon the model of Epiphany and included access to the same group work and additional staff. At Windbrook school, the SEMH Hub was proposed as an addition to mainstream provision, with targeted pupils expected to remain in school beyond the end of the school day for sessions delivered by teachers paid additional fees to do so.

Phil hoped that the SEMH Hub would ameliorate the perceived failures of the social care service by providing children with mental health support instead. As a

trainee EP on placement at the Local Authority, I had insight into the low-level social care support that Phil referred to. It is of note that the support was intended as a systemic approach to working with the child's family and school, unlike the psycho-medical basis of interventions in the SEMH Hub. I was not sure from his talk whether Phil intended the individual mental health interventions to have a cascading influence on the wider micro- and meso- systemic influences on a child's life (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), or if they were solely constructed to work at the individual level.

School Performance

Corporatised Leadership. Neoliberal discourse is concerned with the social as well as the economic (Wood, 1997) and prizes individualism and competition above all else, based upon the *laissez-faire*, or free market, model of capitalism (Shore & Wright, 1999). As a consequence of the entrepreneurialism encouraged by the academies agenda, senior staff in school have increasingly been positioned by education policy as corporatised leaders (Courtney, 2015a; 2015b; Woods, Woods, & Gunter, 2007). It might be expected that the professional identities of school leaders have incorporated into education the "goals, practices, motivations and instincts of the private sector" (Courtney, 2015a, p. 214-215) and with it, the language of managerialism (Hall & McGinity, 2015).

I interpreted entrepreneurial discourses across both accounts, with managerialism particularly notable in Phil's talk. He described the opening of the new SEMH Hub as "*marketing game*" (976), and the need to "*sell it to people*" (840),

which was going to cost “a reasonable chunk of money” (1066) and was required to evidence a “measurable impact on money that we’re spending” (1063). Accordingly, Phil constructed himself, and the other leaders in school, as entrepreneurs and the SEMH Hub as a business that needed to be sold to school staff, parents, and children. Similarly, James talked about establishing a successful income-generating company linked to St Thomas’s behaviour centre. He identified that it had a competitive advantage over PRUs, as schools were able to buy places on a flexible basis.

Delivering a Competitive Academic Agenda Alongside Inclusion. Done and Knowler (2020; 2021) claim that the culture of scrutinisation and surveillance of school data by Ofsted has encouraged schools to ‘game’ results which has, inevitably, led to practices of hidden exclusion. Further exacerbating this situation, senior leaders are now required to hold personal accountability for excluded children (Done & Knowler, 2020). The authors argue that the consequence is an unsustainably demanding requirement to deliver the DfE’s marketised competitive educational agenda, while attempting to include all children.

A latent narrative across Phil and James’s accounts was school performance, as assessed by Ofsted. While both senior leaders initially appeared to construct internal exclusion quite differently, through the analytical process I began to identify the similarities in their narratives. The underpinning justification for internal exclusion seemed to be that it prevented disruption to the core business of schooling, which was school academic performance. The risk of disruption to this core business was

most clearly visible in Phil's account. A health and safety narrative of COVID-19 further legitimised the use of exclusionary practices to contain risk. Although James valued inclusivity in his own school, he seemed to accept other schools' draconian approaches to rules, on the basis that he judged them to be more academically successful than his own school.

Disciplinary Forces and the Marginalisation of Difference

The Power to Punish. James and Phil enacted their roles as senior leaders in ways that discursively constructed children's bodies and minds as objects of knowledge (Foucault, 1977/1991; 1982). The purpose and efficacy of internal exclusion seemed to be linked to its success as a technology of disciplinary power. Foucault (1977/1991) asserts that the power to punish rests upon a number of rules: the rule of minimum quantity, where the disadvantages of punishment are more severe than the advantages of the crime; sufficient ideality, the anticipation or expectation of the crime acts as a deterrent from committing it; the rule of lateral effects, so that others should be afraid of the punishment and thus deterred from committing a crime; the rule of perfect certainty, being aware that punishment will follow the crime, even the specific punishment to be expected; the rule of common truth, that standards of proof will be followed before evidence for the crime is determined; and the rule of optimal specification, that the crimes will form part of a code that classifies them in detail (p.94-99).

James indicated lateral effects when he suggested that punishment was “a really good thing in an institution for the other children to know about” (359). It is economical to punish as little as possible, and thus it is the institution that benefits when other children are aware of potential punishments they might receive (Foucault, 1977/1991). Both Phil and James alluded to the notion of perfect certainty, in reference to the inevitability of certain behaviours leading to permanent exclusion, such as “a significant breach of the behaviour policy” (Phil, 88), or James’s talk about children fighting and injuring others. Foucault’s (1977/1991) rule of optimal specification concerns the classification of crimes and the punishments linked to them. The school behaviour policy might reflect optimal specification in its careful and precise codifications of the minutiae of behaviour, equipment, and sanctions.

However, neither participant linked internal exclusion with their school’s behaviour policy in detail. In fact, it was the absence of talk about behaviour policy in the accounts that I found notable. In reflecting upon its omission, I wonder if internal exclusion remained an uninterrogated practice in their schools. School behaviour policy might present a jointly agreed construction of internal exclusion. Without a policy, internal exclusion remains vaguely defined.

The Extended Docile Body. According to Foucault (1977/1991), the discourse of discipline constructs docile bodies that “may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (p.136). The discourse leads to “an omnipresent ‘gaze’ that is the primary mechanism of social control” (Besley, 2002, p.134). The concept of a docile body is expanded upon by Carlile (2011) regarding children vulnerable to

permanent exclusion. Subsumed into the disciplinary gaze are “aspects of the pupil’s ‘attitude’, ‘behaviour’, ‘intention’, and ‘mental state’” (p.311). These extended bodies become subject to the control of multiple professionals beyond those in the home school, including educational psychologists and members of school senior management (Carlile, 2011). Through the deployment of psycho-medical interventions at both Epiphany and the SEMH Hub, senior leaders constructed the extended docile body as an object of knowledge, to be acted upon by adults. With the right training, technical skill, or access to scientific evidence-based interventions, this was reasoned to be effective. Foucault (1977/1991) proposes how these docile bodies are constituted by disciplinary techniques:

Discipline creates out of the bodies it controls four types of individuality, or rather an individuality that is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is organic (by the coding of activities), it is genetic (by the accumulation of time), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces). And, in doing so, it operates four great techniques: it draws up tables; it prescribes movements; it imposes exercises. (p.167)

In both accounts, the discourse of discipline was identifiable in the techniques of movements, exercises, and tables. The young person’s physical location in the school’s architecture was controlled. Phil said that pupils were required to use certain routes around the school or meet senior leaders in the corridor, whereas James described pupils placed in the behaviour hub or Epiphany. In both cases, children were physically and metaphorically separated from the mainstream

classroom. While the DfE (2016) suggests disciplinary exercises for internal exclusion such as writing lines or removal of privileges, participants described gentler exercises to me, such as reflection or social and emotional interventions. Tables were drawn up in the use of behavioural data collected on pupils “*forensically*” (Phil, 167) that were analysed for patterns. These processes are “always meticulous, often minute” (Foucault, 1977/1991, p.139). It is this meticulousness and fastidiousness of rules relating to uniform, equipment, and behaviour, and codifying and recording transgressions, that James reports being used in other schools that he deems more academically and financially successful. The approach reduces individuals “down into components such that they can be seen, on the one hand, and modified on the other” (Foucault, 1978/2009, p.56). The breaking down of transgressions into units to identify and modify them is the “blueprint of a general method” (Foucault, 1977/1991, p.138) that has been, and continues to be, the principal method of control in secondary schools (Ball, 2013).

The isolation booths at St Thomas’s were perhaps the most direct material representation of the ‘cellular’ nature of partitioning subjects; “solitude was necessary to both body and soul...they must, at certain moments at least, confront temptation and perhaps the severity of God alone” (Foucault, 1977/1991, p.143). These cellular units “create complex spaces that are at once architectural, functional and hierarchical” (Foucault, 1977/1991, p.148). James acknowledged the controversy surrounding isolation booths, yet justified them pragmatically as spaces of work. Underlying James’s narrative is the academic advancement of the majority as the purpose of school, constructed through the exercise of work to produce

economically productive subjects (Foucault, 1977/1991). Accordingly, it is by dividing children displaying troublesome behaviour from the majority and placing them alone in isolation, that the core business of school can continue.

Ethnicity, Exclusionary Practice and Accountability. Ball (2013) argues that disciplinary power serves to police normalisation and thus exclude those at the margins. It is the “fears of degeneracy and contamination” (p.115) that are embedded throughout practice in schools and educational policy, resulting in “the exclusion of black students, and in the ideological work of the Bell-Curve, and in the recurrent remaking of ‘others’ who are ‘special’, but in all too deficient ways” (Ball, 2013, p.117). James was aware of exclusionary practices resulting in higher numbers of children from ethnic minority groups being sent to internal exclusion at St Thomas’s. In other areas of his account, he stated that monitoring the progress and achievement of children from ethnic minority and FSM groups was not an interest of the present government. This seemed to legitimise his admission that his senior leadership team had not yet analysed the pupil demographic data relating to reactive use of Epiphany. James identified himself as an inclusive leader; while he was proud about the reduced numbers of permanent exclusions at his school, he remained concerned about the reactive use of Epiphany and unethical permanent exclusion panels. Nevertheless, his narrative positioned him as a lone voice among other schools with limited influence to effect further change.

Exclusions of Black Caribbean boys are as much as five times higher than their White British counterparts in some areas of England (McIntyre, Parveen, &

Thomas, 2021). Timpson's (2019) review of exclusions recognises that children from ethnic minorities are disproportionately represented, yet recommendations fail to offer possible actions for this systemic issue beyond the celebration of ethnic diversity, such as Black History month (p.74). While undoubtedly important, these tokenistic indicators of diversity serve to divert attention from the more troubling dynamics taking place in schools. As alluded to by James, the absence of publicly available demographic data on the characteristics of pupils in internal exclusion perpetuates concealment of the hierarchies of power that serve to shape cultural difference (Gillies, 2016).

Unintended Consequences. While discourses of discipline were apparent throughout Phil and James's accounts, both senior leaders were acting in ways that they reasoned were best for the functioning of their schools. They described practices that aimed to treat and resolve problems, and wished to turn away from overtly exclusionary practices. What had not yet been addressed in their narratives was the potential effects of othering children within internal exclusion so that they were marginalised from the rest of the school community. While the impact of systemic issues such as poverty and crime were salient for James and Phil, they did not identify that categorising social issues as individual needs within a psycho-medical paradigm might have been not only ineffective but may even exacerbate existing differences. These are unintended consequences of seemingly benign processes, which is cogently summarised by Foucault: "people know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what they do does" (in Dreyfus, Rabinow, & Foucault, 1983, p.187).

Containment and Management of Risk

COVID-19 was a feature of Phil's account. As an infectious disease with airborne transmission and a significant mortality threat (World Health Organisation, 2020), it was highly salient during the time interviews were conducted. Phil identified COVID-19 as a threat to safety of the school community and accepted more punitive and authoritarian behavioural approaches to prevent its spread. Within a conception of governmentality (Foucault, 1978/1991), risk is "a way of representing events in a certain form so they might be made governable in particular ways, with particular techniques and for particular goals" (Dean, 2009, p. 206). Children were constructed as unreasonable by Phil when they contravened COVID-19 rules by using forbidden areas of school. In this way, pupils' physical movements were specified within a code so as to emphasise the hierarchies implicated between pupils and staff (Foucault, 1977/1991). The discourse of containing and governing COVID-19 risk reinforced Phil's overall narrative of internal exclusion as a means of governing the risk of disruption to the core business of school.

The increase in punitive measures in response to breaches of COVID-19 rules were anticipated by the grassroots movement No More Exclusions (2020) who raised concerns that there would be a rise in exclusions on the return to school during the COVID-19 Pandemic and called for a moratorium on exclusions. While exclusions remain an enforceable sanction for schools, the DfE's (2021b) recent guidance draws attention to the impact that the closure of schools during COVID-19 lockdowns will have had on children's routines. It states that there will be an

anticipated impact on SEMH, particularly among groups expected to be especially vulnerable, such as those with a social worker or who are currently or previously looked after by the local authority. Additional support such as access to EPs and counsellors is recommended (DfE, 2021b). This guidance seems to indicate a change of tone to the speech made by Williamson (2021) that emphasises academic progress and the requirement to strengthen discipline, echoed in Phil's account.

More generally, risk discourses are concerned with the partitioning of risky subjects. A society preoccupied with risk is one in which fragmented communities and violence are of significant concern (McCluskey et al., 2011). Within the sociological literature, case-management risk represents the risk of individuals who display particular behaviours suggesting dangerousness (Lupton, 2013). Profiling those judged to be at risk aims to mitigate the development of future risk (Dean, 2009; Lupton, 2013). In this discourse, subjects are observed closely and provided with therapeutic and self-help programmes so as to train their apparently disruptive, dangerous or threatening nature (Lupton, 2013). Gillies (2016) reasons that it was the risk of future offending behaviour that resulted in certain pupils being sent to BSUs in the case study schools. Relatedly, James frequently alluded to the dangers present in the school community as an area of significant social deprivation, fights, and crime, for which he felt therapeutic programmes would benefit. Phil, meanwhile, was mainly concerned with managing the risky emergence of pupils' anger and supporting them to calm down.

Risk of exclusion or risk of harm is often used to denote the severity of a child's SEMH need in referrals made to educational psychologists (Stanbridge & Mercer, 2019). My experience as a trainee EP has been that often, justification for a fixed term or permanent exclusion is made by senior leaders or headteachers on the basis of risk to the safety of other children or staff. It is difficult to argue against fears for safety, yet children positioned as aggressors lie at the margins of the school's "demarcation of the limits to humanity", calling into question whether they are "educable, of value, worth investing in" (Ball, 2013, p.48).

In the analysis of senior leaders' accounts, I have established that the purpose of school was discursively constructed as academic performance. A Foucauldian reading suggests that performance is valued as a precursor to economic utility (Foucault, 1977/1991). Attempts to identify, profile, and contain potential risk might be understood as rationalising who is in the mainstream and who is placed at the margins. Accordingly, internal exclusion is constructed as a means to contain this risk from the remainder of pupils and the core business of school.

Summary

The findings of this study suggest that senior leaders drew on pervading discourses of discipline and risk management to construct internal exclusion. In these accounts, internal exclusion seemed to be constructed as a technology to create docile bodies (Foucault, 1977/1991). James appeared to be aware that certain groups were being marginalised as a result of their difference. Nevertheless,

he also expressed his commitment to the overarching norm of a performance-based, academically driven high standards agenda. This seemed in conflict with his inclusive values and principles of social justice. In Phil's account, risk of disruption to the core business of school performance was more meaningful and internal exclusion was a means to contain this risk.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have explored how participants made sense of the practice of internal exclusion, revealing that they did so by applying an assemblage of psychological discourses. I have argued that the influence of 'psy' on the normalisation of children's behaviour in school has resulted in internal exclusion playing a duplicitous role as a supportive measure while enforcing disciplinary sanctions that might confer further educational and social disadvantage. As a process entailing a child's removal, internal exclusion makes evident the shortcomings of the mainstream classroom. The following chapter will consider the implications of these findings for Educational Psychology practice, identifying opportunities for progress and transformation.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Overview and Concluding Comments

In this thesis I set out to contribute an in-depth understanding of how two senior leaders made sense of the practice of internal exclusion. The study has shown that, in telling stories about their experience of internal exclusion, participants made efforts to reconcile inclusive values and elements of a humanistic and child-centred approach alongside behaviourist discourses. The second meaningful finding was that both senior leaders preferred to construct internal exclusion as a space for growth and development based on the treatment approach of the psycho-medical paradigm. Thirdly, risk to disruption of the core business of school emerged as especially salient in the context of the COVID-19 Pandemic. Taken together, the findings from this thesis support an understanding of internal exclusion as a technique of decentralised disciplinary power that is subsumed into discourses of support (Foucault, 1977/1991). These findings help us to understand the systemic effects of discourse that may be operating in secondary schools and how it shapes and constructs internal exclusion.

Although the interpretations drawn from these findings might be understood as a bleak and hopeless point at which to conclude, I propose that there are ways forward. These discourses may be dominant during this moment in time, but it is uncovering and making them visible that enables them to be challenged (Foucault, 1977/1991). I argue that it is the relative latency of internal exclusion in relation to

other, more conspicuous forms of exclusion that involve a child leaving the school site, that has enabled this practice to continue, if not unrecognised (DfE, 2016), then unrecorded and unregulated. In spite of this, educational psychologists regularly become involved with children that have experienced internal exclusion and therefore it might be argued that EPs have a role in surfacing these discourses, so that they can be reflected upon and alternative explanations considered.

The following chapter will address the implications of this study for EPs: first at a systemic level, concerning ways in which internal exclusion might be addressed nationally and with whole schools; then at the level of casework and consultation. I will identify the contribution that EPs can make towards social justice in relation to internal exclusion, and by extension, for those at risk of other forms of exclusion, through a greater knowledge about how internal exclusion is constructed and discursively legitimated. In addition, I will consider the limitations of the study and make suggestions for further research.

Implications for Educational Psychology Practice

At a Systemic Level

Recognition of the Role of Educational Psychology in Discourses of Disciplinary Power. The approach to schooling in England is such an everyday and accepted norm that even as educational psychologists we might fail to understand its underpinning philosophy and purpose. The history of the identification of SEND and early incarnations of the EP profession are recognised as rooted in eugenics and

yet, remain pervasive in insidious ways (Billington, Williams, Goodley, & Corcoran, 2017). I propose that internal exclusion is embedded in schooling in England, in the same way that other forms of exclusion that have been “woven into the very formation of mass education” (Billington, 2000, p.30). If we conceive of schools in Foucauldian terms, they are regulatory, sorting and normalising mechanisms of economic purpose that maintain the existing hierarchies between social classes (Foucault, 1971). A critique of Educational Psychology has been that it plays a role in replicating these same processes of political and moralising power as part of a decentralised process of dissipated disciplinary power reproduced throughout social institutions (Foucault, 1977/1991; Rose, 1989). As educational psychologists, we are fundamental contributors to the continuation of the guise of schools as sorting mechanisms when we remark on children’s SEND as “street level bureaucrats” in our day-to-day casework (Lunt & Majors, 2000, p.239). It might be argued that the situation described by the authors over 20 years ago remains unchanged; the persistent demand for statutory assessments could limit the role of educational psychologists to duties that do not make the best use of our substantial psychological training and skills. Critical educational psychology recognises these challenges and the complacency of “neo-Burtian” approaches to identify deficit (Billington, Williams, Goodley, & Corcoran, 2017, p.6). While EPs are sometimes positioned by policy such as the SEND Code of Practice (DfE, 2014) solely in terms of identification and assessment of deficit, the range of work open to the profession is broad and varied. Reflection upon these possibilities enables us to find ways to co-construct alternative ways of working within the constraints of our statutory role.

Resisting the Narrowed Curriculum and COVID-19 Catch-Up Narrative.

The increasing unsuitability of the narrowed secondary curriculum for a significant proportion of children is recognised by Ofsted (Spielman, 2018) and, I would argue, an open secret among educational psychologists. In recent years, the secondary curriculum has been narrowing and limiting opportunities for creative and technical subjects as schools are encouraged to prioritise more valued GCSE subjects comprising the Ebacc and informing the Progress 8 and Attainment 8 measures (DfE, 2020). A large study found that teachers were overwhelmingly negative about these changes and that encouraging students towards EBacc subjects disengaged students that did not attain well in them and were more successful with practical learning (Neumann, Towers, Gewirtz, & Maguire, 2017). In this context, internal exclusion becomes an adjunct for those pupils that resist this narrow conception of what is valuable in learning. The impact of challenging individual schools about curriculum is limited since it is determined in government policy, which also provides the powers to exclude, internally or otherwise (DfE, 2016).

I propose that the break in schooling enforced by the restrictions in place due to the COVID-19 Pandemic has offered educational psychologists, educational practitioners, and parents an opportunity to reflect upon the purpose and practice of school and the exclusionary practices that come with it. While there has been some emphasis on catching up and discipline (Williamson, 2021), substantive guidance from the DfE (2021b) highlights the groups of children that have been especially

vulnerable to disciplinary sanctions when they returned to school routines after lockdown. The narrative of catching up has been challenged by a group of EPs using social media (Shield, 2021). It will continue to be important for EPs with concerns relating to exclusionary practice to voice them collectively at a national level, and to question disciplinary practices such as the proposed newly opened internal exclusion units and behaviour hubs (Bennett, 2017).

Being Accountable for Internal Exclusion. As findings from this study have shown, internal exclusion is not presently monitored at a national level, yet some senior leaders may value the opportunity to inspect and address patterns of bias among particular groups. It would be helpful if schools were required to record which pupils are using internal exclusion, what time spent there involves, and the review processes in place that ensure that, if used at all, it is critically examined. Moreover, it is particularly important that measures of internally excluded pupils' socioeconomic status and ethnicity are recorded and reported, as is the case for permanent and fixed term exclusions. I argue that this data needs to be collected at a local authority and national level. Until the monitoring and accountability of internal exclusion takes place centrally, I suspect that its use will continue as a pervasive, hidden form of educational marginalisation, masquerading as support. Collecting and analysing these data would be likely to expose patterns of excluding practices that most significantly impact upon particular groups, providing a rationale for intervention.

Educational psychologists have a role in initiating conversations with schools about internal exclusion. To do so, we can listen for the discursive devices that

position children as benefiting from marginalisation while in internal exclusion, and to have strategies to challenge these discourses. I propose two particular opportunities for EPs to do this: whole-school systemic approaches such as soft systems methodology, that could explore inclusive practice throughout school (Checkland & Scholes, 1990); and in the common model of EP practice that involves yearly or termly planning meetings, where dialogue about internal exclusion can begin. In either approach, the following questions might be used to promote reflection, surface dissonance in the narratives deployed and help school leaders connect to their inclusive values:

- What is the purpose of internal exclusion in school? For example, is it restorative or retributive?
- How are parents informed and involved in the decision for a child to be placed in internal exclusion?
- How does a child consent to being placed there? If they resist, how do they do so, and how might their resistance be indicative of a lack of consent?
- What activities will the child engage in during internal exclusion and what is their purpose? For example, will they be learning, reflecting, completing repetitive tasks?
- What are the psychological paradigms connected to these activities and what is the overall goal of using internal exclusion in this way?
- How long does a child stay in internal exclusion, and what are the processes for contracting at the start and end of their placement there?

- How will the child's voice contribute to an understanding of why they were asked to use internal exclusion and how they might return to class?
- What will be the processes for children returning frequently to internal exclusion and at risk of FTE or PX?
- How is the placement of pupils in internal exclusion recorded and to whom is this information distributed?
- What are the review processes in place for the use of these measures, and how will the link educational psychologist or other external professionals be involved?
- Is there a whole-school position statement or policy about internal exclusion that might be agreed?

In Casework

Reflecting Upon Allegedly Benign Interventions. It is an assumption among school professionals that “schools are basically good”, yet a critical approach to educational psychology troubles this premise (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002, p. 96). Our work with SENDCos, teachers, and other school staff, therefore, needs to encourage the creation of reflective spaces to explore practices that may further disadvantage children identified with SEMH (Norwich & Eaton, 2015). EPs need to deconstruct the assumption that these interventions are always positive, and that, however well intended, they can serve to further marginalise the young people that use them and result in more symptomatic threat responses (Johnstone & Boyle, 2018).

Educational psychologists can draw on approaches that recognise the social construction of assumed norms, such as those informed by narrative approaches (White & Epston, 1990). Techniques such as reflecting teams can bring together key people in a child's life to challenge within-child assumptions (Andersen, 1987; Fox, 2009). Complex problems such as Emotionally Based School Avoidance (EBSA) can be addressed through approaches that involve co-constructed formulation that include the child, parents, and school staff (West Sussex Educational Psychology Service, 2018). These discussions together enable school staff to have the opportunity to hear how discourses that marginalise children in internal exclusion operate in the lives of children and their families, providing perspectives that draw on empathy to facilitate change.

Telling Alternative Stories. SENDCOs and teachers frequently approach EPs with problems in which they are entrenched, perhaps due to a persistent single story (Macready, 1997), or the competing pressures that they face. It is through consultation that different understandings of the problem can be brought to light (Wagner, 2017). A key feature of a narrative approach to consultation is curiosity, listening, and finding opportunities to understand the problem as externalised (White & Epston, 1990). As narrative psychology views problems as socially constructed and is rooted in post-structuralist approaches, it is congruent with the analysis from this study. Utilising narrative approaches enables an understanding of how stories about children impact on them being subject to exclusionary practices. For example, how providing social and emotional interventions after school for a particular young

person might imply a pathology. Further exploration with the young person could provide suggestions for new ways of understanding their experience and potential interventions (Winslade & Monk, 2007). In developing insight into their situation, the young person might be empowered to resist the dominant discourses and create alternative stories about themselves.

Maintaining a social constructionist approach to consultation “provides a perspective on the effects of problems, and on the effects of attempts to solve problems” (Macready, 1997, p.133). In relation to internal exclusion, the problem might be considered the unsuitability of the large mainstream classroom and narrow learning curriculum, yet, as an attempt to solve this problem, internal exclusion further separates individual children finding school difficult. When internal exclusion is oriented as a therapeutic intervention, it appears to construct the child as in need of additional support to resolve their difficulties. In doing so, the child is inadvertently othered and scrutinised further as an object of knowledge/power (Foucault, 1977/1991). It is important to maintain focus on the initial problem; that of the mainstream classroom excluding the child in the first place.

Dismantling Pragmatic Narratives of Support Under Economic

Constraints. Economic considerations are central to the work of educational psychologists since it is the relationship between a child’s needs and the extent to which they can be met in the economic constraints of their school, that often result in statutory assessment requests (Billington, 2000). The decision to permanently exclude a child may thus be made on the basis of the school’s economic needs

rather than the special educational needs of the child. Internal exclusion, therefore, appears to provide an appealing solution; it is economically prudent, it avoids the shame of exclusion, and can even be considered support. It is a seductive narrative that, in a context of economic privation, internal exclusion conveys benefits by providing children with access to additional time with an adult and a smaller and less frenetic environment to the mainstream classroom. Since educational psychologists work with complex problems and are often required to promote an individual child's interests, provision that is apparently supportive might appear a pragmatic solution. Yet any school's use of internal exclusion needs to be critically examined, as it can be used fundamentally to segregate children and mask opportunities to adapt the curriculum, pedagogical approaches, or understanding of the child's perspective. Educational psychologists are required to act with integrity (BPS, 2018) and challenge discrimination that we encounter (Health Care and Professions Council [HCPC], 2016). Through understanding the narratives of school leaders, it has become clear that accepting the use of internal exclusion, even in cases where individuals appear to benefit, simply legitimises and perpetuates the continuation of this exclusionary practice. I argue that educational psychologists are able to provide opportunities for reflection upon the practice of internal exclusion so that alternative possibilities can be found.

Limitations

I recognise that there were limitations in the research that restrict the extent that its findings can be meaningfully transferred to other populations. There were

only two participants whose constructions of internal exclusion cannot be considered representative either of their own schools or of others. The sampling of participants was constrained by the timing of this research during the first year of the COVID-19 Pandemic, and the disruption that this caused to expected work patterns and the workloads of schools. While original intentions were to recruit at least three participants, it was not feasible in the timeframe required. Further, I found it ethically contestable that participants would be required to contribute more time to the study given that the COVID-19 Pandemic escalated in severity towards the end of 2020 and the first months of 2021 when second interviews would have been conducted.

Robust narrative research seeks a twofold correspondence; a correspondence in the coherence of participants' narratives as a whole, and correspondence between those and my interpretation of these accounts (Riessman, 2008). What I have sought to do is to provide one interpretation of the narratives told by senior leaders in relation to internal exclusion. The intention has never been to verify facts or to seek realist explanations for their accounts (Riessman, 2008). I was not concerned with whether James and Phil's accounts were trustworthy in terms of accurately reflecting practice in their schools. Rather, the narrative analysis that I presented identified inconsistencies in their construction of internal exclusion. The incoherence of some of these narratives suggested to me that the senior leaders may not have had the opportunity to speak about internal exclusion in a reflective space before. One of the possible influences on these inconsistencies was the expectations that the senior leaders had of me, of my professional role, and the interrelationship of our professional identities (Gee, 2014; Mishler, 1991).

In terms of Riessman's (2008) second level of correspondence, I have sought to provide a convincing and persuasive interpretation of the findings that I encountered, but I acknowledge that this is but only one way of approaching the data. I recognise that my interpretation of the narratives that I heard was influenced by my pre-existing expectations and experience in relation to internal exclusion. My interest in this research topic was founded upon my experience as detailed in Appendix A. I don't doubt that this played a significant role in the meanings that I have represented.

Recommendations for Future Research

In this study, both participants' schools were using, or had used, some form of internal exclusion, aligned with Mills and Thomson's (2018) finding that it is used in the majority of secondary schools. What remains unexplored is the way that internal exclusion is constructed and understood by senior leaders in schools where it is not applied, and whether other, equally hidden forms of exclusion fulfil similar intentions. More optimistically, subsequent research might uncover examples of inclusive whole-school approaches that avoid using internal exclusion entirely.

A systemic approach could explore sites of good practice in relation to inclusion, with a focus upon the avoidance of approaches that segregate and internally exclude pupils in whatever guise. It would be illuminating to understand how school staff have been able to resist the dominant discourses of discipline and

the psycho-medical treatment of 'within child' problems. Further, exploration of how young people discursively construct themselves within more inclusive settings would provide insight into alternative ways of understanding behaviour and SEMH.

Ethnographic methods would be appropriate to provide detailed case study exploration that includes naturalistic observation. Understanding these sites of good practice would provide models that can be developed into training packages for schools seeking to become more inclusive.

Finally, further research should build on the findings of this thesis to inform greater understanding of educational psychologists' understanding and experience of internal exclusion. The narrative analysis that I have presented enabled a rich picture of the different discourses operating in the accounts of two senior leaders. It would be appropriate to conduct a similar study with educational psychologists, to provide further insight to explore points of convergence and dissimilarity. It will continue to be important to understand how internal exclusion is legitimised as a supportive measure, and to critically examine its application in light of inclusive practice.

References

- Ainscow, M. (1995). Education for all: Making it happen. *Support for Learning*. 10(4): 147-54.
- Allen, A. (2018). The end of education: Nietzsche, Foucault, Genealogy. *Philosophical Inquiry in Education*, 25(1), 47–65.
- American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools?: An evidentiary review and recommendations. *The American Psychologist*, 63(9), 852.
- Andersen, T. (1987). Dialogue and meta-dialogue in clinical work. *Family Process*. 26(4), pp. 415-428. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.1987.00415.x>
- Armstrong, D. (2018). Addressing the wicked problem of behaviour in schools. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 22(9), 997–1013. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2017.1413732>
- Babcock Learning and Development Partnership. (2020). *Guidance for developing relational practice and policy: A joint venture with Devon County Council*. Retrieved on 19th April 2021 from <https://www.babcockldp.co.uk/inclusion-and-ehwb/relational-learning>
- Ball, S., (2013). *Foucault, Power, and Education*. Oxon: Routledge.

Ban the Booths. (2019). [Website]. Retrieved on 1st May 2021 from

<https://banthebooths.co.uk>

Barker, J., Alldred, P., Watts, M., & Dodman, H. (2010). Pupils or prisoners?

Institutional geographies and internal exclusion in UK secondary schools.

Area, 42(3), 378–386. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2009.00932.x>

Bennathan, M., & Boxall, M. (1998). *The Boxall Profile: A guide to effective*

intervention in the education of pupils with emotional and behavioural

difficulties. EaSt Sutton, Maidstone: Association of Workers for Children with

Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties.

Bennett, T. (2017). *Creating a culture: How school leaders can optimise behaviour*.

UK Department for Education. Retrieved on 2nd April 2021 from

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=ED574131>

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eric&AN=ED574131>
&site=ehost-live

Berridge, D., Brodie, I., Pitts, J., Porteous, D., & Tarling, R. (2001). *The*

independent effects of permanent exclusion from school on the offending

careers of young people. London: Home Office.

Besley, A. C. (2002). Foucault and the turn to narrative therapy. *British Journal of*

Guidance and Counselling, 30(2), 125–143.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/03069880220128010>

- Billington, T. (2000). *Separating, losing and excluding children: Narratives of difference*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Billington, T., Williams, A., Goodley, D., & Corcoran, T. (2017). Introduction. In A. Williams, T. Billington, D. Goodley, and T. Corcoran (Eds.). *Critical Educational Psychology*. Chichester, Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Bowlby, J. (1997). *Attachment: Attachment and loss volume 1*. (2nd Edn.). London: Pimlico.
- Boxall, M. (1976). The Nurture Group in the primary school. In M. Bennathan, and M. Boxall (Eds., 2000) *Effective intervention in primary schools*. (2nd Edn.). London: David Fulton.
- Boxall, M. (2002). *Nurture Groups in school. Principles and practice*. London: Paul Chapman.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77–101. doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- Brighton and Hove City Council. (2018). *Developing an Attachment Aware Behaviour Regulation Policy: Guidance for Brighton & Hove Schools September 2018*. Retrieved on 18th February 2021 from <https://www.brighton-hove.gov.uk>

British Psychological Society. (February 2018). *Code of ethics and conduct*.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0969733008095390>

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionism*. (2nd Edn.). London: Routledge.

Burton, D. M., Bartlett, S. J., & Anderson de Cuevas, R. (2009). Are the contradictions and tensions that have characterised educational provision for young people with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties a persistent feature of current policy? *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 14(2), 141–155. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632750902921963>

Burton, D., & Goodman, R. (2011). Perspectives of SENCOs and support staff in England on their roles, relationships and capacity to support inclusive practice for students with behavioural emotional and social difficulties. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 29(2), 133–149.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02643944.2011.573492>

- Callaway, H. (1992). Ethnography and experience: Gender implications in field work and texts. In J. Okely, & H. Callaway (Eds.), *Anthropology and autobiography*. (pp. 29-49). New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall.
- Camic, P. M., Rhodes, J. E., & Yardley, L. (Eds.). (2003). *Qualitative research in psychology: Expanding perspectives in methodology and design*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Campbell, E. & Lassiter, L. E. (2015). *Doing ethnography today: Theories, methods, exercises*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Carlile, A. (2011). Docile bodies or contested space? Working under the shadow of permanent exclusion. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 15(3), 303–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110902829663>
- Carpenter, B. (23rd April 2020). *A recovery curriculum: Loss and life for our children and schools post pandemic*. Retrieved 23rd April 2021 from <https://www.evidenceforlearning.net/recoverycurriculum/#mentalhealth>
- Chase, S. E., & Bell, C. S. (1990). Ideology, discourse, and gender: How gatekeepers talk about women school superintendents. *Social Problems*, 37(2), 163–177. <https://doi.org/10.2307/800646>
- Chase, S. (1995). Taking narrative seriously: Consequences for method and theory in interview studies. In Y. Lincoln & N. Denzin (Eds.) *Turning Points in*

Qualitative Research: Tying Knots in a Handkerchief. (pp. 273–296). Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira press.

Chase, S. (2013). Narrative inquiry: Still a field in the making. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (Eds.). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials* (4th Edn., pp. 55-84). London: Sage.

Checkland, P., & Scholes, J. (1990). *Soft systems methodology in action.* Chichester: Wiley.

Children Act (2004)

Children and Families Act (2014)

Clandinin, D. J. (2013). Personal practical knowledge: A study of teachers' classroom images. *Advances in Research on Teaching*, 19, 67-95.
[https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3687\(2013\)0000019007](https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-3687(2013)0000019007)

Colley, D. (2009). Nurture groups in secondary schools. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 14(4), 291–300.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13632750903303120>

Collins-Donnelly, K. (2012). *Starving the anger gremlin: A cognitive behavioural therapy workbook on anger management for young people.* London: Jessica Kingsley.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1985). Personal practical knowledge and the modes of knowing: Relevance for teaching and learning. In E. Eisner (Ed.), *Learning and teaching ways of knowing: The eighty-fourth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (pp. 174–198). University of Chicago Press.

Cooke, C., Yeomans, J., & Parkes, J. (2008). The Oasis: Nurture group provision for Key Stage 3 pupils. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 13(4), 291–303. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632750802442219>

Corbin, J., & Morse, J.M. (2003). The unstructured interactive interview: Issues of reciprocity and risks when dealing with sensitive topics. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9(3), pp. 335-354.

Coughlan, S. (2021). *Thousands of primary pupils face closed schools*. [Online news article]. Retrieved on 29th March 2021 from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-55525681>

Courtney, S. (2015a). Corporatised leadership in English schools. *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 47:3, 214-231, DOI: [10.1080/00220620.2015.1038694](https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2015.1038694)

Courtney, S. (2015b). *Investigating school leadership at a time of system diversity, competition and flux*. [Unpublished thesis]. University of Manchester.

Craggs Mersinoglu, Y. (25th Jan 2020). MP wants ban on 'cruel and demeaning' isolation booths. [Online news article]. Retrieved on 16th April 2021 from <https://schoolsweek.co.uk/mp-wants-ban-on-cruel-and-demeaning-isolation-booths/>

Crossley, M. (2011). Narrative analysis. In E. Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing Qualitative Data in Psychology*. (pp. 131–144).
<https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446207536>

Daniels, H., & Cole, T. (2010). *Exclusion from school: short - term setback or a long term of difficulties?*, 6257. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856251003658652>

Dean, M. M. (2009). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society*. London: Sage.

Department for Education and Skills. (2005). *Excellence and enjoyment: Social and emotional aspects of learning*. Nottingham: DfES.

Department for Education (2014). *Special Educational Needs Code of Practice*. London: HM Government

Department for Education. (2016). *Behaviour and Discipline in Schools: Advice for headteachers and school staff*. Retrieved on 10th March 2021 from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/488034/Behaviour_and_Discipline_in_Schools_-_A_guide_for_headteachers_and_School_Staff.pdf

Department for Education. (September 2017). *Exclusion from maintained schools, academies and pupil referral units in England: Statutory guidance for those with legal responsibilities in relation to exclusion*. London: Crown Copyright.

Department for Education. (July 25th, 2019a). *Statistics: Exclusions*. Retrieved on 16th January 2020 from <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-exclusion>

Department for Education. (May 2019b). *The Timpson Review of School Exclusion: Government Response*. London: Crown Copyright.

Department for Education, (February 2020). *Secondary accountability measures: Guide for maintained secondary schools, academies and free schools*. Retrieved on 20th February 2021 from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/key-stage-4-qualifications-discount-codes-and-point-scores>

Department for Education. (2nd February 2021a). *Permanent and fixed term exclusions in England*. Retrieved on 20th March 2021 from <https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/find-statistics/permanent-and-fixed-period-exclusions-in-england>

Department for Education. (May 2021b). *Schools coronavirus (COVID-19) operational guidance*. Retrieved on 20th May 2021 from

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/actions-for-schools-during-the-coronavirus-outbreak#behaviour-expectations>

Department of Health & Department for Education. (2017, December).

Transforming Children and Young People's Mental Health Provision: A Green Paper. London: HM Government.

Department for Children, Schools, and Families. (2008). *Targeted Mental Health*

Support in Schools project: Using the evidence to inform your approach: A practical guide for headteachers and commissioners. London: Central Office of Information.

Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York: Macmillan.

Dewey, J. (1933) *How we think*. New York: D. C. Heath.

Dewey, J. (1938). *Experience and education*. New York: Collier.

Done, E. J., & Knowler, H. (2020). A tension between rationalities: "off-rolling" as gaming and the implications for head teachers and the inclusion agenda.

Educational Review. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2020.1806785>

Done, E. J., & Knowler, H. (2021). 'Off-rolling' and Foucault's art of

visibility/invisibility: An exploratory study of senior leaders' views of 'strategic' school exclusion in southwest England. *British Educational Research*

Journal. <https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3709>

Done, E. J., Murphy, M., & Knowler, H. (2015). Mandatory accreditation for Special Educational Needs Co-ordinators: biopolitics, neoliberal managerialism and the Deleuzo–Guattarian ‘war machine.’ *Journal of Education Policy*, 30(1), 86–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2014.905872>

Dreyfus, H. L., Rabinow, P., & Foucault, M. (1983). *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. (2nd Edn.). University of Chicago Press.

Education Act. (1944). London: HM Government.

Education Act. (1993). London: HM Government.

Education Act. (1996). London: HM Government.

Education Act. (2006). London: HM Government.

Education Act. (2011). London: HM Government.

Emerson, P., & Frosh, S. (2009). *Critical Narrative Analysis in Psychology: A guide to practice* (2nd Edn.). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Farrell, P., & Ainscow, M. (2002). *Making education inclusive*. Abingdon: David Fulton.

Festinger, L. (1957). *A Theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Foucault, M. (1966). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1971). *Debate between Noam Chomsky and Michel Foucault: On human nature*. Retrieved on 16th April 2021 from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J5wuB_p63YM

Foucault, M. (1982). The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8(4), 777-795.

Retrieved on 28th March 2021 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343197>

Foucault, M., (1991). *Discipline and punish*. London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.). *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*. (pp. 87-104). University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (2000). Technologies of the self. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Ethics: Subjectivity and truth – essential works of Foucault 1954–1984*. London: Penguin.

Foucault, Foucault, M. (2006). *The birth of the clinic: An archaeology of medical perception*. Oxon: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (2009). *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*. New York: Picador.

Fox, M. (2009). Working with systems and thinking systemically – disentangling the crossed wires. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 25(3), 247–258.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02667360903151817>

Frederickson, N., & Cline, T. (2015). *Special educational needs, inclusion and diversity*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Gazeley, L., Marrable, T., Brown, C., & Boddy, J. (March 2013). *Reducing inequalities in school exclusion: learning from good practice*. Retrieved on 11th December 2019 from <http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/44751/>

Gearing, R. E. (2004). Bracketing in research: A typology. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14, 1429-1452.

Gee, J. (2014). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. (4th Edn.). London: Routledge.

Gergen, K.J. (1973). Social psychology as history. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 26(2), 309–320. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0034436>

Gergen, K. (2001). Construction in contention: Toward consequential resolutions. *Theory and Psychology*, 11(3), 443-441

Gergen, K.J., & Gergen, M. M. (1984). The social construction of narrative accounts. *Historical Social Psychology*, 173-190.

Gillies, V., & Robinson, Y. (2012a). "Including" while excluding: Race, class and behaviour support units. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 15(2), 157–174. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2011.578126>

Gillies, V., & Robinson, Y. (2012b). At risk pupils and the 'caring' curriculum. In C. Rogers & S. Weller (Eds.), *Critical approaches to care: Understanding caring relations, identities, and cultures*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Gillies, V. (2016). *Pushed to the edge: Inclusion and behaviour support in schools*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Gilmore, G. (2012). What's so inclusive about an inclusion room? Staff perspectives on student participation, diversity and equality in an English secondary school. *British Journal of Special Education*, 39(1), 39–48. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8578.2012.00534.x>

Gilmore, G. (2013). "What's a fixed-term exclusion, Miss?" Students' perspectives on a disciplinary inclusion room in England. *British Journal of Special Education*, 40(3), 106–113. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8578.12029>

Goodman, R. L., & Burton, D. M. (2010). The inclusion of students with BESD in mainstream schools: Teachers' experiences of and recommendations for creating a successful inclusive environment. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 15(3), 223–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2010.497662>

Gordon, C. (1991). Governmental rationality: An introduction. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.). *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*. (pp. 1-52). University of Chicago Press

Greenstein, A. (2014). Is this inclusion? Lessons from a very special unit. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 18(4), 379–391.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2013.777130>

Hall, D., & McGinity, R. (2015). Conceptualizing teacher professional identity in neoliberal times: Resistance, compliance and reform. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23(88). <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v23.2092>

Hanna, P., & Mwale, S. (2017). 'I'm not with you, yet I am ...': Virtual face-to-face interviews. In V. Braun, V. Clarke, & D. Gray (Eds.), *Collecting qualitative data: A practical guide to textual, media and virtual techniques* (pp. 235-255). Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781107295094.013

Harold, V.L. & Corcoran, T. (2013). Discourses on behaviour: A role for restorative justice? *International Journal on School Disaffection*, 10(2), 45-61.

Harris, B., Vincent, K., Thomson, P., & Toalster, R. (2006). Does every child know they matter? Pupils' views of one alternative to exclusion. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 24(2), 28–38.

- Hart, R. (2010). Classroom behaviour management: Educational psychologists' views on effective practice. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 15(4), 353–371. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2010.523257>
- Health Care and Professions Council. (2016). *Standards of conduct, performance and ethics*.
- Hiles, D. & Cermak, V. (2017). Narrative inquiry. In W. Stainton Rogers & C. Willig (Eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research in Psychology*. (pp. 157–175) <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848607927>
- Hodkinson, A., & Burch, L. (2019). The 2014 special educational needs and disability code of practice: Old ideology into new policy contexts? *Journal of Education Policy*, 34(2), 155–173. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2017.1412501>
- Holland, P., & Hamerton, P. (1994). Balancing school and individual approaches. In P. Gray, A. Miller, and J. Noakes (Eds.). *Challenging behaviour in schools: teacher support, practical techniques and policy development*. (pp.241-261). Hove, East Sussex: Routledge.
- House of Commons. (6th May 2020). *House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts: Support for children with special educational needs and disabilities*.
- Howell, K. (2015). Methods of Data Collection. In K. Howell (Ed.). *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology*. (pp. 193–210). London: Sage.

- Hughes, N. K., & Schlösser, A. (2014). The effectiveness of nurture groups: A systematic review. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 19(4), 386–409.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2014.883729>
- Humphrey, N., Lendrum, A., & Wigelsworth, M. (2012). A national evaluation of the impact of the secondary social and emotional aspects of learning (SEAL) programme. *Educational Psychology: An International Journal of Experimental Educational Psychology*, 32(2), 213–238.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/e607262011-001>
- Hydén, L. (2013). Bodies, embodiment and stories. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.). *Doing narrative research*. (pp. 126-141). London: Sage.
- Iacono, V. L., Symonds, P., & Brown, D. H. K. (2016). Skype as a tool for qualitative research interviews. *Sociological Research Online*, 21(2), 1–25.
<https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.3952>
- Ingleby, D. (1974). The job psychologists do. In N. Armistead (Ed.), *Reconstructing Social Psychology*. (pp. 314-328). Middlesex: Penguin.
- Ingleby, D. (1985). Professionals as socializers: The 'psy complex'. *Research in Law, Deviance and Social Control*, 7,79–109
- Institute for Government. (2021). *Coronavirus lockdown rules in each part of the UK*. [Webpage]. Retrieved on 29th March 2021 from

<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/coronavirus-lockdown-rules-four-nations-uk>

Johnstone, L., & Boyle, M. (2018). *The Power Threat Meaning Framework*. *British Psychological Society* (Vol. 3). <https://doi.org/10.1108/17465641211279798>

Josselson, R. (2007). The ethical attitude in narrative research: Principles and practicalities. In D. Clandinin (Ed.) *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology*. (pp. 537-566). <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452226552.n21>

Kendall, L., O'Donnell, L., Golden, S., Ridley, K., Machin, S., Rutt, S., ... Noden, P. (2005). *Excellence in Cities: The National Evaluation of a Policy to Raise Standards in Urban Schools 2000-2003*. National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER).

Kinder, K., Harland, J., Wilkin, A., & Wakefield, A. (1995). Three to remember: Strategies for disaffected pupils. *National Foundation of Educational Research*.

Krouwel, M., Jolly, K., & Greenfield, S. (2019). Comparing Skype (video calling) and in-person qualitative interview modes in a study of people with irritable bowel syndrome-an exploratory comparative analysis. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 19(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-019-0867-9>

Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the inner city*. Philadelphia, PE.: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Laplanche, J. & Pontalis, J. B., (1988). *The language of psychoanalysis*. London: Karnac Books.

Laslett, R. (1977). *Educating maladjusted children*. London: Crosby Lockwood.

Lawrence, Lendrum, A., Humphrey, N., & Wigelsworth, M. (2013). Social and emotional aspects of learning (SEAL) for secondary schools: Implementation difficulties and their implications for school-based mental health promotion. *Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, 18(3), 158–164.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/camh.12006>

Lendrum, A., Humphrey, N., & Wigelsworth, M. (2013). Social and emotional aspects of learning (SEAL) for secondary schools: Implementation difficulties and their implications for school-based mental health promotion. *Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, 18(3), 158–164.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/camh.12006>

Lown, J. (2005). *Returning pupils to mainstream schools successfully, following permanent exclusion: Participant perceptions*. [Unpublished thesis].
University of Sheffield.

Lunt, I., & Majors, K. (2000). The Professionalisation of educational psychology: Challenges to practice. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 15(4), 237–245.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0266736000150404>

Lupton, D. (2013). *Risk*. Oxon: Routledge.

- Macready, T. (1997). Counselling and consultation from a social constructionist perspective. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 13(2), 130–134.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0266736970130208>
- Maguire, M., Ball, S., & Braun, A. (2010). Behaviour, classroom management and student “control”: Enacting policy in the English secondary school. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 20(2), 153–170.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09620214.2010.503066>
- Maslow, A. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*. 50(4). 370–96.
- McCluskey, G., Kane, J., Lloyd, G., Stead, J., Riddell, S., & Weedon, E. (2011). ‘Teachers are afraid we are stealing their strength’: A risk society and restorative approaches in school, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 59(2), 105-119. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2011.565741>
- McIntyre, N., Parveen, N., & Thomas, T. (24th March 2021). *Exclusion rates five times higher for black Caribbean pupils in parts of England*. [Newspaper article]. Retrieved on 25th March 2021 from <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2021/mar/24/exclusion-rates-black-caribbean-pupils-england>
- Merrell, K.W., & Gueldner, B.A. (2010). *Social and emotional learning in the classroom: Promoting mental health and academic success*. London: The Guilford Press.

- Mertens, D. (2015). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods*. (4th Edn.). Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.
- Mill, J.S. (1861). *Utilitarianism*. London: Parker, Son & Bourne.
- Miller, A. (1996). *Pupil behaviour and teacher culture*. London: Cassell.
- Mills, M., & Thomson, P. (2018). *Investigative research into alternative provision. Social Science in Government*. London: Department for Education.
- Mind. (March 2019). *Court challenge to use of isolation booths for disruptive pupils*. [Webpage]. Retrieved on 29th April 2021 from <https://www.mind.org.uk/news-campaigns/legal-news/legal-newsletter-march-2019/court-challenge-to-use-of-isolation-booths-for-disruptive-pupils/>
- Mishler, E. (1991). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. Harvard University press.
- Mishler, E. (1999). *Storylines: Craft artists' narratives of identity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Munn, P., Lloyd, G., & Cullen, M. (2000). *Alternatives to Exclusion from School*. London: Sage.

Murray, M. (2000). Levels of narrative analysis in health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 5(3), 337–347.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/135910530000500305>

Naylor, C. (2005) 'Inclusion in British Columbia's public schools. Always a journey, never a destination?' Paper presented at the Canadian Teachers' Federation conference, 'Building Inclusive Schools: A Search for Solutions', 17–19 November

Neumann, E., Towers, E., Gewirtz, S., & Maguire, M. (2017). *A curriculum for all? The effects of recent Key Stage 4 curriculum, assessment and accountability reforms on English secondary education*. National Union of Teachers / Kings College London. Retrieved on 20th May 2021 from <http://www.kcl.ac.uk>

Nind, M., Boorman, G., & Clarke, G. (2012). Creating spaces to belong: Listening to the voice of girls with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties through digital visual and narrative methods. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16(7), 643–656. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2010.495790>

No More Exclusions. (2nd September 2020). *Moratorium on school exclusions*.

[Open letter]. Retrieved on 12th May 2021 from

<https://nomoreexclusions.com/moratorium-on-school-exclusions/>

Norwich, B. (2014). Recognising value tensions that underlie problems in inclusive education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 44(4), 495–510.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2014.963027>

Norwich, B., & Eaton, A. (2015). The new special educational needs (SEN) legislation in England and implications for services for children and young people with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 20(2), 117–132.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2014.989056>

Nutureuk. (2021). *The National Nurturing Schools programme (Online course)*.

[Webpage]. Retrieved on 3rd May from <https://www.nutureuk.org/our-services/training/national-nurturing-schools-programme-online-course>

Ofsted. (May 2019). *Education inspection framework: Equality, diversity and inclusion statement*. Retrieved on 12th February 2021 from

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/821069/Education_inspection_framework_-_equality__diversity_and_inclusion_statement.pdf

Paget, A., Parker, C., Heron, J., Logan, S., Henley, W., Emond, A., & Ford, T.

(2017). Which children and young people are excluded from school?

Findings from a large British birth cohort study, the Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children (ALSPAC). *Child Care Health Development*, 44,

285–296. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cch.12525>

- Perraudin, F. (11th December 2018). *Pupil brings legal action against school's isolation policy*. [Online news article]. Retrieved on 29th April 2021 from <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/dec/11/pupil-brings-legal-action-against-schools-isolation-booths-outwood-grange-academies-trust>
- Pillay, J., Dunbar-Krige, H., & Mostert, J. (2013). Learners with behavioural, emotional and social difficulties experiences of reintegration into mainstream education. *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 18(3), 310–326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2013.769709>
- Pomerantz, A. (1986). Extreme case formulations: A new way of legitimating claims. *Human Studies*, 9(2), 219–230.
- Potter, J. (2004). Discourse Analysis. In M. Hardy & A. Bryman (Eds). *Handbook of Data Analysis* (pp. 607-24). London: Sage.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and social psychology: Beyond attitudes and behaviour*. London: Sage.
- Power, S., & Taylor, C. (2018). Not in the classroom, but still on the register: hidden forms of school exclusion. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 24(8), 867-881. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2018.1492644>
- Preece, D., & Timmins, P. (2004). Consulting with students: Evaluating a mainstream inclusion centre. *Support for Learning*, 19(1), 24–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0268-2141.2004.00314.x>

- Prilleltensky, I., & Nelson, G. (2002). *Doing psychology critically: Making a difference in diverse settings*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Rabinow, P. (1991). Introduction. In M. Foucault, P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault Reader: An introduction to Foucault's thought*. London: Penguin.
- Reveley, J. (2015). Foucauldian critique of positive education and related self-technologies: Some problems and new directions. *Open Review of Educational Research*, 2(1), 78–93.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23265507.2014.996768>
- Reynolds, S., Mackay, T., & Kearney, M. (2009). Nurture groups: A large-scale, controlled study of effects on development and academic attainment. *British Journal of Special Education*, 36(4). 204-212
- Riessman, C. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. London: Sage.
- Riessman, C. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rogers, C. (1954). *On becoming a person: A therapist's view of psychotherapy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Rose, N. (1989). *Individualizing psychology*. In J. Shotter & K. J. Gergen (Eds.), *Inquiries in social construction series, Vol. 2. Texts of identity*. (p. 119–132). London: Sage.

Rose, N. (1990). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self*. London: Routledge.

Rose, N., Manning, N., Bentall, R., Bhui, K., Burgess, R., Carr, S., ... Sheard, S. (2020). The social underpinnings of mental distress in the time of COVID-19-time for urgent action. *Wellcome Open Research*, 5, 1–6.
<https://doi.org/10.12688/WELLCOMEOPENRES.16123.1>

Runswick-Cole, K. (2011). Time to end the bias towards inclusive education? *British Journal of Special Education*, 38(3), 112–119.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8578.2011.00514.x>

Salmon, P. & Riessman, C. (2013). Looking back on narrative research: an exchange. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.). *Doing narrative research*. (pp. 197-204). London: Sage.

Sarbin, T.R. (1986). *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York: Praeger.

Shield, W. [@willpsyc]. (4th March 2021). [We're asking @gavinwilliamson to change his emphasis on 'catch up'. Please RT and share with your local MP #catchup #education #schools #covid19 #trauma #send #twitterEPs

@willpsyc @betsydet @dramberelliott]. Twitter. Retrieved on 4th March 2021 from

<https://twitter.com/willpsyc/status/1367465781500514306>

Shore, C., & Wright, S. (1999). Audit culture and anthropology: Neo-liberalism in British higher education. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5(4). 557-575.

Skidmore, D. (2004). *Inclusion: The dynamic of school development*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill Education.

Skinner, B. F. (1953). *Science and human behaviour*. New York: Macmillan.

Slee, R. (1995). *Changing theories and practices of discipline*. London: Falmer press.

Spielman, A. (2018). *Letter to the public accounts committee on behalf of Ofsted*. [Open letter]. Retrieved on 17th April 2021 from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/amanda-spielman-letter-to-the-public-accounts-committee?utm_source=59172998-61a0-437b-987e-eedf990e6d10&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=govuk-notifications&utm_content=immediate

Squire, C. (2013). *From experience-centred to socioculturally-oriented approaches to narrative*. In Andrews, M., Squire, C., & Tamboukou, M. *Doing narrative research*. (pp.47-71). London: Sage.

Squire, C., Andrews, M. & Tamboukou, M. (2013). Introduction: What is narrative research?. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds). *Doing narrative research*. (pp. 1-21). London: Sage.

Stainton Rogers, W., & Willig, C. (2017). Introduction. In C. Willig, & W. Stainton Rogers (Eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 1-14). London: Sage. <https://www-oi.org.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/10.4135/9781526405555.n1>

Stanbridge, J., & Mercer, E. (2019). Mind your language: why the language used to describe children's SEMH needs matters. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2019.1649477>

Stanforth, A., & Rose, J. (2018). 'You kind of don't want them in the room': Tensions in the discourse of inclusion and exclusion for students displaying challenging behaviour in an English secondary school. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2018.1516821>

Staufenberg, J. (3rd April 2019). *DfE faces legal action over 'confusing' guidance on isolation booths*. [Online news article]. Retrieved on 29th April 2021 from <https://schoolweek.co.uk/dfe-faces-legal-action-over-confusing-guidance-on-isolation-booths/>

Stenhouse, L. (1985). *Research as a basis for teaching: Readings from the work of Lawrence Stenhouse*, J. Rudduck & D. Hopkins (Eds.). London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Tamboukou, M. (2013). A Foucauldian approach to narratives. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds). *Doing narrative research*. (pp.88-107). London: Sage.

Tamboukou, M. (2017). Narrative phenomena: entanglements and intra-actions in narrative research. In M. Livholts, & M. Tamboukou. *Discourse and narrative methods*. (pp. 37-47). London: Sage.

Thomas, D. V. (2015). Factors affecting successful reintegration. *Educational Studies*, 41, 188–208. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03055698.2015.955749>

Thomson, P., & Pennacchia, J. (2016). Hugs and behaviour points: Alternative education and the regulation of excluded youth. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 20(6), 622–640.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2015.1102340>

Timpson, E. (2019). *Timpson Review of School Exclusion*. Retrieved on 11th January 2021 from
https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/807862/Timpson_review.pdf

UNESCO. (1994). *The Salamanca statement and framework for action*. Retrieved on 16th March 2021 from <http://www.csie.org.uk/inclusion/unesco-salamanca.shtml>

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wagner, P. (2017). Consultation as a framework for practice. In B. Kelly, L.M. Woolfson, and J. Boyle (Eds.). *Frameworks for Practice in Educational Psychology*. (2nd Edn., pp. 194-216). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Warnock, M. (2010). Special Educational Needs: A new look. In M. Warnock, B. Norwich & L. Terzi (Eds.). *Special Educational Needs: A New Look*. (pp. 11-45). London: Bloomsbury.

West Sussex Educational Psychology Service. (April 2018). *Emotionally based school avoidance: Good practice guidance for schools and support agencies*. Retrieved 2nd May 2021 from <https://schools.westsussex.gov.uk/Page/10483>

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends*. New York: Norton.

Weiner, B. (1980). A cognitive (attribution)-emotion-action model of motivated behavior: An analysis of judgments of help-giving. *Journal of Personality and*

Social Psychology, 39(2), 186–200. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.39.2.186>

Wiggins, S. (2017). *Discursive Psychology: Theory, Method and Applications*. London: Sage.

Williams, A. J., Billington, T., Goodley, D., & Corcoran, T. (Eds.). (2016). *Critical educational psychology*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

Williamson, G. (1st March 2021). *Speech to the National Education Summit*.

[Webpage]. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/education-secretary-speech-to-fed-national-education-summit> Accessed 9th March 2021

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method*. (2nd Edn.). London: McGraw-Hill Open University Press.

Winslade, J. & Monk, G. (2007). *Narrative counselling in schools: Powerful & brief*. (2nd Edn.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Woods, P. A., Woods, G. J., & Gunter, H. (2007). Academy schools and entrepreneurialism in education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 22(2), 237–259. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930601158984>

Wood, E. M. (1997). Modernity, postmodernity or capitalism? *Review of International Political Economy*, 4(3), 539–560.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/096922997347742>

World Health Organization (2014). *Social determinants of mental health*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

World Health Organisation. (2020). *Coronavirus disease (COVID-19)*. Retrieved on 29th March 2021 from <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/question-and-answers-hub/q-a-detail/coronavirus-disease-COVID-19>..

Yardley, L. (2017). Demonstrating the validity of qualitative research. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, 12(3), 295–296.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2016.1262624>

Yardley, L. (2000). Dilemmas in qualitative health research. *Psychology and Health*, 15(2), 215–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08870440008400302>

Zembylas, M. (2016). The therapisation of social justice as an emotional regime: Implications for critical education. *Journal of Professional Capital and Community*, 1(4), 286–301. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jpcc-05-2016-0015>

Appendices

Appendix A: Reflexive Statement

My main impetus for becoming a trainee educational psychologist was experience working as a secondary school teacher in a large inner-city Academy school. Many of the pupils in school were identified as 'disadvantaged' by their FSM status, and the majority spoke English as an additional language. The school had various practices of internal exclusion, but did not use isolation or a formal inclusion centre. Rather, children were held in corridors or sent to an assistant headteacher's office if they were displaying troublesome behaviour that teachers couldn't manage alongside the rest of the class. I noted that for many of these children, spending time with the pastoral leads or assistant head seemed to have a positive impact on them. They seemed to be proud when placed 'on report' and being able to show their friends. I noted that while these measures were ostensibly punitive, in truth they provided them with individual time to have a conversation with another person that was taking interest in them. Later in my career, I visited a school in advance of applying for a role to assist the SENDCo. I was shown a series of dark, locked rooms with desks in rows, and was told it was 'isolation'. The school had an onsite 'behavioural psychologist' by whom pupils would be assessed. Needless to say, I didn't apply for the role.

When I started my placements as a trainee educational psychologist in 2018, my first independent piece of casework was with a young man who I was told was at risk of

exclusion. I met with his mother and attempted to complete direct work with him, which failed because he experienced significant distress at the prospect of working with someone he didn't know. Soon after I had submitted my report, he was excluded for an alleged assault towards the headteacher. Again and again, I saw the same processes; educational psychologists asked to become involved with children that were subsequently permanently excluded. I reflected upon why this caused me to feel so impotent, and understood that as educational psychologists we are, despite our efforts, sometimes implicated in these processes.

When I began learning about internal exclusion, I understood that it was an obscured process that didn't involve the scrutiny of permanent exclusion. The school was not accountable for the data on which children were being internally excluded, and what it involved. If permanent exclusions were common among children identified as highly vulnerable, I reasoned that those who were covertly excluded inside the school would be similarly vulnerable. I hoped that internal exclusion might be used proactively to encourage the school to learn about how to best meet that child's needs in the mainstream classroom. I learned about one secondary school that was regarded by EPs as a model of best practice in internal exclusion. It was upon this basis that I formed a position to approach my research on internal exclusion; hopeful yet somewhat critical that any process of educational marginalisation could be used to facilitate inclusion.

Appendix B: Abbreviations

EP	Educational psychologist
DfE	Department for Education
PRU	Pupil referral unit
SEND	Special educational needs and disabilities
SENDCo	Special educational needs and disabilities co-ordinator
SEMH	Social, emotional and mental health
CPP	Child protection plan
CiN	Child in need
FSM	Free school meals
IE	Internal exclusion
PX	Permanent exclusion
FTE	Fixed term exclusion
EBacc	English Bacculaureate

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet



Participant Information Sheet

Understanding Internal Exclusion

You have been invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether or not to give consent to participate, it is important for you to read the following information carefully to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve.

The aims and purpose of the research

The research aims to understand how Senior Leaders in secondary schools in England make sense of the practice of Internal Exclusion. Existing research shows that this forms part of many schools' behaviour management policies, and children using Internal Exclusion may be more likely to experience other forms of exclusion. Children who have been permanently excluded are among the most vulnerable in society, so it is important that we understand more in order to inform the work of Educational Psychologists to support inclusion.

To do this, the research will involve providing participants with the opportunity to speak about their experience of Internal Exclusion, which can be also known as "inclusion, learning support, exclusion, isolation, intervention or nurture groups" (Burton, Bartlett, and de Cuevas, 2009, p.151). There is as yet little research on the use of Internal Exclusion and it seems that individual practice in schools determines how and why children spend time there. Senior Leaders are likely to play a key role in the way that these practices are implemented.

This research is to be carried out as part of the Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology course at The University of Sheffield. This project may lead to the publication of a research paper. If you wish to participate in the study and the research is to be published upon completion, you will be contacted beforehand and asked whether you wish for your data to be included.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you work in a secondary school that may have used Internal Exclusion in the past.

What would I be asked to do?

You would take part in up to two remote video interviews held using Google Meet to talk about your experiences. Each interview would last around an hour and would be audio recorded, but not video recorded.

After the first interview you will receive a transcript (written record) of the conversation, and have the chance to read this. If there is a need for any further clarification, and you have time, you may be asked to participate in a second interview.

What is the duration of the research?

The research will take place between 13th July and 6th November 2020. If you can only take part in the first interview, that's absolutely fine.

Where will the interview be conducted?

Due to the current COVID-19 pandemic, the interviews will be conducted remotely in a convenient confidential space. This may be a room in school or from a room in your home. Although interviews will not be video recorded, they will be audio recorded, so please be mindful of the location and environment in which you choose for the interview to be carried out. In case of technical issues, it may be necessary to use a phone call as a back-up.

What happens to the data collected?

The discussion in the interview will be audio recorded so that it can be transcribed. It will then be analysed using an approach called Narrative Analysis, which involves looking at the stories within the interview to understand more about the research questions. The final research will be written up and submitted within a doctoral thesis. Data will be stored for a maximum of two years after the completion of the course, after which all data will then be destroyed (by August 2023).

How is confidentiality maintained?

All the information collected during this study will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be identifiable from the research and no names or school names will be used. It will be important that you also maintain confidentiality in the event that you know any of the other participants in the study and that you communicate about what was said.

What happens if I change my mind?

If you decide to participate, you will be free to withdraw at any time without needing to provide a reason. If you have already participated in an interview you will not be able to withdraw the interview data already provided, but can rest assured that it will remain confidential and you will not be identifiable in the transcripts or analysis.

Contact details

If you would like to express interest or have any further questions, please email **Josie Faure Walker**:

Researcher: Josie Faure Walker

Trainee Educational and Child Psychologist jfaurewalker1@sheffield.ac.uk

Research supervisor: Penny Fogg

Associate Tutor, Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology p.fogg@sheffield.ac.uk

School of Education, University of Sheffield, Edgar Allen House, 241 Glossop Rd, Sheffield S10 2GW

Thank you for your time.

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form



Participant Consent Form Understanding Internal Exclusion

	Please initial the box
I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	
I understand that after I have taken part in an interview, I will not be able to withdraw the existing interview data.	
I understand that my responses will be anonymised before analysis. I give permission for the researcher and her supervisor to have access to my anonymised responses.	
I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs and that, if applicable, I will notified prior to publication.	
I agree to take part in the above research project.	

Name of participant [printed]	Signature	Date

Project contact details for further information:

If you have any further questions, please email **Josie Faure Walker**:

Researcher: Josie Faure Walker
Trainee Educational and Child Psychologist jfaurewalker1@sheffield.ac.uk

Research supervisor: Penny Fogg
Associate Tutor, Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology
p.fogg@sheffield.ac.uk

School of Education, University of Sheffield, Edgar Allen House, 241 Glossop Rd, Sheffield S10 2GW

Thank you for your time.

Appendix E: Researcher Biography



Researcher Bio

Understanding Internal Exclusion



My name is Josie and I'm a Trainee Educational and Child Psychologist at the University of Sheffield. I trained as a Secondary teacher of Art and Design in 2010 and taught in secondary schools in London for four years, before moving up to Sheffield to lead a full-time Year 12 course. Later, I worked as a mentor for university students with mental health difficulties.

I completed a MEd in Psychology of Education at the University of Manchester in 2017 and as part of this I did a research project with 13-15 year olds about the way that young people speak about refugees. I have also worked as a Research Assistant on large research projects at Manchester about the impact of the FRIENDS for Life intervention on primary aged children's self-reported social and emotional health. I was involved in another project looking at caregiver interactions with infants, in particular those who had a sibling with a diagnosis of ASD. More recently, I worked directly with children and staff at an alternative provision in Sheffield to understand their perceptions of what being ready for reintegrating back into mainstream school would look like.

I live in Sheffield with my husband and daughter. I love gardening and drawing, and alongside my husband I am (very!) slowly renovating our house.

Appendix F: Interview Troubleshooting



Interview Troubleshooting

Understanding Internal Exclusion

What if I don't know how to use Google Meet?

Google Meet is a simple video call software platform. You only need an email address to use it, and this will be the email address used that you originally used to contact me. If you would like to use an alternative email address, just let me know. Technical questions you may have are covered here <https://support.google.com/meet/?hl=en#topic=7306097>

What if the internet connection is poor?

We will have a chance to check the internet connection during a quick initial call before the first interview. This will allow us to test out Google Meet as well, to make sure that we have it set up properly. If the internet connection is persistently poor and is affecting the sound quality, I may terminate the call and in this case, I will call you back. To do this it may be necessary to send you another Google Meet invitation to your email address, so be sure to check there.

What if the call still doesn't work?

If there are persistent problems with the video call, I will call you on a telephone number that you provide to me by email.

What if I need to attend to someone else during the interview?

If you are interrupted during the interview, let me know and we can pause the call and the recording temporarily.

Appendix G: Transcription Glossary

(.)	A pause of less than a second
(...)	Longer pause
<i>Italics</i>	Emphasis
{ }	Researcher voice
-	Interruption
	Takes breath / breathes out
<>	Clears throat
<laughs> / <changes tone>	Non-verbal communication
(())	Unclear speech
[area name]	Anonymised information

Adapted and developed from Riessman (1993) and Riessman (2008).

Appendix H: Analytical Notes Made During Transcription of James's Interview

Time (mins)	Notes
5	<p>I'm a leader.</p> <p>Inclusion was invented.</p> <p>Inclusion = internal exclusion.</p> <p>Austerity stripped us bare – inclusion centres were our defence.</p> <p>Battle/Armoury/War/Defence analogies.</p>
8.25	<p>I'll do anything not to exclude now, because I have established my identity as inclusive.</p> <p>Shame of excluding. Uses "opprobrium" (less raw, more cerebral).</p> <p>Story – child in a PRU, costs a lot, expensive, but don't want to exclude. It is a dilemma.</p> <p>Inclusion = keeping a child in school</p> <p>The problem is that there will always be children that need a PRU or IE</p> <p>Dilemma – practical/funding.</p> <p>It's the underpinning philosophy that is most important to me (not others).</p>
11.19	<p>Conflicted.</p> <p>Not responsibility of appeals panel to question behaviour policy, but I can see how poor the advocacy is for parents.</p>

	<p>Prefaces story on what happens in IE with socioeconomic status data of the area. Significance of deprivation and use of IE?</p> <p>We need to take a stand.</p> <p>Teachers are only contractually bound to teach.</p> <p>Overall narrative – starts with who I am, my views on inclusion.</p> <p>Then what we have to do on the ground.</p>
15.30	Is he referring to phoning/meeting EPs, or to parents?
20.00	Safeguarding story. I put the children first.
25.30	<p>It's the headteacher that determines the tone of the inclusion centre.</p> <p>Mine is inclusive because of who I am.</p> <p>Theory behind inclusion - is it a practical means or an ethos?</p> <p>Boys only catholic school, is that relevant?</p>
28.11	<p>Refugees story. Did he read my biography and tell me this story as a result?</p> <p>Being inclusive in a general sense.</p> <p>Can someone be put on a road of self-discovery? Without being willing?</p> <p>They have been removed – did they have a choice?</p> <p>Tension between inclusivity and processes of school management.</p>
30.39	<p>“Escort” suggests police?</p> <p>Sense that he just wanted to talk. Just giving that space allowed him to reason and understand his position.</p>

31.05	“Our society” adult world is different to that of children?
32.40	Police have been cut – he needs to police the community instead.
38.28	Only now introduces “behaviour centre”, this is separate to the inclusion centre. Highlights role of whole school ethos on the individual child’s behaviour.
39.29	Implies teachers’ being knackered/tired at point in the year accounts for higher use of inclusion centre. Teacher burnout/stress, emotional labour.
42.00	Describing outsourcing PRU for other schools (capacity of home school teachers, support staff, space). To make such a profit must have had 5+ pupils in the unit every day of the school year.
43.47	Money. PRUs are business. Stick/adhere to policy.
46.19	If such a variety of reasons bringing children to the behaviour centre how can it be the same or similar process for them to return to school? Only raised the selling of places towards the end of the interview.
46.26	“Recidivist rate” suggests penal/police.
52.00	Headteacher provoking children so that they are excluded.

01.00.00	<p>Note how much the conversation has switched from beliefs in inclusion and now isolation booths.</p> <p>Business of monetising it.</p> <p>I'm presenting a better alternative to a PRU (informed by my principles).</p> <p>Aligning policy and philosophy.</p>
----------	--

Appendix I: Analytical Notes Made During Transcription of Phil's Interview

Time (mins)	Notes
3.55	Mentions SEND and curriculum modifications.
4.42	<p>'We've' never called it...</p> <p>'We' see it as a mechanism...</p> <p>A decision is 'made'.</p> <p>'Our' experience.</p> <p>Calls attention to when it's him speaking 'personally'.</p> <p>Mechanistic approach?</p> <p>"dumping ground"</p> <p>A process – do they have SEND? Look at environment – teaching in mainstream or AP?</p> <p>Talking through his reflection of ending use of the Growth Hub.</p> <p>'Significant breach' of behaviour policy.</p> <p>Now they are excluded- COVID-19 impact.</p> <p>Ofsted inspection. What would their position on IE be?</p> <p>Felt I had more of a dialogue, an exchange, with Phil rather than James.</p> <p>Notion of 'purposeful' ignoring instructions.</p> <p>Capacity as a school, impact of COVID-19.</p> <p>Children have got to behave, or be excluded.</p> <p>Forensic tracking of behaviour – cf. Foucault (1977) categories and code.</p>

7.30	Sense of child having additional rules to follow due to COVID-19, for adults wellbeing not the child's (disease is more dangerous for adults).
13.40	<p>Story – 7/8 years ago.</p> <p>Punitive authoritarian approach in school.</p> <p>Pupils got a bad deal.</p> <p>Stamp authority.</p> <p>Business-like talk, like a work interview?</p> <p>We've gone full circle, from reactive to proactive.</p> <p>Story of his impact on the school.</p>
16.42	<p>'Empathy' and rules – what dominates?</p> <p>A lot about staffing. Strong and experienced teachers, firm but fair.</p> <p>Behaviourism – same pupils at pastoral staff's door. Intervention was not working to cure them.</p>
18.38	Good/outstanding leadership – second mention of Ofsted
20.08	<p>Story about disadvantaged child.</p> <p>Difficult child, didn't get it right.</p> <p>At loggerheads with sanctions.</p> <p>Conversations – quality people, made the difference. Now in 6th form.</p> <p>Moral purpose – what we are all about.</p> <p>We need to work extra hard with those from disadvantaged backgrounds. Emotionally intelligent people can do this.</p>

	<p>Appointing these people is key – less about what they do but more who they are.</p> <p>COVID-19 – the times we're in now. Significant breach justifies exclusion.</p> <p>Breaching safety – how can you be reasonable if in the wrong area, it is unsafe. They know what they've done.</p> <p>'We' make a decision and need to protect integrity of our rules.</p> <p>Moves into more punitive talk now.</p>
20.44	<p>Solutions focus. This would require identifying the problem (within this paradigm)</p> <p>The community – 25% disadvantaged cohort?</p> <p>Convince/elicit response from family</p>
23.48	<p>Stamping out/dealing with bad behaviour</p>
24.41	<p>Government > school > child.</p> <p>Hierarchical document advised what school should/should not do regarding COVID-19 rules.</p>
25.04	<p>Can't reason with the madness of a child wilfully disobeying the rules.</p>
27.00	<p>Protect the integrity of COVID-19 rules, controlling physical movement and mixing.</p>
30.46	<p>Start of the Growth Hub story.</p> <p>Called it isolation. But wasn't in charge of things then.</p>

	<p>Wanted to pull it apart.</p> <p>Instill a 'moral purpose'. Moralising discourse.</p> <p>A 'good and beyond school'. Ofsted.</p> <p>Growth Hub 'allowed them to'.</p> <p>'work' mechanism.</p> <p>Now it's called SEMH Hub – publicised with teachers and popular in school.</p> <p>Using published programmes 'off the shelf'.</p> <p>Mechanism.</p> <p>Pupils self-refer.</p> <p>Very much about identifying and isolating 'problems' and treating them,</p> <p>Health-based, treatment ideal.</p> <p>Things that 'we want to grow in people'. Engineering.</p> <p>Done to not with.</p> <p>IE is constructed as punitive, it doesn't offer a solution that Growth Hub does.</p> <p>Flowchart approach?</p> <p>Is the narrative to argue, persuade, mislead? – or even mobilise others e.g. teachers?</p> <p>SEMH Hub will be at end of day, an addition.</p> <p>I have been successful in getting interest in this approach from teachers, who also want to do things differently.</p> <p>Low level social care is futile.</p>
--	---

	Very much a health model.
31.00	Behaviourism. About child reflecting on what they had done, to change their behaviour.
42.15	Low-level social care is not effective, preference to do things 'in house'.
43.24	School is 'a very stressful place'. Mentions pupil voice – but tokenistic? Does it inform? Easy win, easy fix that using programmes result in simple effect. Reductive. Marketing drive to publicise SEMH Hub. Sell it to people. Positive wave.
44.58	With the intelligent people in the building we can fix the problems (located inside the child).
49.00	We've identified values that we want pupils to have.
50.11	School is trying to do everything in house (because public sector has been stripped away? Although doesn't say this explicitly). School is a machine. Is SEMH Hub like targeted PSHE lessons?

Appendix J: Sample of Annotated Transcript from James's Interview

Initial reading 4/12/20

Second reading 21/12/20

Third reading 31/12/20

Fourth reading 18/2/21

{Ok (.) all right (.) we're recording

So (.) thanks very much again for taking part

(...)

So could you tell a little bit about your experience of internal exclusion}

Ok. So (I remember when this whole thing started (...)

It will be sometime now let me get my my my chronology right (...)

I was working at a school in [area name]

I think I was the head of year and it came as a huge-

I think it must have been after the 97 Labour er Labour victory and y

idea of inclusion was first mooted and er I remember teachers were at the time

That children that previously

Would end up putting in PRUs and units and

Would virtually disappear in other words they were told not to come

This was obviously not under my regime (.) of leadership I was just mere cog in the wheel er

Were gonna be encouraged to stay in school because of this inclus

and <changes tone> There were lots of resistance to it at the time 'c

obviously it was seen as part of a er er cost cutting agenda

And that skills teachers didn't really have the skills (to deal with the children that we might have to keep

So uh y'know so I've been close to the whole inclusion uh practically sort of educationally for the best- over 20 years now

And y'know like anything y'know teachers and professionals get use things pretty quickly and there's so many changes and we're consta

to adapt and and and reconfigure the way we work (

embodied political
I've been doing this a long time, this whole thing is different (to what was before)
Shock?

Idea of 'Inclusion' originated in policy

I was a teacher then.
It was an outside political force acting upon us
Inclusion means 'staying in school'

Humanity story
I witnessed bad practice before I was a leader
Resistance from others, not me?

Teachers need specialist skills

Policy defines our work

So after a couple of years y'know it (be) came part of the culture of the school to do things around here

And in the early days we saw it as a as a very beneficial adjunct to a behaviour policy in school (.)

So if a child was kicking off he just went there (.)

There was very little thought behind it

Very little sort of theoretical understanding that this might keep them (<b) rather than have them on the streets etcetera (<b) it was just a supportive strategy for teachers within the school (<b)

And I think in those early days I worked quite (.) well there and at the time I was deputy head in [area name] or [area name] (<b)

And in those very early days I think it was really progressive because there was lots of sharing of inclusion centres-

So if things weren't going well in one school

We would we would contact another school and we would swap children

And that always worked quite well y'know that idea of a second or a third but you never give up on anybody (.)

And I remember that it was led by some very progressive politics and some very strong thinkers of the time and and so I remember that early 2000s quite positively As you know we got our heads round the theory of it inclusion

I think what happened um certainly (.) as (.) following the election of the Labour government we saw a more hard nosed and erm cynical approach to inclusion I thought it was being used erm

First of all to keep fixed term exclusion figures down but also being used more and more to (<b)

Rather than to challenge restoratively some of the issues which children had (.) which was a key feature of the early period I thought

It was being used more and more just to keep kids out of class (...)

And y'know I by that stage I was (.) well ensconced in senior management

Not headship yet still involved in senior management had lots of experience of it this time in by y'know [area name] several key [area name] boards

We - authority

Inclusion is a place

Going to 'inclusion' might keep them in school

There was a secondary benefit to inclusion in school, not just saving money any more For children?

It's progressive to share inclusion centres Initially teachers were horrified, then it became the culture, then it was progressive

Avoiding PX

What is the theory of inclusion here?

Political story of IE – coalition government

Challenge?

Was it to do with funding, mainly? Intentionally, for exam reasons?

Dumping ground / sin bin analogy

Embodied – regret? Remorse?

And you could see a degree of cynicism there that there were children in
inclusion units all day long
Every day all day long (<b)

Appendix K: Samples of Research Diary

<p>11/12/20 supervision</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health is improving now • Abstract submitted • Transcription 1 completed. Listened to recording 2 and need to transcribe • Early analytical thoughts about 1. • found Dr Chris Bagley on podcast, individualism of English education and school exclusion=social exclusion • Supervisor feedback on transcription 1 – very rich data, liked way it had been transcribed. Liked breaths being included – like stress. Protagonist, political story. Story of him across his career. Lots of small stories throughout to remind you of his humanity. He had thought about it a lot. • 2 PPTS have very different ways of making sense • Enough data already even regardless of covid circumstances • Interview 2 – EMWB agenda and trying to solve it in school. Do behaviourism AND do mental health. • 1. Person and his own experiences. Told the political story first, legitimises his later actions (monetising the PRU) • I expected that the interviews would discuss behaviour policy, but neither participant raised policy directly or any detail in it – skirted around policy, a discontinuity in both accounts. IE and exclusion are totally separate from behaviour policy. • 2- Managerialism. Look up Sartre – managerial roles, complete contempt for managerialism as it abdicated personal responsibility for your actions. Following orders. • 1- analyse in reference to Susan Chase – autobiographical narratives. Dilemmas. Take story on its own terms. • Levels of analysis – interpretative – commenting on the type of story. • What does this tell me about my research question? • Thematic – what’s in there, contrast with each other • 2. The clinic is evident– EMWB agenda, internalise the discourse which is now brought into schools. Did not mention inclusion at all • 1. Just how difficult this is in a secondary school. Acknowledges role of head. Acknowledges how power is expressed – from him on to the pupils. Power as care. Exercising power. • Overnight the meaning of inclusion changed – became a beaurocratic thing about keeping children in school , it changed its meaning. Inclusion = simulacrum, a fake thing • School is like a mini version of society
---------------------------------	---

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2. Social landscape – contrast. Did not mention society or contextualise school at all. Just enacts it. • Select what I want to focus on, don't have to follow anyones recipe • Write actions in process – diary • Do literature review at the end. • Steps: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Transcribe both 2. Write a written summary of each story 3. Contrasts between stories 4. What psychological theory is relevant here? 5. Themes- inclusion and mental health
22/02/21	<p>Unfortunately, really tired this Monday morning. On Saturday I started planning out clusters of themes/stories on post its based on ideas from the 'detox your writing' book which was really helpful. My findings chapter at present is very unformed, descriptive, and just chunks of text. It needs to be much more digested and I have a lot of writing to do. I've probably been avoiding it because it is demanding intellectual work. I have now created broad clusters for James:</p> <p>Stories –</p> <p>Protagonist:</p> <p>Me and my values</p> <p>Changing a school culture</p> <p>Being entrepreneurial</p>

	<p>Political:</p> <p>The political evolution of IE</p> <p>Government not monitoring exclusions in relation to FSM and ethnicity</p> <p>Thatcher and the destruction of industry</p> <p>Society:</p> <p>Rules and regulations in society</p> <p>PRUs are expensive, and just keep CYP off the streets – they don't 'work'</p> <p>Themes –</p> <p>The protagonist's struggle</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Heateacher sets the weather” • Inclusion as my moral ethos <p>Inclusion/Exclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to “keep kids in school” • Competitive educational system “laissez faire” “dog eat dog” at odds with inclusion • “inconsistency in the inclusion process” • “we need to find a way of dealing with our non-white citizens” • Purpose of school (to include its community) <p>What works</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no money • Inclusion centres throughout the year • Inclusion centres as a sanctuary
--	--

Because I've come to a stall with the findings which need substantial rewriting, I'm going to use the v5 draft that I have as notes and then will write from scratch using the headings above for James. Try it this way writing from scratch rather than fiddling around editing.

I'm also going to deal with each account separately – these are 'chunks' to be written.

Target to complete James's writing today. Then go back to the following targets:

- Go back through transcripts/findings looking for discursive devices and state them in the text.
- Restructuring and rewriting findings, section by section towards 1st draft.
- Can use Potter representing reality (1996) to assist further in this
- Reading of Rose, Rabinow, on psychologization of distress and the clinic, for discussion

Appendix L: Reflections on James's Interview

James told lots of political stories and those about the cultures of a school setting. The political context seemed to define the practice in the school, as well as the headteacher. He made it clear that the children came first, that he was an inclusive leader. I was struck by James's extensive experience. Rather than report on internal exclusion he told me a life story of working in schools. I was left feeling aligned with his experience and the conflicts between the directed policy, that seemed to encourage exclusionary processes, and his inclusive values. Perhaps I experienced something similar as a teacher and now as a trainee EP.

Appendix M: Reflections on Phil's Interview

I noted that Phil didn't seem to tell many easily identifiable individual stories, but the interview as a whole was on a narrative arc of school improvement. I felt a bit detached from his account as the exchange felt very business-like. It reminded me of conversations with senior leaders when I had been a teacher. On reflection, I don't think that he trusted me with his honest views about the practice at school. He knew that I was on placement at the Local Authority and I knew his school. Perhaps he was fearful that his data wouldn't be fully anonymous and that the headteacher might find out if what he said was critical. He did give the impression of wanting to change things at school for the better, and was very enthusiastic about the SEMH Hub. He was proud of it, and I think he sought validation from me, knowing that the planned interventions were associated with EP work.

Appendix N: Ethical Approval Letter



Downloaded: 15/01/2021 Approved: 01/07/2020

Josephine Faure Walker
Registration number: 180107500
School of Education
Programme: Doctor of Educational and Child Psychology

Dear Josephine

PROJECT TITLE: How do secondary school senior leaders make sense of the practice of 'internal exclusion' during a period of school disruption due to the Covid-19 Pandemic?

APPLICATION: Reference Number 034672

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 01/07/2020 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

University research ethics application form 034672 (form submission date: 11/06/2020); (expected project end date: 30/08/2021).

Participant information sheet 1079963 version 2 (11/06/2020).

Participant information sheet 1079962 version 2 (11/06/2020).

Participant information sheet 1079960 version 2 (11/06/2020). Participant consent form 1079961 version 2 (11/06/2020).

If during the course of the project you need to [deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation](#) please inform me since written approval will be required.

Your responsibilities in delivering this research project are set out at the end of this letter. Yours sincerely

David Hyatt
Ethics Administrator School of Education

Please note the following responsibilities of the researcher in delivering the research project:

The project must abide by the University's Research Ethics Policy:

<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure>

The project must abide by the University's Good Research & Innovation Practices Policy:

https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.671066!/file/GRIPPolicy.pdf

The researcher must inform their supervisor (in the case of a student) or Ethics Administrator (in the case of a member of staff) of any significant changes to the project or the approved documentation.

The researcher must comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.

The researcher is responsible for effectively managing the data collected both during and after the end of the project in line with best practice, and any relevant legislative, regulatory or contractual requirements.

Appendix O: James's Interview Transcript

1 {Ok (.) all right (.) we're recording
2 So (.) thanks very much again for taking part
3 (...)
4 So could you tell a little bit about your experience of internal exclusion}
5 Ok. So (<b) I remember when this whole thing started (...)
6 It will be sometime now let me get my my my chronology right (...)
7 I was working at a school in [area name]
8 I think I was the head of year and it came as a huge-
9 I think it must have been after the 97 Labour er Labour victory and y'know the
10 idea of inclusion was first mooted and er I remember teachers were horrified at
11 the time
12 That children that previously
13 Would end up putting in PRUs and units and
14 Would virtually disappear in other words they were told not to come to school
15 This was obviously not under my regime (.) of leadership I was just er er a mere
16 cog in the wheel er
17 Were gonna be encouraged to stay in school because of this inclusive model
18 and <changes tone> There were lots of resistance to it at the time 'cause
19 obviously it was seen as part of a er er cost cutting agenda
20 And that skills teachers didn't really have the skills (<b) to deal with some of the
21 children that we might have to keep
22 So uh y'know so I've been close to the whole inclusion uh practically and and
23 sort of educationally for the best- over 20 years now
24 And y'know like anything y'know teachers and professionals get used to things
25 pretty quickly and there's so many changes and we're constantly have to adapt
26 and and and reconfigure the way we work (<b)
27 So after a couple of years y'know it (be)came part of the culture of the way we
28 do things around here
29 And in the early days we saw it as a as a very beneficial adjunct to a behaviour
30 policy in school (.)
31 So if a child was kicking off he just went there (.)

32 There was very little thought behind it
33 Very little sort of theoretical understanding that this might keep them in school
34 (<b) rather than have them on the streets etcetera (<b) it was *just* a supportive
35 strategy for teachers within the school (<b)
36 And I think in those early days I worked quite (.) well there and at that stage I
37 was deputy head in [area name] or [area name] (<b)
38 And in those very early days I think it was really *progressive* because there was
39 lots of sharing of inclusion centres-
40 So if things weren't going well in one school
41 We would we would contact another school and we would swap children
42 And that always worked quite well y'know that idea of a second or a third start
43 but you never give up on anybody (.)
44 And I remember that it was lead by some very progressive politics and some
45 very strong thinkers of the time and and so I remember that early 2000 period
46 quite positively As you know we got our heads round the theory of it of of
47 inclusion
48 I think what happened um certainly (.) as (.) following the election of 2010 was
49 erm we saw a more hard nosed and erm *cynical* approach to inclusion when I
50 thought it was being used erm
51 First of all to keep *fixed* term exclusion figures down but also being used more
52 and more and more to (<b)
53 Rather than to challenge restoratively some of the issues which children had (.)
54 which was a key feature of the early period I thought
55 It was being used more and more just to keep kids out of class (...)
56 And y'know I by that stage I was (.) well ensconced in senior management (.)
57 Not headship yet still involved in senior management had lots of experience of it
58 this time in by y'know [area name] several key [area name] boroughs (<b)
59 And you could see a degree of cynicism there that there were children in
60 inclusion units all day long
61 Every day all day long (<b)
62 And more often than not (.) there was very little restorative practice going on
63 They were holding centres and pens (.) just to keep difficult kids out of class (.)

64 And y'know it wouldn't be unusual to hear
65 As a child went to a class a teacher-
66 Get down to whatever the inclusion centre was called y'know? (<b)
67 So I think that became that erm became quite common (<b) during that period
68 when
69 <changes tone> When austerity because y'know everything has to be seen in its
70 context (.) doesn't it
71 When austerity really began to hit <short period> hard in society and in schools
72 around 2013 (.) 14
73 And there was no chance of that ending I think you saw a reaction of-
74 Inclusion was just
75 Help us out here
76 We haven't got the *strategies* (.) we haven't got the *training* (.)we haven't got the
77 additional *staff* we used to have (<b)
78 Local authority support staff had been totally eviscerated (<b)
79 The *only thing* that really- the only thing we had in our armoury-
80 We could increasingly not exclude children (.)the only thing we have in our in our
81 armoury is the inclusion centre-
82 So it became quite a cynical er er half- er opportunity just to keep difficult kids er
83 out of class
84 And when I became head (.) about 2012 (.) 2013
85 Certainly that was common (.) but I just saw it as an opportunity then to use quite
86 a good space and some very experienced battle-weary (<b) but positive staff er
87 All women in this case
88 To to to to sort of to try to go back to those (<b) more positive more progressive
89 days of the sort of post 97 period
90 And so we began to introduce restorative work and and and psychotherapeutic
91 and counselling work
92 To *our* inclusion centre
93 So (<b)
94 There's a little potted history (.) over the last 20 odd years of my relationship with
95 inclusion centres under various guises

96 {OK (...)}
97 I mean don't forget always (.) y'know irrespective of the *staff* I've worked with in
98 5,6 (.) 7 or 8 inclusion centres (.)
99 I think the tone is always set by the management of the school (.) by the
100 headteacher so he or she really really (<b)
101 Irrespective of (.) of the culture of the school and how the the the centre is used
102 always the individual who who who sort of creates the weather
103 So we are y'know (.) I like to think in our school we're rel- relatively progressive
104 and positive (<b)
105 And have a an inclusive (.) and embracing view of all
106 Therefore the the inclusion centre merely reflects the general culture (.) and
107 environment and ethos of the school y'know (...)
108 {Hmm}
109 It'd be very unusual (.) to have a cynical dumping ground of a centre
110 In a school which was progressive and inclusive itself y'know
111 One is part of the other
112 And they couldn't have them out of sync really
113 So (.) in the last five years I've been Ofsted inspector as well so I've seen *lots* of
114 inclusion centres
115 Some of which are are *breathtakingly* positive and include y'know erm er lots
116 of *health* focus and wellbeing and I've seen y-
117 Maybe when the Ofsted inspector walks into it-
118 I've seen this on a number of occasions
119 You walk into an inclusion centre and they're all doing yoga (.)
120 and you think blimey that's good!
121 But of course <laughs> it's-
122 Someone's on the phone saying the bloody inspector's coming down the stairs
123 get out the yoga mats <laughs>
124 {<laughs>}
125 After once or twice you <laughs> you just-
126 Y'know we've all done those sorts of things because y'know it's it's a outcome
127 derived erm environment

128 But y'know nonetheless (.) it illustrates what can be very very progressive
129 Equally (.) I've seen some cu- I've seen some cupboards (.)essentially
130 Cupboards where naughty kids are in
131 And it's just (.) uh (.)
132 Nobody benefits from that (.)I mean
133 *Nobody* benefits child teacher school parents society-
134 And increasingly because y'know the focus is shifting on inclusion more and
135 more I mean they're become less less and less frequent. Ok?
136 {Hmm yes that's interesting erm (.) about the the the focus being more on
137 inclusion (.) tell me more about that}
138 Yeah I mean I just think you know (<b)
139 Yes well y'know
140 Is it because y'know there's there's lots of of of positive thinkers in [area name]
141 schools I don't know y'know
142 You could have a more worldly view and say (.) y'know
143 Ofsted and Local Authorities and the government (<b) have got a really really
144 sharp focus now on fixed term exclusions (.)
145 {Hmm}
146 Y'know and this is all this is all ((ex stamp)) and public domain documentation
147 (<b)
148 So if you're excluding three or four children a year (.) it's there
149 For all to see
150 And you are held to *account* for it and it's broken down in terms of gender (.)
151 ethnicity (.) free school meals (<b)
152 And y'know we haven't at my school fixed term excluded a child for three years
153 (<b) and
154 *Largely* (.) that's because of our ethos (.) but also because I don't want the public
155 focus (.)
156 Of (.) why has this happened (<b)
157 And I also do a lot of work with erm sort of free school meals and disadvantaged
158 kids and black Caribbean kids (<b)
159 And once you say something like

160 We haven't excluded for three years
161 You become er er a victim in many ways of your own pronouncement and you
162 don't *want* to exclude any more
163 So you'll do everything (.) to try to avoid it so
164 In addition to a positive ethos I think a lot of schools
165 Really don't want to have that opprobrium (.) and that negativity
166 Of of seeing to be a school that excludes an awful lot of children-
167 I think *thirdly* you could argue (.)
168 Back in the day (.) y'know I mean I've been teaching in [area name] and I'm from
169 Manchester y'know ((back for)) I've been I came to LSE I did my university
170 degree here in the mi-early eighties-
171 So I've been teaching in [area name] over 32 (.) 33 *years* now (<b)
172 And (.) in the *early* days you know you couldn't *move* in [area name] for PRUs
173 and units and some of them which were just basically people's houses (.)
174 God it just wouldn't be allowed now y'know they wouldn't pass mustard at all
175 But they were they got very expensive (.)
176 {Hmm}
177 Y'know we have one child in Year 8 at the moment we've got in a y'know in a a
178 in a decent provision in west [area name] (.) 'cause everything we've tried
179 y'know has failed and I don't I *do not* want to permanently exclude for reasons
180 we've spoken about before <takes in breath>
181 Y'know if we get 5000 from the government (.) we're paying probably 7 and a half
182 (.) 8 thousand for this year 8 lad so PRUs are very expensive (.)
183 {Hmm}
184 And in many cases not particularly efficacious either
185 So I think *another* reason why inclusion has (.) grown in popularity is because
186 *It's cheaper*
187 {Hmm}
188 Schools have space (.) you need a couple of TAs and train em up (.) and over a
189 couple of years you're gonna get your money back *tenfold* (<b)
190 Rather than have three or four children in a PRU
191 {Hmm}

192 You imagine if you got five or six or seven children (.) in a pupil referral unit or
193 some private unit that ex- y'know which still exists y'know you could be spending
194 a hundred thousand pounds out your budget
195 Which y'know increasingly (.) schools don't have (.)
196 So there's never ever one reason is there why something is (.) why something
197 predominates but I would say culturally
198 {Hmm}
199 More and more schools are are of that ilk (.) in my experience er and the
200 opprobrium about fixed term exclusions and the cost of private PRUs
201 {Hmm}
202 All sort of reinforce the idea that we should try to do as much as possible (<b) to
203 keep kids in school
204 And I think the the *philosophy* thing to me is more important I've seen-
205 *Just from experience* (.) y'know
206 Permanent exclusion doesn't work
207 {Hmm}
208 It simply does not work (.) y'know
209 And I do at least one permanent exclusion panel a month (.) in several different
210 [area name] boroughs
211 And *invariably* we uphold them (.) because you can only ever on an appeal (<b)
212 judge the the the
213 Align the incident with the school's behaviour policy
214 {Hmm}
215 I mean you can't attack the behaviour policy because that's that's not our
216 responsibility
217 So schools *always* have a behaviour policy which of course (.)
218 Is gonna *work* because otherwise (.)
219 Y'know (.) they wouldn't have it erm (.)
220 So invariably unless they cock up (.) which schools sometimes do but (.) they
221 don't (.) erm and invariably fixed term what I've found is the the advocacy for
222 some of the parents who invariably are black and poor and uneducated the
223 advocacy is very very poor

224 {Hmm <quietly> right}
225 Y'know I've often sat there and thought y'know if they had a decent lawyer
226 {Hmm}
227 Y'know like a Manchester city UEFA cup lawyer or something (<b) this case
228 would last thirty seconds-
229 They would just cut right through it like a hot knife through butter
230 But they don't
231 So they never win
232 And I see these children invariably go to go to PRUs
233 Get y'know get moved around different schools if they're young
234 But there's never any red- really restorative work that goes into them
235 {Hmm}
236 So fixed term exclusions from societal educational point don't work
237 And like I say I live in [area name] and I come across loads of children who have
238 been excluded
239 And nine times out of ten y'know their life doesn't *end* (.) y'know
240 They carry on
241 But y'know that process takes an awful lot longer so
242 I think a lot of us have recognised that fixed term exclusions as as a society thing
243 are y'know needs addressing really ((another complex answer)) sorry
244 {Hmm ok (.) when you talk about inclusion i- within the unit (.) can you tell me a
245 little bit about what happens in there}
246 Ok
247 {Er er you call it the inclusion unit (.) is that right?}
248 It works on a couple of different levels really erm (...)
249 We've got a thousand children in our school and y'know things happen y'know
250 I've worked in schools over the years where y'know where y'know where (.)
251 where drugs are big are frequent
252 Where children have had *knives*
253 Where sadly we had a *gun* once many many years ago (.) so y'know we have to
254 be to recognise that
255 Schools aren't erm isolated erm (.) institutions they reflect the the the the the the

256 society in which they *live* (.)

257 So y'know you have I work now in a place called [area of school] in west [area

258 name] which is y'know which is fairly rough y'know if you look at the the social

259 economic profile of the school (<b) we would find ourselves in the fifth quintile for

260 fors household poverty (.) for pupil poverty and for for crime etcetera etcetera so

261 y'know

262 In terms of mathematical percentages it doesn't get any *higher* than that so of

263 course

264 So your school is gonna reflect the area in which you're in in which in in which

265 y'know it *exists* in (<b)

266 And therefore you have to do everything as a as a school to *prevent* that y'know

267 you know you have to have an oasis as much as possible so- (<b)

268 The inclusion level centre works on various different levels

269 I think first and foremost is as a *proactive* base (.)

270 So we would say for example if the child is having a number of issues in a

271 number of classes there's a problem (.)

272 Usually if it's one class (.) it's down to the teacher and it could be sorted dead

273 easily (<b)

274 But if it's *common* (.) right across a number of lessons there's a clearer issue

275 going on (<b)

276 And y'know we might identify what the issue is and realise that there's some

277 restorative work that needs to be going on there

278 And he'd be taken out of class (.) for a period of time into the inclusion centre

279 (<b)

280 We've got various different small rooms and we employ counsellors and

281 psychother- therapeutic mentors (.) and very very experienced LSAs who have

282 worked in our inclusion centre for years

283 They can try to address the problem work with parents etcetera

284 So it works on that level and

285 That can be planned (.)

286 So it's phone call parent text tomorrow (.) y'know John will be in the [Epiphany]

287 centre as we call it for for a day two days because we're concerned about (.)

288 whatever it might be (.)
289 And secondly (.) if a child is persistently *naughty* (.) we will say right we are
290 taking you out of circulation for a couple of days (.)
291 And that means *essentially* we're keeping you away from your social mates (.)
292 because You're doing *exactly* the same work as everybody else
293 Your teacher contractually is responsible for ensuring that (.) the same work that
294 he or she would do in class (.) they do in the inclusion unit (.) erm (.)
295 So you don't miss out anything academically but they do miss *socially*
296 And *I* find that to be a really powerful punishment (.) because y'know
297 As we've found out in the last few *months* (.) the things that children love most
298 about school is the social side of it y'know and I agree with it y'know
299 Schools can be very good (.) fun places
300 So that that's also proactive (.) because it's something that can be planned (.)
301 y'know
302 We've not been happy with John's performance (.) he's causing a lot of
303 disruption
304 other children and teachers are y'know pissed off with him etcetera (.)
305 Sorry I forgot I was being recorded there
306 {It's alright}
307 Erm therefore this is what we're trying to do and y'know
308 Invariably it's y'know we give him the detention
309 We've done a bit of softy softy talking to him
310 We've phoned you (.) we've met you (.) nothing's worked
311 This is the next step
312 And I always would say in the letter y'know this is a this is a journey
313 Invariably it'll mean y'know he'll be back in class everything will be OK
314 But if not we will revisit this this y'know this process
315 And so it works proactively like that I think reactively it's it's one of the biggest
316 things for the inclusion centre cause y'know
317 In a school of a thousand people and eighty teachers <takes breath (.) pauses>
318 Things happen! Y'know
319 We have fights we have disagreements we have explosions of emotion

320 We have very many (.) lots of vulnerable children
321 Who sometimes just need time out
322 They just need to get away from thirty other kids and the teachers
323 And the hassle and
324 Where's your shoes and your tie and
325 I told you not to do that yesterday
326 Y'know it's uh (.) it's not a pressure cooker environment
327 But it's like any workplace y'know we get stressed and we get sick of each other
328 (<b)
329 And so the inclusion centre is a really good time out space
330 And I'll often see kids screaming their head off walking down the corridor crying
331 their eyes out (.)
332 Take themselves to inclusion centre
333 {Hmm}
334 Y'know something just happened on the playground or this happened whatever it
335 might be (<b)
336 Occasionally you'll see it first thing in the morning (.)
337 Some'll go walking right past yer
338 What's the matter eh y'know or what's the matter with her?
339 Something at home (.) and they'll go in there and there'll just space themselves
340 for a moment and then
341 Kids are great (.) y'know (.) they're very resilient
342 Twenty five minutes later half an hour later
343 They're back in class again as if nothing has happened
344 I think this fourth thing which also is part of the of the reactive is
345 If a child is naughty (.)
346 I don't think that child's naughtiness can often be addressed straight away in the
347 class
348 It *can* be (.) but sometimes it can't (.)
349 So we'd have the class we'd have the child removed from the class
350 And then try to find out what happened y'know
351 Again (.) 90% of the time it it's *incredibly* petty (.)

352 {Hmm}
353 And we're back in class for the next lesson
354 Erm and if they're not in class for the next lesson it's a bit more serious they
355 might take a couple of hours to come back (<b)
356 But I think that's a really good it's a really (.)
357 One of the things about punishment and inclusion is not just (<b) for the victim
358 Or the or the or the receptor of the punishment
359 It's a really good thing in an institution for the other children to know about
360 Y'know in society we do have laws and we do have regulations
361 And we try to let the children know that rules and regulations are there for the
362 common good (.)
363 Y'know I have invented y'know speed limits or y'know (.) drinking ages or
364 anything (.) they're there for all of us
365 {Hmm}
366 And it's the same in school
367 So learning how to respect obey the rules (.)
368 Is not just (.) important for a for a for a performative reason it makes school work
369 well too it also makes you a functioning member of a of a democratic society as
370 you get older
371 And further
372 If you go against those rules there will be consequences so
373 If you constantly interrupt the teacher or you causing trouble in the class it's for
374 the good of all (.)
375 {Hmm}
376 To be temporarily removed to have a restorative conversation of which all my
377 staff are trained in (<b)
378 They know key questions (.) they know the things to ask (.)
379 <laughs> most of the time because we're only y'know we're all human
380 We all come in to work with y'know bad days and y'know emotional issues
381 ourselves
382 That's just the way it is
383 Y'know but they will *know* that eight or nine key questions as a restorative

384 conversation that we are trained in that
385 {Hmm}
386 We will *begin* a conversation and
387 Like I say (...)
388 I can think of maybe one or two three or four examples
389 In the last four five years where it's kind of
390 Really hasn't worked (...)
391 Most of the time it does (.) and the children (.)
392 I mean most of the time (.) I don't even know about these things
393 Y'know I'm sitting in my office drinking tea of course y'know
394 Er and I get reports back about this
395 But it it works well
396 {Hmm}
397 Now years ago
398 Before this would have happened (<b)
399 Again y'know I I I did History I taught History and English and then I was head of
400 department (.) head of year
401 Up until about 95 96 those children would have gone home (...)
402 {Hmm}
403 Often (.) without a phone call (...)
404 Like see ya! Come back tomorrow
405 And it just jeepers creepers y'know
406 From a safeguarding point of view
407 Forget the legality of it (.)
408 And I started teaching in 88 and I can kind of
409 Only (...)
410 I was going to say then actually that
411 It must have been even worse in the past (.)
412 But I don't think it was because the structures and the structuralism of education
413 was different
414 In the 60s and 70s (.)
415 Because in those days we had (...) I mean y'know obviously you know this you're

416 a student yourself y'know
417 But (.) y'know there was a school in Salford basically Salford comp
418 Which is now some big flashy academy (<b)
419 And erm up until around round the 40s it was a kind of erm er post war school
420 and ran until the 90s
421 Nobody ever passed an exam
422 (...)
423 Nobody was ever ever was entered for an exam
424 I think one person was entered for a music exam once (<b)
425 Some time in the early se-
426 Read a book y'know read a book about the origins of the academies and how
427 schools have changed (<b) er
428 And the teachers were all interviewed in this fascinating sort of ethnographic
429 study
430 And their job was just getting through the day
431 If they got through the day without it kicking off then they were happy
432 A little bit of English a little bit of maths y'know
433 And it was a proper proper secondary modern comprehensive school (<b)
434 But (.) because of the area it was just full of working class kids (.)
435 The difference was (...)
436 Academically there was never any expectations but
437 <changes tone> It didn't *matter* (.) because everybody got a job (.)
438 {Hmm}
439 You left at 15 and 16 and from where I'm from in Salford y'know *everybody* got a
440 a job (.) in the factories (.) in the the docks (.) principally (.) and not only a job (.)
441 but a *decent* job (.) a skilled job
442 A job that enabled them to buy a house (.) or get a council house (.) and a car (.)
443 and have a couple of holidays a year (.)
444 And it was the same for the women (.) to a lesser extent of course because
445 y'know roles were roles were different then
446 So in terms of sort of behaviour and inclusion and exclusion (.)
447 It didn't *matter*

448 Because society was organised in a different way
449 Now of course (.) once you took away that that outcome
450 Those jobs were gone (.) and they *are* gone
451 {Hmm}
452 1: Y'know I grew up in that period when Thatcher destroyed all those jobs (<b)
453 And that's when I came down to [area name] (.) erm (.)
454 The whole dynamic of school changed
455 Now you had children (.) who arguably at one time (.) would have found *gainful*
456 productive employment and some sort of quality of life (.)
457 {Hmm}
458 1: We could argue about all the different (.) about y'know what that means
459 *necessarily* (<b)
460 Who were being compelled by the state to now stay in school
461 *for really no good reason* (.)
462 And there was no sort of idea and thinking about well (.)
463 Are we going to have a a a more technical education are we going to ensure that
464 there's adequate employment for everybody
465 It was just right now you're staying here for a number of years so
466 So there was a period I think where as an educational establishment (<b)
467 We struggled to realise in the sort of mid seventies to the late ninet-
468 How are we going to deal with this?
469 {Hmm}
470 And there were so many bad things went on I just-
471 Don't come back
472 Just don't come back (.)
473 And *imagine* just how many people suffered
474 How many people have ended up in jail
475 {Hmm}
476 And broken relationships and and
477 Mental health issues over that period so
478 I think I think the inclusion thing came from
479 {Hmm}

480 Y'know as a society we can't carry on like this just just just
481 Wiping out loads of people
482 We can't however (.) create jobs for everybody
483 We can't introduce a sort of tripartite education system (.) cos that's been tried
484 and failed
485 Inclusion maybe (.) will help us-
486 Without any thought (.) without any money
487 Without any theolog- y'know without any theory
488 This might help keep people in school
489 {Hmm}
490 And that was the sort of how we how we approached it
491 And when I say without any money
492 *There wasn't any*
493 {Hmm}
494 It was – schools were basically said
495 Find a room (.)
496 And turn it into an inclusion centre
497 And I remember – again it must 96 97
498 And I think I was head of year
499 Really looking for <laughs> really looking forward to being (.) moving into this
500 nice top room nice top school
501 And it was in [area name] over North-
502 *Beautiful views* over [area name] (.)
503 Office (.) everything
504 I remember the head calling me in (.) saying look you're not gonna believe this
505 but (.) we're knocking we're not you can't do that
506 You're gonna have to go to some basement somewhere (<b)
507 Cos that's going to be our new inclusion centre
508 {Hmm}
509 So (.) that was it. So over that Summer (.) schools right across
510 England (.) [area name] (.) certainly (.) had inclusion centres where before there
511 were none

512 {Hmm}
513 And I went I remember the BSF process um which was really exciting when
514 y'know Blair put loads of other money into building schools
515 And I remember sitting down with the plans with the architect and the designers
516 and y'know it was a common discussion
517 *Where shall we put the inclusion centre?*
518 And so by that time the vernacular had kind of had changed of
519 Knock down the doors and let's paint it
520 So that was 95 (.) 96
521 The money came from BSF about 2000 and (.) 5 – 6
522 {Hmm}
523 (.) So within 20 years it had become a key part of the school-
524 And like I say
525 Every school I visit
526 *Every single school*
527 Let's see the inclusion centre
528 For good or for ill
529 {Yeah}
530 So yes (.) that's a sort of potted history of god knows what y'know (.) right (.)
531 next question!
532 {Hmm OK (.) it's very interesting
533 (.) So you're talking about the different inclusion centres and you also said that
534 erm senior management particularly the headteacher has a very big role to play
535 in how}
536 Hmm Mmm
537 {in how they are (.) can you tell me a bit more about that?}
538 Hmm (.)
539 Well (<b) (...)
540 I mean the the headteacher would set the tone for the school and I've worked in
541 schools where
542 This might be a bit simplistic (.) and reductionist but
543 I've worked in schools where the heads are really miserable (...)

544 {Hmm}
545 And they'll just
546 ((up!))
547 And intellectually y'know they're *far* my superior
548 And y'know Oxford and Cambridge y'know first class degrees coming out their
549 ears but they're just *miserable misanthropic* individuals
550 And I think in consequence
551 The school becomes like that
552 {<quietly> right}
553 So if the headteacher y'know sets the sets the weather
554 There's no doubt about it
555 And (.) therefore if the ethos of the school is just miserable communication
556 No positive ethos
557 The inclusion centre as a result
558 Becomes something like that
559 It becomes a dumping ground
560 {Hmm}
561 Where we just put our most difficult kids
562 And like I say I've seen it for many many years
563 Y'know (...) I told you to wear black shoes yesterday and you're still wearing your
564 trainers
565 Get in the inclusion centre
566 {Hmm}
567 Get over there
568 I'll come and see you later on
569 And of course the teacher turns up at two o'clock (.) when the day's nearly over
570 (.)
571 So they just reflect the mood of the school (.) in other words
572 {Hmm}
573 Conversely (.) I think (.) where the head and the senior leadership team or
574 whatever it is
575 Have a positive progressive ethos where they *genuinely* believe in inclusion

576 Then the inclusion centre becomes somewhere where we seek to improve and
577 transform
578 {Hmm}
579 That's why we are so it's a catholic school I'm head of
580 That's why our [Epiphany] why our inclusion is called [Epiphany] the idea being
581 that
582 <laughs> I always say like a car wash y'know you go in there with issues and
583 you come outside the other side and everything's fine
584 Though of course unfortunately life isn't that straightforward and simple
585 {Hmm}
586 But crudely that's the sort of thing behind it
587 You've got an issue (.) be it behaviour and of course we all know that behaviour
588 it's just a cry for y'know what do we call it? (...)
589 Like a window on your soul
590 Kicking off or crying or being naughty whatever it is
591 *There's a reason for it!*
592 {Hmm}
593 You're not born that way
594 So we hope that we try to find out what the issues are and try to address it and
595 Like I say y'know
596 {Hmm}
597 Confidently (.) 99% of the time it works (.) because y'know (.) cos teachers know
598 what they're doing
599 So (.) I don't think it's that it's that complicated really it's just it depends upon the
600 mood and the ethos of the school
601 {Hmm}
602 So we have a school where we (.) *actively* believe (.) that everyone should be
603 there (.)
604 Y'know so where you we've got loads of refugee kids that nobody would take (.)
605 Which turned out to be great 'cause (<b)
606 I don't know if you've come across this in [area name] but y'know
607 Refugees to this country tend to work a lot harder than we do

608 And we <laughs> I mean I can't remember now when the Syrian thing first
609 kicked off you know and I found out there was loads of Syrian boys and girls
610 {Hmm}
611 Without (.) and no schools would have them of course
612 League tables this nonsense their too old
613 We don't get money for them (.)
614 And I said <loudly> well I will take em!
615 <more quietly> we'll take em
616 And invariably when you have a conversation it's the more bourgeois people that
617 will get out first
618 So all of a sudden we have about two hundred Syrian who were () the siblings
619 of y'know university professors and doctors and engineers
620 And they just trans- over over <louder> overnight! They transformed the school
621 from a (.) kind of working class ethnic [area name] school to somewhere which
622 was actually <laughs> academically (.) once they'd mastered English (.) doing
623 quite well
624 So other schools soon caught up to that and we had a couple of years of a great
625 honeymoon period thanks to the refugees so
626 {Hmm}
627 Y'know that's (.) and the girls came along y'know and they got involved in the
628 PTA and actually cared about the building and they did homework
629 {Hmph!}
630 ((A lot of teachers said sort of)) oh my god I haven't seen anything like this in
631 forty years in [area name] (.) like (.) y'know!
632 So y'know then we started taking more and more refugees and we'd run summer
633 schools we've just finished a month and a half summer school for refugee
634 children in [area name] which is now massively supported by (.) children in need
635 and sport England and cavitas which is a really good catholic charity and that
636 cost about forty grand a summer but now it runs itself (.) it's brilliant y'know
637 {Hmm}
638 For the age of the 3-18 and obviously it's not just Syrians anymore we get a lot
639 of Afghanis as well () so y'know the school's inclusive because of that (.) we're

640 a boys school but we take loads of girls and we get in trouble for it
641 but y'know it's because we wanted to be more inclu- you know we're a catholic
642 school but we're about 50% catholic mainly Brazilians and Portuguese Spanish
643 and Polish
644 erm many of whom are going home sadly because of the (.)
645 Not the Brazilians of course cos they're worse off than us but a lot of us a lot of
646 them are going back but the rest are Muslim and loads of Indian kids from
647 y'know from poor parts of India (<b)
648 Er we've got loads of disabled children
649 {Hmm}
650 Which (.) again (.) we've actually - actively recruited them because we wanted to
651 be dis- er (.) an inclusive school (.) so you can't you can't be an inclusive school
652 (.) if you just er ((I don't know)) mono ethnic mono genders (.) you just you just it
653 runs in the face of what inclusive means
654 So if you believe in it you have to make it happen (<b)
655 So the the our [Epiphany] centre the inclusion centre (<b) it's just er a reflection
656 and illustration of the mood and the ethos of the school
657 {Hmm}
658 Like I said earlier (.) you couldn't have a prison cell with a negative attitude
659 attached to a er a positive school cause the two things just wouldn't work
660 wouldn't work together (.) simple as that
661 No (.) and <louder> having said all that (.) erm (.) I'm not saying it always works
662 really well y'know erm (.) I think sometimes teachers mis mis misuse it (.)
663 Y'know I er we have a system of course y'know if you want somebody to be re
664 removed to [Epiphany] from your geography class (.) you have to call on a senior
665 teacher (.)
666 {Ok}
667 To do it for you (.) and erm... (...)
668 <changes tone> half of the time (.) there's a discussion about why
669 And if it's because the teacher's cross because he hasn't brought his pen in
670 again (.) it probably isn't gonna happen (.) it's like well here's a pen get back in
671 there or y'know there's a million ways of dealing with that

672 If however it is (...) <mumbling> reasonable (.) erm (.) the senior teacher would
673 escort him or her to the [Epiphany] centre for that lesson
674 If it's a bit more ser- if it's a fight
675 {Hmm}
676 Y'know then you have to be a bit more radical about it
677 and y'know one might sit outside my office another one in in in in in [Epiphany] or
678 two in [Epiphany]
679 again y'know the great thing about children is these things are forgotten very
680 very quickly
681 {Hmm}
682 Y'know a fight on the playground or in the classroom
683 <changes tone> which happens!
684 {Hmm}
685 Course it does (.) y'know (.) we're dealing with y'know young people and even
686 y'know as we know from <laughs> our society adults fight as well
687 The great thing about being young is a (.) y'know nasty fight on the playground
688 (.) almost always (.) an hour later is fine
689 {Hmph}
690 But they need that space
691 {Hmm}
692 You need that spa- and if it's not of course if I were worried that there might be-
693 my big fears about working in [area name] after the school (.) after school erm
694 erm reverberations because of social media y'know
695 and text a phone call this happened and all of a sudden (.) you're outside of the
696 school gate and there's 50 other people there which does happen and it's a bit
697 scary (<b)
698 And y'know I *have* (...)
699 not frequently y'know but more than rarely (.) if there's been a fight (.) got on the
700 phone to the parents and said y'know I've got a bunch of boys here now (.)
701 they're not calming down as much as I would like (.) come and get them
702 {Hmm}
703 Now really (.) I'm glad you're not using my name here because that's kind of

704 illegal (.) well it is illegal but kind of illegal
705 But I take the view that (.) tomorrow will be fine
706 Because they calm down
707 And we'll meet with the parents first thing in the morning (.)
708 Of course if it's one o'clock on a Tuesday afternoon
709 {Hmm}
710 (.) and the inclusion centre isn't capable of calming down the emotions and I
711 can't and my staff can't (.)
712 Mum (.) Dad (.) come and get them
713 Always! Always when I say I'm worried about after school
714 They come and get them
715 Because there's a bigger picture here (.)
716 {Hmm}
717 There's a bigger picture of (.) there's a lot of knife crime in [area name] (.) there's
718 a lot of children getting injured (.)
719 And it's not your son (.) but it's the 30 or 40 other morons that turn up (.) some of
720 whom might have a weapon so
721 Let us do everything we can to (.) and no police anymore (.) and they've been
722 long cut y'know erm (...)
723 And they come back in the morning (.) again (.) I would say hand on heart I can
724 remember maybe one occasion in years of doing this (<b)
725 And we sit together we y'know restorative things y'know I do it sometimes like (.)
726 I quite like it (.) but better staff than me would do it (<b)
727 And they'd sit together around along a long table (.) they would talk through what
728 happened and the language used y'know
729 if it happened again what would you do this time
730 And it's *always* fine it's *always fine*
731 Y'know we always end up with a handshake (.) I don't know what we're gonna
732 do now we can't shake hands any more
733 {Hmm}
734 And parents (.) parents just embarrassed and stuff y'know never ever
735 ((inaudible)) cross 'cause they should be at work and stuff so there's that added

736 pressure as well (.)
737 So that works (.) again that's that's
738 More than rare (.) but it's but it's it's not frequent
739 It's just something that I would take on *my* shoulders
740 {Hmm}
741 Because it's it's breaking the law
742 But I think the bigger issue here is safeguarding and child safety
743 {Hmm}
744 And the parents are always involved
745 And you would *never* (.) *ever ever ever ever*
746 I don't think I ever have done
747 But I know it happens
748 Say to a child 'get out' just 'get out the school now'
749 I mean (.) you imagine what happens if you did that as a headteacher
750 And he got knocked over (.) or he robbed a shop or hurt (.) you mean (.) your
751 career would be over so
752 Y'know those things just simply don't happen (.) y'know
753 {Hmm}
754 But erm (.) I got a bit sidetracked then but er (.) so (.)
755 <changes tone> I don't think it's that *complicated*
756 Y'know I mean er er er
757 An inclusion centre reflects the values and ethos of the school which come (.)
758 9 times out of 10
759 (.) From the values and ethos of the headteacher
760 {Hmm}
761 Now (.) I'd like to talk to you about broadening it a little bit (.) because I've learnt
762 more about
763 This in the last couple of ((inaudible))
764 Not just through ofsted not just through doing exclusion appeals
765 In the last two and a half years we've run our own (.)
766 I don't know what you call it really
767 behaviour centre

768 {Hmm}
769 For want of a better word
770 So what happened was (.) behaviour about 8 or 9 years ago in the school was
771 really poor
772 It was poor
773 And we used [Epiphany] a lot
774 {Hmm}
775 (.) And we used fixed term exclusions were quite high three or four years ago I
776 mean I think 2013 29 fixed term exclusions (<b) erm in one term two thirds of
777 which were black Caribbean
778 I use these figures all the time (.) that sticks in my head
779 When I do presentations (.)
780 I think three a year fixed term exclusions (.) permanent exclusions are pretty
781 much average (.) and that was hardly any at all but y'know I don't (.) know what
782 they are
783 no permanent maybe two or three fixed term a term nine times out of ten for
784 y'know for fighting
785 Erm (...)
786 But it became quite (.) because we y'know lots of training lots of hard work
787 y'know you have to be out there
788 So lots of lots of challenges but after three or four years
789 It became OK
790 {Hmm}
791 Y'know ((inadible)) change
792 So what you're learning in schools is the y'know
793 Behaviour is learnt (.) the environment is learnt
794 If you're a child (.) and you started in a bad school where the behaviour is rotten
795 (.)
796 {Hmm}
797 Y'know <laughs> peer group pressure (<b) is so great
798 <changes tone> I anybody would if everyone was messing around in class (.)
799 why not? (.)

800 Why not?
801 Y'know you're not getting any work done (.)
802 On the converse of that y'know if you work in a positive lovely friendly caring (.)
803 where the ethos and the work environment is good
804 Then (.) even the most challenging child
805 Is going to find it very very difficult to mess around
806 {Hmm}
807 Cos even your mates are gonna be saying y'know come on give it a break?
808 Y'know so y'know so
809 We learnt after three or four year that
810 Once the environment becomes positive
811 Then (.) everything's fine
812 To some degree
813 So our [Epiphany] centre (.) there were no one in there (...)
814 I'd walk in there –
815 <changes tone> Certainly let's look at one term y'know September October
816 <exclaiming sound> into November (.) there'd be nobody in there
817 What you find in inclusion centres (.) by the way (.) is that they they respond to
818 the rhythm of the year
819 {Hmm}
820 In other words (.) the more *knackered* we are (.)
821 And I say 'we' as a community but you could say definitely
822 Look at all the data about this it's borne out by it
823 Y'know
824 I tell yer (.) if you could bottle the way teachers deal with things in September (.)
825 And in (.) let's say (.) December (.) April (.) and July sprinkle it around people
826 {{<b}}
827 You would never have a problem (<b)
828 What is dealt with in September by good humour (.) er bonhomie (.) love (.) care
829 (.) compassion (.) restorative behaviour
830 The same incidents in December (.)
831 Is dealt with by screaming at each other

832 Because we're just knackered
833 {Hmm}
834 So you see that reflected in inclusion centres as well (<b)
835 Sometimes they just get you can see in December they might have had a fall out
836 You know that feeling when you wake up and you're still tired
837 {Hmm}
838 When you're really really working hard
839 You've got a lot on your plate at home or whatever it might be (<b)
840 And you can see teachers just coming in sometimes in the middle of December
841 Maybe not December cos you're close to the end there but
842 Maybe say late November early December (<b) (.)
843 And you think oh my god y'know that girl there that young lady or that man
844 They're teaching 6 hours today they'll be teaching two hundred kids today
845 With no break
846 And you just know!
847 {Hmm}
848 You just know (.) that in thirty y'know potentially all the criteria are there for an
849 issue because you're just exhausted
850 So you see that inclusion centres as well
851 So what we found was that *even* when it was getting to November December (.)
852 It was *relatively quiet*
853 {Hmm}
854 It must have er (mumbles) er I'm not a financial wizzkid but er
855 The idea is you don't spend more than you have coming in
856 It's as simple as that
857 And er so we were spending on all these staff
858 Had all these staff
859 You're doing nothing! (.)
860 Was like 'can you go round the classes can you do that' they were walking round
861 So it was it was
862 One of those cases where myself and a couple of other colleagues were having
863 a couple of pints on a Friday afternoon

864 And I was just (.) bemoaning this
865 Y'know what's this they're sitting there all day (.) playing cards!
866 And it was like that
867 I mean they're nice people (.) y'know
868 So y'know just doing the headship sort of stuff y'know
869 And erm (...) there was *me* and I said (.) let's start selling these places
870 Smoking in those d- I wrote it down on the back of a cigarette packet
871 Let's start selling these places to other schools cause we know what we're doing
872 So we set up a company (.)
873 And we started (.) promoting ourselves
874 We worked with a (.) psychotherapeutic organisation called [name of
875 organisation]
876 Which comes from some I don't know psychiatric unit and they went off on their
877 own
878 And essentially they did a lot of sport (.) principally football
879 After school at night but also used the idea
880 Of space and movement (.) to try and reinforce the idea of self control and
881 discipline
882 and I just felt *it worked*
883 {Hmm}
884 Y'know everyone likes to run around in the evening (.) y'know
885 But (.) I (.) er (.) y'know I (.) not everybody likes football but y'know
886 It works for a lot of boys (.) y'know
887 So let's use what's common and popular (.) to try and get it going
888 And so then that was really successful and we saw a lot of challenging children
889 (.) over time become more receptive to the school values and ethos
890 Simply because they were able to (.) I don't know socialise I don't mean socialise
891 in an authoritarian sense but they were able to buy into the values of the school
892 because some of the issues that they brought with them
893 <changes tone> were alleviated to some degree
894 So that company (.) I liked them y'know
895 They were at the school a lot and so we said look we're trying to set this up (.) do

896 you want to be part of it
897 And so particularly that restorati- because they weren't teachers
898 {Hmm}
899 So y'know so you get teachers who are like I can't look I've got ten minutes and
900 I'm teaching geography *I've gotta go* (.)
901 And even in those ten minutes they're still thinking oh shit I've I've not done me
902 photocopying I've not done this
903 {Hmm}
904 So you never really (.) that's the big problem about teaching you're never really
905 committed to anything outside the classroom because you're always kind of
906 planning to be in the cla-
907 And that's fine
908 Cos that's their job
909 So these people didn't teach (.) and they were cheap (.) and we brought them in
910 (.) and they were all university graduates with degrees in y'know psychology or
911 psychiatry and wanted to do something like this for a couple of years they were
912 interested in sport
913 They were local they were black y'know but your wider (.) of our community so it
914 worked
915 So we started that
916 About four years ago (.)
917 PRP
918 Pause (.) reflect (.) <laughs> (.) anyway (.) something or other
919 The anacronym sort of reflected the thinking that went behind it
920 And erm
921 <changes tone> they were really good! (.)
922 After the first few weeks (.) first few months
923 And we offered a really competitive rate
924 So if you go if you went to a PRU now (.)
925 You'd say right (.) I want (.) I'm a headteacher of a school
926 I want four spaces for your pupil referral unit
927 And the good referrers would go fine (.) it'll cost you (.) I don't know (.) sixty

928 grand a year cos and pay now
929 Pay now 'cause we need the staff (.) cos we've got to pay our staff
930 So you would pay four spaces for in September or whenever for the rest of the
931 year
932 {Hmm}
933 Now if you wanted five (.) you'd top it up as you went along
934 But (.) if you *didn't* use those four spaces (.) the PRU or the private unit (.)
935 they've still gotta pay their staff (.) so y'know invariable schools are being led by
936 the financial outcome
937 I've got one space left (.) he's messing around (.) get in there
938 It was that crude
939 {Hmm}
940 We were saying things like (.)
941 Pay by the day
942 There's no (.) because we had the staff already so it was fortuitous and it was
943 cheap I think we were saying 70 quid a day for a child
944 And not only will they get a proper academic programme (.) because the home
945 school have to send through their their their work (.)
946 They will get a a a restorative session a day individually
947 They'll get group therapy work which we've found to be really effective (.)
948 They'll get sport (.) sadly was football (.) we had to broaden it out when we
949 started getting girls
950 You'll get erm (.) daily parental contact
951 And also (.) when you return to your home school (.) you'll get drop in visits (.) or
952 at the very least phone calls to check up on them
953 So it was a package (.) and it was really successful (.) for all those different
954 reasons it was really successful
955 And we had a limit (.) you know (.) we said nobody's staying here longer than
956 two months (.) this is not a dumping ground
957 We're here to work with these children (<b)
958 And (.) y'know four or five years later (.) you know (.) we're making like (.)
959 £250,000 last year

960 Which (.) y'know (.) in these days (.) is *good*
961 So it's enough to pay the staff
962 Plus you know a little plus a little bit in the kitty
963 Which doesn't go to anybody (.) it just goes to the kids again so
964 Business wise (.) y'know a few pints on a Friday afternoon
965 Often (.) *often* can be seen to be a very positive thing
966 {Hmm}
967 And erm (.) it's raised the reputation of the school (.) it's it's enabled us to be
968 (<b)
969 Really strong advocates (<b) of an inclusive philosophy that works
970 If you have the time and the money and the resources
971 Erm it's got (.) I mean (.) it's enabled us (.) [name] the deputy head who runs it (.)
972 would spend more time with parents and children and families from other
973 schools than with our own (...)
974 {Hmm}
975 Which kind of illustrates that things aren't brilliant with us we've got challenges
976 but that (.) it's kind of widened our impact so what started off quite small in our
977 school we just basically expanded
978 It ((inaudible)) so I think about 15 schools in the last couple of years (.) four or
979 five different [area name] boroughs
980 We do different rates for schools that can't afford it
981 {Hmm}
982 Schools that we know are loaded we bump up their rates because it's just a
983 robin hood tax y'know
984 And erm (.) it's *positive* (.) but y'know (.) like anything there's a new PRU
985 opening in [area name] in January 21 (.) so they say
986 And erm (.) y'know that'll challenge us
987 {Hmm}
988 And I sort of resisted the local authority saying well you're supposed to support
989 local schools and our own inclusion ethos and now you're opening a PRU-
990 But *they* need the money
991 {Hmm}

992 So they're being driven by the finances as well 'cause lots of schools send
993 children out and are brought to other PRUs so they want to keep it in house-
994 So after constantly being on our game but it's not a big thing
995 We struggle to get more than more than 12 children in it at any one time
996 And in group work obvious- I think group work is the most efficacious part of the
997 day (.) because you've got boys and girls from – could be five or six different
998 schools
999 And they're talking together about why they're here (.) you know (.) restorative
1000 justice is not that difficult y'know it's
1001 You just have to deconstruct (.) every stage of the process
1002 And then what would you do differently (.) it's like a valley?
1003 So it's not that challenging but you (.) there's a rhythm and a pattern to it
1004 Which is which is quite healthy
1005 *What we've learnt* (.) is (.)
1006 Just the degree of inconsistency in the inclusion process
1007 So as I said before (.) when I do a permanent exclusion appeal (...)
1008 The children are there for a lot of different things
1009 Y'know (.) it could be a one off incident
1010 Y'know (.) they threw a chair at a teacher (...)
1011 I did one in July (.) a year 8 girl (.) she brought a knife into school (.)
1012 And threatened another girl with it in science
1013 Now (.) and that's a school where a boy had been murdered two years earlier
1014 outside the school gates (<b) it's (.) y'know
1015 There's a kind of consistency with permanent exclusions because you've got that
1016 permanent exclusion and behaviour policy to stick to- always adhere to
1017 But there's no incons-there's no consistency (.) it seems to me (.) when it comes
1018 to inclusion
1019 So we would have children in *our* inclusion unit
1020 And we mix ours in there as well (.) although actually increasingly we try to keep
1021 them separate
1022 Erm they would be with er there for different misdemeanours
1023 You could be in there for breakdowns of relationships

1024 Or for *lateness* or for you know
1025 Each school would be sending their children to us for a whole variety of different
1026 reasons (<b)
1027 Y'know (.) some who are *sup-erbly academic* and overly arrogant
1028 Some who because it's a boys school I mean they have issues with girls
1029 Some who are just (.) so *mouthy* the schools haven't found a way of dealing with
1030 them
1031 There doesn't seem to be a er consistent er universal this is how we deal with
1032 our er behaviour things
1033 {Hmm}
1034 So what we have in our inclusion centre it's a really dynamic (.) and again I'm not
1035 in there an awful lot (.) but *occasionally* you pop in (.) see what's going on
1036 <laughs>
1037 And erm (.) that always strikes me (.) although our approach is quite consistent
1038 because of the language we use in terms of restorative and inclusive justice
1039 The reasons why the young people are there I mean you could just
1040 Y'know you could be going on forever
1041 Explaining er y'know the variety of reasons why (.) children are included
1042 Although what *we found* (...)
1043 er I think I mentioned it to you on the phone (.)
1044 We have a very very low recivist rate
1045 Now I wouldn't say that's necessarily scientifically er (.) proven
1046 Because they could be sending the children to other units (<b)
1047 After us (.) but.. I don't think I suspect not (.) I suppose they could be but y'know
1048 they'd have nothing to hide necessarily from me
1049 But *I think* (.) and *we think* that the reason why that's the case
1050 Is because a a a labour intensive er (.) quite expensive in terms of labour and
1051 time approach (.) seems to work
1052 {Hmm}
1053 And y'know children don't want to get permanently excluded so y'know part of
1054 the language of inclusion is always
1055 Look y'know if this doesn't work y'know you could end up in *this* place

1056 And the work PRU sends fear (.) *fear*
1057 And I've seen it many times in the appeals I do y'know through parents
1058 <changes tone> a little bit unjustly but y'know once you've got a reputation like
1059 that it's very hard to-
1060 So that *inclusion* thing that *language* that *communication* that-
1061 The rhythm of that restorative language-
1062 {Hmm}
1063 I feel in my experience over the past three or four *years* just running that little
1064 centre
1065 {Hmm}
1066 *Seems* to have some some some pedigree and some some *efficacy* (...)
1067 {Hmm}
1068 I'm talking an awful lot here (.) I hope I'm covering the right points <laughs>
1069 {No (.) that's exactly (.) that's exactly how it works (.) yeah yeah just
1070 So that's really interesting there there are a few things that you said that are very
1071 interesting to me
1072 One is that there's this kind of inconsistency from the different *schools* about (.)
1073 is that what they think the inclusion unit is *for*?
1074 Or is it just to do with their own *policies* and-}
1075 Uh er I come back to that to that central point y'know
1076 A school a school will will will will will beat to the the the drum of its headteacher
1077 {Hmm}
1078 And y'know some headteachers have have a less (.) er
1079 Have a less globalist inclusive view than I would (.) for example
1080 {Hmm}
1081 So y'know I know schools in [area name] where y'know you would be sent home
1082 (.) for not having your tie on right
1083 And um they argue this from a philosophical perspective that y'know we have to
1084 recognise that society has rules etcetera
1085 And we by by by creating a level playing field in terms of behaviour (.) we're
1086 making them learn better
1087 Ok?

1088 And some schools are *incredibly* brutalist in their in their their approach towards
1089 behaviour (.)
1090 So the threshold in one school (.)
1091 Could be much much *higher* (.) than it is in my school
1092 <changes tone> And I'm not saying I tolerate bad behaviour
1093 Or I accept it (.)
1094 But *I kind of understand it*
1095 {Hmm}
1096 And I know where it comes from
1097 So my view would be (.)
1098 Rather than bloody chop off the head of the child
1099 Let's try and find out what's kinda what's making this child tick (.) y'know?
1100 {Hmm}
1101 And that's my view
1102 And I also (.) see inclusion is not just about education (.) is it
1103 I live in [area name] (.) my children are at university now
1104 Erm but I live in this city (.) I've lived here since nine- since I left university in the
1105 early eighties (<b)
1106 So I want this city and this country to be as as tolerant and as inclusive as and
1107 as respectful as possible
1108 Because I don't want to live behind a wall (.)
1109 Where I'm scared of everybody (.) y'know
1110 {Hmm}
1111 Want to walk down the street (.) and go for a beer (.) and
1112 Play football at the park across the road (.) there
1113 {Hmm}
1114 So (.) universalism (.) and educationalism (.) is one part of a bigger picture which
1115 is a society in which we live
1116 {Hmm}
1117 Therefore I think if we try to redeem (.) and and er address many of the really
1118 destabilising issues our children have (.)
1119 JFW: Hmm

1120 The view is we all do that (.) not just for our children but our society (.) becomes
1121 a better place
1122 {Hmm}
1123 And I think if you don't address those issues if you send kids home (.) and if the
1124 bar's too high
1125 I don't think you get to where you want to be as a as a society
1126 So when I look at my own inclusion inclusion centre (.)
1127 And when I find out some of the reasons that kids are there
1128 My jaw drops (.)
1129 I don't send them back
1130 Because that's not the contract (.) y'know
1131 We will do this for you
1132 {Hmm}
1133 But it's it's – some of them wouldn't be there (.) if I was the head
1134 But there again (.) you could argue that some of these schools are more
1135 successful than mine (.) more parents want them to go there (.) more parents
1136 want their children to go there (.) the results are better etcetera
1137 It's just I'm uncomfortable with that draconian
1138 {Hmm}
1139 Er ... what do they call it?
1140 {Is it z-}
1141 Zero tolerance
1142 {Yeah}
1143 Zero tolerance had real cache (.)
1144 Y'know it came from that erm (.) that new York police officer and the broken
1145 window theory (<b)
1146 Back in the 1990s which (.) y'know which was really common
1147 I remember headteachers and heads of year
1148 Zero tolerance (.) zero toleran-
1149 I spent a couple of years studying in the states
1150 And I remember br- Bill Brown!
1151 Bill brown his name was (.) the head of the (.) he was a transit officer

1152 In in Boston and they brought him down to New York
1153 And he came up with all this stuff
1154 And it was theoris- it was just
1155 It had been proven absolute nonsense (.) you know
1156 You cannot have a zero tolerance policy in a school (<b) without addressing the
1157 issues why behaviour exists in the first place
1158 So (.) but that zero tolerance y'know you don't hear that really anymore
1159 {Hmm}
1160 Y'know the euphemism would be (.) kind of high standards and erm erm
1161 academic success and getting our kids into into Cambridge (<b)
1162 That's really what it is and I y'know (.) headteachers (.) y'know
1163 Good god some of whom are constantly on the TV or on twitter and stuff
1164 Who (.)
1165 Who would provoke a parent (.) and I've seen this and I know about this
1166 And it's not just hearsay
1167 Would provoke a parent from a challenging family (...)
1168 So ten years ag- (.) twenty years ago
1169 They'd have spoke about zero tolerance (.) your child can't behave
1170 Now they talk about-
1171 We do eight hours homework a night (.)
1172 We expect fifteen different pens
1173 No this is <stammers> I'm exaggerating here to prove a point
1174 We expect ten different colours in your pencil case and four different sets of
1175 shoes for PE (<b)
1176 We expect this-
1177 And that puts so much *pressure* on the parent and-
1178 *You cannot turn round in class*
1179 *You cannot turn round in class*
1180 *You cannot do this you cannot do that (<b)*
1181 And create and en- create an er er er an atmosphere (.) an environment
1182 Of such fear and no-go zone (<b)
1183 That there (.) the children are removed (.) before they even start

1184 {Hmm}
1185 1: And when they do start and they became- become a problem (.)
1186 The language (.) used now (.) is totally different
1187 It's a language of high expectations and high standards
1188 {Hmm}
1189 But it's the same message really (.) as the as the n- <stammers> no (.) zero
1190 tolerance thing from 25 years ago (.) it's basically
1191 You're not welcome here (.)
1192 {Hmm}
1193 That's all (.) that's all it says
1194 So we have *schools* which (<b) are in very very ethnic areas of one particular or
1195 two particular ethnic groups
1196 ((is in there)) despite the fact that you've got an admissions code (.) which is kind
1197 of based upon locality
1198 And that's done by that subterfuge of (.)
1199 Not headteachers on their own of course (.) 'cause the *really* successful
1200 headteachers get get other people to do it these days
1201 'Cause they sort of sit behind desks-
1202 Or increasingly (.) what are they called now? (.)
1203 CEOs or
1204 {Hmm}
1205 chief executives or superheads
1206 {Hmm}
1207 You go to conferences now and they actually have their own tables
1208 {<laughs>}
1209 All the heads sit on one table
1210 Right ((smaller)) as well
1211 I don't think we get smaller smaller portions of food but
1212 The exe- the executive heads and the superheads and the chief execs
1213 All sit together-
1214 It's *bonkers!*
1215 {Mmm}

1216 The classification of of er ed- education
1217 So yeah (.) I think the language use *now* (.) to exclude
1218 {Hmm}
1219 Is different but also ultimately
1220 It's the sa-
1221 And we pick up loads of kids
1222 I like 'em! I like this!
1223 Y'know 'cause always i-
1224 Who doesn't love a bit of gossip
1225 So when a family comes to me and says look such and such won't let me in their
1226 school
1227 Or they've said that if you don't do a million hours of homework a night
1228 You're *gonna fail*
1229 And ((inaudible)) say to me
1230 What's your view
1231 And I'm I'm joking but basically just do what you can y'know we're here to help
1232 you
1233 {Hmm}
1234 ((inaudible)) and why what happened? And y'know
1235 Once you hear it ten (.) fifteen (.) twenty times (.)
1236 {Hmm}
1237 A year (.) you kind of know what's going on
1238 And the heads who are similar minded to me have similar stories to tell
1239 And I 've seen it once or twice as well and then you read the tweets
1240 And you see the articles (<b)
1241 In the mail and stuff
1242 You kind of know what's going on
1243 So yeah
1244 {Hmm}
1245 It's always set by the tone of the head
1246 {Hmm}
1247 It's just (.) it's like the language of racism you know (.) if you look at what's going

1248 on in America now
1249 {Hmm}
1250 You know when they talk about (<b) y'know riots and things (.) y'know
1251 They couldn't talk about that thirty years ago
1252 {Hmm}
1253 But essentially they're still talking about y'know (.) we need to find a way of
1254 dealing with our non-white citizens (.) it's just
1255 It's the same message it's just the language has shifted (.) we feel (.) no?
1256 {Hmm}
1257 So that's why the y'know the language of inclusion you know positivity
1258 Is generally it's there for everybody
1259 Now we don't really care if you've been excluded from different schools
1260 Y'know we'll try to work with you (.) and all that sort of stuff
1261 Because we- y'know
1262 Schools are one part of a
1263 Of society (.)
1264 {Yeah that real-}
1265 But I do feel one thing we should be looking at
1266 {Mm}
1267 I've said to my governors a few times it's not wha- we don't do enough
1268 And it's only when you mentioned this last week (<b)
1269 Is (.) I've not seen an awful lot of data (.)
1270 On on on the inclusion world
1271 {Mmm}
1272 So like I said before y'know every January we used to get RAISEonline (.) it's
1273 called the IDSR now
1274 And (.) the government can do anything they want
1275 The IDSR is very very very scanty now
1276 And basically just reflects government guidelines of
1277 Government outcome measures
1278 They put in there what they want to look at
1279 But you could look at anything

1280 So years ago
1281 The RAISEonline was really good
1282 And it would always look at um (.) the statistical breakdown of the school and
1283 free school meals and exclusions
1284 And the ethnic breakdown and the free school meal break-
1285 That's all gone really
1286 {Hmm}
1287 Today I think (.) the IDSR last year it was just like you've had nothing (.) no fixed
1288 term exclusions last-
1289 There was nothing else
1290 {Hmm}
1291 So schools have to keep their own (.) internal exclusion data
1292 And I think sometimes it's a challenge because
1293 Like I said before y'know there's lots of proactive work like
1294 you'll be in there tomorrow
1295 But a lot of it is reactive
1296 {Hmm}
1297 Y'know like get out of geography now (.) come back in an hour
1298 And I think schools are quite poor at keeping records of those reactive things
1299 {Hmm}
1300 I would struggle hand on heart to tell you (.)
1301 Not if it's a common pattern 'cause you just know (.)
1302 How many children of a different ethnic group or a free school meal group (.) for
1303 example
1304 Would frequent our [Epiphany] (.) on a monthly basis (.)
1305 Now I think I've probably said to SLT that we must do this (.)
1306 But it's just one of those other things that (.) we just don't get around to
1307 Y'know (.) so I think that would be a really
1308 I'd love to see that as a societal thing y'know
1309 {Hmm}
1310 Erm (.) The whole focus on on on on data and who's out of class
1311 And for what percentage of time

1312 And what background they come from (.) that sort of stuff (.) y'know
1313 I think and also (.) we also have booths (.) by the way
1314 I know that's quite (.) that's been quite contentious in the last couple of years
1315 {Hmm}
1316 I think it's a bit spurious
1317 y'know it's not probably the greatest debate of society
1318 But we consciously went out of our way a couple of years ago
1319 So we've got kind of quite a big room
1320 Half of it is for conference space and and and and group work
1321 With a few breakout rooms for 1 to 1 counselling
1322 And then there's about ten booths
1323 {Mmhmm}
1324 For children to work
1325 And we found (.) I mean I wouldn't nail myself to a cross over this
1326 And it's not something that I'm particularly passionate about
1327 But we just found pragmatically (.)
1328 {Mmm}
1329 It encourages children to work
1330 So there's no IT in there (.) they have to hand over their phones when they come
1331 in (.)
1332 Yeah (.) there is wifi of course
1333 But it's just (<b)
1334 It's just trying to create that that that environment and that that understanding
1335 that
1336 This is a space of work
1337 {Hmm}
1338 Just because you've been sent out of class
1339 It doesn't mean-
1340 So it's just maybe a *little* bit top-heavy
1341 And and reductionist by saying that
1342 You're here to work
1343 And we *found* again (.) y'know

1344 It's like Tony Blair (.) will do what works
1345 We've found it's been OK (...)
1346 {Hmm}
1347 I know there's lots of opposition
1348 Y'know Jules Derby there we follow on on Twitter and she's y'know she's a huge
1349 enemy of that
1350 And sees it as a as a slippery slope towards prison which-
1351 I don't know
1352 It may not be right but
1353 Just for us y'know
1354 Y'know it's not easy running a a a predominantly boys school
1355 In a a tough part of [area name]
1356 {Hmm}
1357 And y'know we
1358 Y'know for example we do safety I do ((safety marches)) Every now and again
1359 We work with the police quite closely
1360 And it's all done very positively and with lots of good humour and suff
1361 And I would argue that it's a *positive* thing but
1362 Y'know as inclusive as we are (.) you can't (.) *forget* that our our society has
1363 dangers for young people
1364 And for professional people that work in that environment as well
1365 And we must always be conscious of that like (.) y'know (<b)
1366 So we do have rules and we're quite I think we're quite strict in saying like
1367 We've said this for a reason
1368 But we try to explain why (...)
1369 {Hmm}
1370 A planner with our rules in them (.) for example
1371 They've got a planner with our covid rules in them (.) for god's sake (<b)
1372 But erm (.) so yeah (.) that's a bit more stuff there
1373 {Hmm so that's interesting so you've got your group your group tables where you
1374 say you do sometimes you do you're group therapy stuff}
1375 Yeah

1376 {And then (.) is that in the same space as the booths (.) or?
1377 How does it all fit together}
1378 No there's it's a kind of (.) there's a door
1379 It's a big space with a door in the middle
1380 I think we put that door in (.) precisely for that reason actually
1381 {Hmm}
1382 To keep (.) because obviously (.)
1383 If we have twelve children in there from different schools
1384 {Hmm}
1385 We could on a bad day y'know have two or three from ours (...)
1386 {Hmm}
1387 So initially we thought it would be a good idea to get them all together to learn
1388 from each other
1389 But what we realised was most of ours were in there for just petty demeanours in
1390 class
1391 And they were back out again in half an hour or an hour
1392 Or it was a fight at playtime (.) they were out in twenty minutes or something so
1393 (<b)
1394 We put that door in there just to keep them separate really so that our children
1395 weren't involved with the other stuff going on
1396 But I'd say it's a 50- it's a 50 50 mix
1397 Of restorative work (.)
1398 And and and and work
1399 So those children from outside would come in from a different gate
1400 So they wouldn't come in to our main school body
1401 They would come in a little bit later (.) leave a little bit earlier
1402 They would eat in our dining room (.) but they would eat at a different time
1403 They would do PE (.) and some physical activity (.) but they would do that at a
1404 different-
1405 So to all intents and purposes (.) they have a tradit- they have a traditional
1406 school day (.)
1407 {Hmm}

1408 Y'know I've been into PRUs many many times over the years (.) on a Thursday
1409 or Friday afternoon
1410 And the kids are sitting around there in their overcoats watching telly (...)
1411 And you think
1412 Bloody hell man
1413 Not it's just it's wrong for the children but fr- from a *taxpayer* point of view
1414 You know who's benefiting from this?
1415 It's just keeping people off the streets!
1416 {Mmhmm}
1417 And I think (.) I'm *confident*
1418 That if you went into (.) *our* centre
1419 You would see (.) some one to one some group (.) or some academic work
1420 Going on constantly (.) *constantly*
1421 {Hmm}
1422 You know (.) what we *found* (.)
1423 To our (.) well (.) sometimes to our loss (<b) (.)
1424 Y'know education in in England now (.) it reflects the the the ethos of our society-
1425 It's very competitive (.) it's very sort of laissez-faire (.) it's *exceptionally* dog eat
1426 dog (<b)
1427 The *idea* of cross-school collaboration is just a fallacy
1428 And y'know
1429 But that's the society in which we live
1430 Y'know since since since since the late seventies I suppose (<b)
1431 And so (.) sc- (.) y'know
1432 You're obviously aware of off-rolling
1433 I mean off-rolling has been a huge issue and the local authority were very
1434 worried
1435 And when we started our programme (<b)
1436 That schools would use it
1437 To disappear kids (.)
1438 But we don't do that (.) 'cause we never keep them too long
1439 And we joint joint (.) dual register them etcetera (<b)

1440 But what we *have* had (.)
1441 Is a couple of quite difficult children including one of the most challenging
1442 children I've ever come across (<b)
1443 Get sent to our (.) unit (.) our centre
1444 And after about six or seven weeks there (.) going back to school
1445 And then the headteacher phoning up and saying look (.) he really misses it
1446 Can he join your school? (.)
1447 Which is difficult (.)
1448 Because (.) I mean I love this child (.) and when his mum and dad came in (.) the
1449 night before the easter holidays (.) and I remember thinking
1450 I want to get away now
1451 And I just heard *the most heartbreaking story ever*
1452 Ever!
1453 He's adopted (.) of child abuse (.) and really bad stuff (.)
1454 Really bad stuff (.)
1455 And I just said (.) oh god (.) y'know
1456 ((Thinking at the time)) Yeah fair enough
1457 Let's do this after the holiday
1458 And *all* the holiday I thought (.) I'm gonna have to tell the staff about this
1459 {Mmm}
1460 And y'know I've just spent most of the summer with him
1461 He's been in at summer camp
1462 And he's a he's a messed up young lad (.)
1463 And we're struggling with him
1464 *We are struggling* with him (.) I think in fact
1465 He might be having a few days aw- a few weeks away in a *residential* centre
1466 because he's
1467 Y'know (.) domestic violence at home as well towards his mum and dad which
1468 isn't good
1469 {Mmm}
1470 (...) I kind of feel that (.) we were
1471 Exploited (.)

1472 {Mmm}
1473 By his other school (.)
1474 {Hmm}
1475 And that when he came back (.) and said something like
1476 Yeah I really enjoyed [Epiphany] (.) it helped me (<b)
1477 They saw that as a as a as an *opening*
1478 To get rid of him (.)
1479 And because he had a statement (.) or what's it called a care plan an-
1480 {EHCP}
1481 EHCP (.) once his mum and dad came in and the headteacher said things like
1482 Well y'know (.) we are struggling with X here and
1483 We don't want to permanently exclude him and (<b)
1484 Our expectations are so high and
1485 He's struggling because he can't speak bloody Latin
1486 Erm <laughs>
1487 And he did really well at St Thomas's! (.)
1488 You know you kind of
1489 You know you write the the the the the narrative for them
1490 And all of a sudden you get the local authority saying you're the named school
1491 now
1492 That's happened once or twice-
1493 {Hmm}
1494 And it has annoyed staff (.) because *it's difficult*
1495 To keep taking in
1496 More and more and more children-
1497 And we do (.) and I think it's the right thing to do (...)
1498 And we take in I must have taken in six or seven in the last twelve months
1499 {Hmm}
1500 (...)
1501 And it's and I and I speak to the staff about this and I say well-
1502 Look (.) this lad is difficult (.) y'know I'm telling you now
1503 This is his *fifth* school (.) y'know he's been off-rolled and disappeared

1504 And all sorts of stuff (.)
1505 But let's give it a go
1506 {Hmm}
1507 And it is *really hard* (.)
1508 And I've had some of my most *challenging* meetings (<b)
1509 With *their* parents (.)
1510 And it's not so much about behaviour y'know it's about trying to understand the
1511 problems and how we can address the problems (<b)
1512 And not only *me* understanding it intellectually and practically
1513 But how I can translate that message therefore to my staff
1514 It's alright the head getting it- it's alright *me* getting it
1515 I don't have to teach him French in two hours (.) like (.) y'know (.)
1516 But I think that's one of the consequences-
1517 Or unint- *unforeseen* consequences of having a behaviour inclusive centre
1518 In a school (<b)
1519 Is that more ((unscrupulous)) (.) sadly (.)
1520 And this is because of the market in which we live (.) y'know
1521 So laissez-faire (.) dog eat dog thing
1522 And you create that environment in so you're gonna have that sort of behaviour
1523 One or two people have seen it as opportunities to to to
1524 Get rid of their challenging chil-
1525 And that annoys me
1526 {Hmm}
1527 That upsets me (.) actually
1528 I met this head at a conference (.) a few months ago
1529 And she said (.) y'know (.) how is such and such getting on (.)
1530 I just <mumbles> (.) I just don't wanna talk to you (.)
1531 Not because (.) I knew we did the right thing
1532 But I just (.) you know
1533 *Nobody* likes to get (.) y'know (.) to get taken advantage of
1534 And I just thought (.) y'know here's a big (.) shiny (.) successful school
1535 (<b) ah (.) I could have been wrong (.) but y'know I just felt that so-

1536 However (.) you step back and think
1537 It doesn't matter (.)
1538 We did the right thing for the child
1539 {Hmm}
1540 And that will always always always (.) *has* to be your *raison d'être*
1541 Y'know you do the right thing for the kids
1542 And I always say (.) y'know
1543 If you treat the children in your school like you want your *own* children to be
1544 treated
1545 {Hmm}
1546 Then (.) you won't go far wrong (.) as a leader or as somebody who approaches
1547 inclusion
1548 And that alway- always has to be the mantra (...)
1549 {Hmm}
1550 Any more questions?
1551 {(**** er I've realised we've gone over an hour (.) this is so interesting to hear
1552 what you say-}
1553 It's amazing y'know isn't it that longer-
1554 You know what?
1555 {Hmm}
1556 That's the longest I've spoken I think since (.)
1557 Since we went into lockdown
1558 {<laughs>}
1559 <laughs> Seriously
1560 Cos this is what I do as a teacher but normally
1561 It's like phone (.) no that's not true I speak to staff a lot
1562 But normally (.) you tend to take a while to get back into the sort of into the
1563 vernacular and the rhythm of s-
1564 {Hmm}
1565 Speaking (
1566 I think oh my god I'm going to be spluttering all over the place
1567 Yeah (.) that's good training for me now

1568 To get back to school next week so
1569 Thank you (.) for the opportunity to talk about such stuff (.) y'know
1570 {Thank you}
1571 Have you covered everything you wanted to raise?
1572 {Yep (.) yep that's brilliant. Thank you so much [James]}
1573 Ok?
1574 Lovely
1575 Well let me know how your research goes and when things are published (.) of
1576 course (.) I'd love to read it
1577 I think I'll probably learn a lot for myself (.) from what you have to say
1578 I read a lot about this as well (.) y'know
1579 {Yeah}
1580 And so I'd love to read what you come up with
1581 When are looking to get published and all that sort of stuff?
1582 {Well I've got to do all the sort of finishing date is around July next year}
1583 Oh wow
1584 {But sometimes they can run over (.) because I've got to do a bunch of
1585 interviews and then an-
1586 Cause we work at the same time (.) we do a doctorate so we also work as
1587 educational psychologists}
1588 Ok
1589 {So it's trying to juggle thesis and work at the same time (.) yeah (.) um}
1590 Oh yeah (.) so basically it's just fitting in time around that and around life (.) and
1591 everything
1592 {Yeah (.) full time}
1593 So this time next year (.) where are we now august September
1594 {Hmm}
1595 You should be looking to get something published (.) yeah? (.)
1596 {Fingers crossed (.) eh}
1597 Good luck
1598 {Oh (.) thank you so much}
1599 Keep up the good work (.) I've enjoyed the conversation (.) and I'm here to-

1600 If you need anything else (.) you know where we are (.) OK

1601 {Alright (.) take care then}

1602 Take care (.) thank you now (.) bye bye

1603 {Bye bye}

Appendix P: Phil's Interview Transcript

1 {Ok (.) so you know <laughs>
2 Yeah
3 {Ok (.) so erm
4 Thanks again for taking part
5 Erm (.) could you tell me a little bit about your experience of internal exclusion}
6 (...) erm (...)
7 So we we erm named it different things
8 We don't we've never we've never called it (.) sorry someone's ringing
9 We've never called it internal exclusion
10 Erm I think principally what we've particularly avoided is the term exclusion erm
11 And the er really we see it we do see it as a mechanism (.)
12 We don't want to exclude pupils (.) we don't want to (.) send them home
13 We want to try and unpick the i- the issue that's er that's happened
14 What has been the problem (.) the breakdown (<b)
15 Erm (.) try to get pupils to *reflect* I mean we we call it
16 For example we *called* it (.) before we disbanded it
17 Erm (.) we called it a [Growth Hub] (.)
18 Where we wanted pupils to reflect (.) *with* a teacher that was in there (.) and that
19 teacher is sort of *skilled*
20 Erm (.) in y'know wh- has had training around allowing pupils to calm down and s-
21 meeting them in the middle (.) understanding their point of view (.) listening to
22 them (.) and then ultimately (.)
23 Erm (.) a decision is made that there m- there may well be a period of time where
24 that child needed to *be* er erm
25 Out of circulation
26 Sometimes that was for one hour
27 Sometimes it was for er (.) a day
28 {Hmm}
29 And erm (.)
30 It was rarely beyond that
31 Erm (.) in terms of our experience

32 Er (.) as much as it is (.) er I think personally (.)
33 Personally I er (.) want to avoid having such a room or (.) having such a need for
34 anything like this in school (<b)
35 Errrrm (.)
36 But the reality is is it it is always an available space with a s- with a member of
37 staff
38 And it is always an er a mechanism to allow pupils to calm down (<b)
39 And when we erm when we looked at the *statistics* in relation to exclusion (.)
40 Sorry (.) er
41 This [Growth Hub] (.) not exclusion
42 When we looked at the statistics of those pupils that had been in there (<b)
43 We saw that over time there was a a reduced frequency
44 Of *their* erm (.) *attendance* in this (.) or need to go there
45 Because their behaviour was poor (<b)
46 So we *did* we *did* see a reduction generally speaking with the *majority*
47 And I can't really quote numbers off the top of my head (.)
48 As I say we don't *do* it any more but
49 We did see a erm ((many of us)) having an impact with pupils d- didn't go back in
50 there
51 Or (.) less frequently (<b)
52 But what it *also* served as is it served as another mechanism (<b)
53 Erm for the school to identify (.)
54 Er (.) y'know where where pupils are persistent get getting it wrong
55 And then needing to be placed outside of the classroom and somewhere else
56 {Hmm}
57 Er where it clearly wasn't working that was like a trigger point I suppose to really
58 think about it (<b)
59 And try and resolve the issue and that *might well be*
60 Y'know what does this child need do they need any *additional* support so-
61 Y'know we've got a clear sort of hierarchical (.) approach to what we need to
62 investigate
63 Is there any SEN?

64 Is there any barriers of this child is there any-
65 Y'know are we discriminating against them by
66 Putting me putting them in in in this room
67 Er working with a staff member
68 Is there a need for a modification to curriculum?
69 Er do we need to look closely at the teachers the er
70 Classes that they've got the pupils that they're around
71 Do we need to consider a different school? (.)
72 Or er do we need to consider blending the curriculum with an alternative provision
73 arrangement as opposed to five days of mainstream education (<b)
74 So I think it did actually serve as a bit of a trigger point to erm (.) to (.)
75 Allowing for that thought process to occur now (<b)
76 The only reason we've we've ended it-
77 Even though we were toying with the idea of not wanting it anyway (.)
78 Erm (.) the only reason we have ended it is because it was a zone where we had
79 multiple pupils from different year groups in one room throughout the day (<b)
80 And with the covid situation we can't do it (<b)
81 Erm so what we are left with now
82 Is (.) er (.) y'know a mechanism which I'm actually quite comfortable with
83 Where (.) we have a clear system of warnings in the *classroom*
84 Er (.) pupils are given a *great* opportunity to get it right
85 To behave
86 If they don't (.) senior leaders come and speak with them and they will endeavour
87 to get them back
88 And then of course if it isn't a significant breach of the behaviour policy (.) (<b)
89 And if they *fail* (.) *they are excluded*
90 And they are sent home (.) (<b)
91 Erm we obviously want to avoid (.) excluding pupils (.) wherever possible and-
92 It's an interesting question in the sense that you know (.) you would term it internal
93 isolation and
94 And (<b)
95 Actually I do (.) genuinely frown on the fact of it being

96 Isolation
97 And I guess that *literally speaking*
98 It is away from the school community,
99 Erm but we (.) when we had it running we didn't see it as a (.)
100 We didn't see it as a *direct punishment* although it was (.) er
101 Addressing the need to keep them away from from other pupils or a particular
102 situation
103 But also allowing that time of reflection I think that's where we saw it as
104 And and it was interesting you know we were inspected er
105 Er we're a *good* school
106 *Now* we are a good school
107 And the the inspectors were very keen to look at
108 Erm (.) our use of internal isolation as they might call it-
109 And one of the questions they were asking is
110 Y'know (<b) is this just an alternative to excluding kids
111 Essentially er is the school simply trying to massage numbers of exclusions-
112 Reducing numbers of exclusions
113 Erm (.) by sticking them in a room and not really caring about them (<b)
114 And I and I think you know (.) I think that we (.) as a school
115 *Genuinely* er had the right sort of moral purpose behind it-
116 I don't think we were using it as a dumping ground
117 {Hmm}
118 Erm (.) but I would say that (.)
119 Y'know we always had er (.)
120 We always had some difficult situations where
121 Pupils wouldn't behave *there*
122 And then at that point they were excluded
123 {Hmm (.) Ok (<b)
124 So it's interesting that it's changed
125 Only in the last (.) couple of weeks then}
126 Yep
127 {So there's a new kind of routine going on (<b)

128 Have you noticed any changes (.) just in how (.) pupils have responded to that?}

129 (<b) Erm (...)

130 It's a little bit

131 It's a little bit difficult to answer that question erm

132 Because of the situation that we're in at the moment

133 Erm and there are now (.) additional er *reasons* for pupils to be sanctioned

134 Because they might be er

135 Breaking the covid sort of rules you know

136 We we've got particular movements around the school

137 They have to go use a particular staircase

138 They have to use a-

139 And if a kid is breaching *that* and if they are in the ((same)) toilets or if they are

140 Purposefully ignoring our instructions then (.)

141 They *are sanctioned* and we *don't*

142 We *haven't* got the capacity as a school

143 We haven't got a place where we can have multiple children from different

144 bubbles (<b)

145 In one room and then *cleaned*

146 Just *haven't got the capacity* and where-

147 Where it's unavoidable (.)

148 Pupils have been excluded

149 {Hmm}

150 But I think (.) I think generally

151 Erm (.)

152 Although I said earlier that y'know

153 The analysis of things showed that (.)

154 Those with a higher frequency of exclusion showed a reduction over time

155 And an improvement in their behaviour (.)

156 It *did* have an impact

157 Y'know the internal- this [Growth Hub] did have an impact (.)

158 But it but it *may* well have been an impact of the fact that we are (.)

159 Ah there's someone that needs to be *outside* of the classroom and then we are

160 Then using it as a mechanism to (.)
161 Er er (.) *work with parents*
162 And the SEN team
163 To identify a *plan* moving forward for that child
164 So so it was that mechanism (.)
165 We just have different mechanisms now-
166 So we track behaviour more *thoroughly* more erm (.)
167 More sort of *forensically* each day
168 {Hmm}
169 Erm (.) and I think actually (.) (<b)
170 The drive behind not having isolation or or not having this internal [Growth Hub]
171 (<b)
172 *Has been* (.) er has been because of y'know the covid situation
173 I think generally pupils have come back pretty positively (.)
174 Erm (.)
175 And I think at the moment (.) that we can work without it (.) if I'm honest
176 {Hmm}
177 Go back to normal (.) processes (.)
178 I don't think we'll-
179 I don't think we'll go back to it-
180 I think we'll (.)
181 Er (.) grow that common understanding the pupils have gotta
182 They've gotta behave they've got to listen to when we ask them to reflect and er
183 Erm (.)
184 Tell them to go back into class-
185 I think I think
186 People seem to understand that now (...)
187 {Ok (.) so you're still asking them for the reflection-}
188 Yeah
189 {Is it just that they're not going to a room (.) to do it but they're standing in another
190 part of the school (.) or
191 How how does it (.) how are they reflecting?}

192 We're just we're just doing it erm (.)
193 At the minute (.) now
194 Erm with the senior leader
195 So we've got senior leaders on call
196 {Hmm}
197 With (.) because we're not having to man this room
198 We've got more capacity in terms of staff
199 {Hmm}
200 So we've got more people to have conversations with pupils and (<b)
201 Although we're not trained in it
202 I've (.) sort of this idea of like (.) what is it *reflective practice*
203 And sort of (.) erm (.)
204 *Understanding* er (.)
205 What the pupil's going through in the in the class
206 And not saying to them not using *negative language*
207 {Hmm}
208 So we've spoke as a leadership team
209 I think to be fair (.) we're all quite good people and-
210 {Hmm}
211 We manage behaviour well and we don't (.)
212 We don't *antagonise* situations when we arrive like *you've done this*
213 {Hmm}
214 *You're badly behaved*
215 Negative cutting comments we-
216 We listen to the pupil
217 Erm (.) and try to er get a level of *empathy* in the conversation for the *child-*
218 But also for (.) look-
219 Y'know you've been doing *that* and miss or sir's actually not being *unreasonable*
220 {Hmm}
221 By asking you to stand outside the room y'know
222 You *must see that*
223 And actually (.)

224 Y'know those conversations actually
225 In many circumstances have been really positive (<b)
226 So we haven't (.) I did er er
227 I can't remember the name of it-
228 I think it's
229 It's like restorative practice isn't it
230 {Yeah}
231 It's isn't it that's the approach
232 {Hmm}
233 We did book on as a leadership team to have training around it er
234 But it never happened
235 But I think we (.) we actually do apply the principles
236 I read I've read on it we've all *read-*
237 {Hmm}
238 About it
239 {Hmm}
240 Erm (.) and we just think *carefully* about the people that are gonna go to these er
241 *Heightened* er (.) situations and
242 Just make sure we send the right people there (.) and we haven't got an
243 inexperienced member of staff
244 {Hmm}
245 Going to deal with a tricky situation and and
246 It blowing up and the kid then
247 {Hmm}
248 (...) Does summat else or storms out the school y'know
249 {It sounds like it's really about applying some values that you hold as a *team* but
250 also individually?
251 To your work with these children}
252 Yeah
253 {Could you tell me a little bit about when you first came across this-
254 This kind of erm I suppose (.) could be restorative practice or
255 Working with children in this way}

256 (.) (<b)
257 Erm (.) I think er
258 So the school setting that I *work* in perhaps
259 Going back seven years ago was was
260 Dare I say it was was in a difficult place (.)
261 Was was ofsted inadequate
262 Erm (.) staff were (.) er
263 There was staffing issues all over the school (.)
264 Erm there was a there was there was not there wasn't a *consistently good*
265 *approach*
266 To teaching and learning across the school from all *staff*
267 And it was a difficult place *to work*
268 Erm and sometimes I felt I felt pupils got a little bit of a bad deal
269 That at that time erm
270 And I do y'know I started at the same time as our headteacher and it-
271 And it was erm (...)
272 A purposefully (.) er (.)
273 It was a time where teachers were held *to account*
274 Er some teachers moved on there was quite a lot of change there was a lot of
275 new appointments
276 It was a more (.) a more of an authoritarian er (.)
277 *Standing* er
278 More of a *punitive approach*
279 And it was y'know on *reflection*
280 And we sort of knew that at the time but we needed to sort of-
281 Take the bull by the horns and (<b)
282 Stamp some authority within the school community with
283 With pupils and *staff*
284 And parents
285 *Clear lines* in the sand and
286 And it was more punitive *less* about reflection (.) erm
287 And and y'know that that was probably the case for a couple of years

288 Whilst we were going through difficult times as a school to get things right and
289 Y'know that was (.) sort of *eight* years ago
290 And then (...) so therefore *four* years ago
291 We really started to
292 Y'know I I my role (.)
293 In terms of y'know I lead behaviour and *attendance*
294 And (.) y'know I've always been passionate about inc-
295 About having a *solution focused* mindset
296 And I use those words with er colleagues (.)
297 Er that we look for solutions we (.)
298 Erm we (.) we are er
299 We provide empathy when we have conversations with pupils
300 We meet them on their level (<b)
301 But we sort of *remind* them of the *rules*
302 {Hmm}
303 *Remind* them of what (.) *has* gone wrong
304 But do so in a way which is not a personal attack
305 {Hmm}
306 And I think y'know we've had *lots* of conversations around that and I-
307 I was able to sort of build a a staff y'know
308 *Fortunately* when you go into a change in a school like that (.) er
309 New staffing structures were required
310 New *people were required*
311 With a with a certain set of skills so (<b) (.)
312 Job descriptions the skill the person specifications for *these people*
313 Erm and (.)
314 We appointed some really good people
315 And they're still with us y'know none of them have *moved on* (<b)
316 Erm we went from er non teaching heads of year
317 Who were (.) er
318 Not great at their job
319 And we appointed *teachers* as heads of year

320 Because / felt that er without being derogatory to non teachers
321 But I felt that er the sort of
322 The language that teachers are used to using
323 And the assertiveness that teachers typically have (.)
324 Stronger teach- experienced teachers
325 Are the qualities that I needed in a in a head of year (.) erm
326 And (.) so we had a *whole structural change*
327 Appointing the right people (.) with the *mindset* of er
328 Empathy fairness er (.)
329 Being pretty resilient as people
330 And *sticking to* the er clarity about the rules
331 And making sure but but also
332 Providing that level of *empathy*
333 Erm cause we had a situation where we had ere r
334 We had a number of pastoral staff who
335 Pupils *really liked* (.)
336 who you'd get the *same pupils*
337 *All the time at their door* (.)
338 Like a *gaggle of kids* outside their door every day
339 And nothing really was moving forward nothing was actually happening with these
340 pupils and there wasn't improvement in their behaviour (<b)
341 Erm we just weren't *happy with it*
342 And we wanted erm we wanted someone who was gonna be *pretty firm*
343 Pretty fair (.) y'know with the qualities that I've *described-*
344 Y'know as a head a head of year (.)
345 And we wanted to *distribute* the work as well and have more *clarity* around the
346 role of a form tutor
347 {Hmm}
348 Yeah about the roles of the form tutor and expectations and (<b)
349 It is *about* relationships and a solution focused mindset right down to the
350 To the fact of a form tutor
351 {Hmm}

352 Sat with families and
353 Identifying those
354 And and *being-*
355 I haven't used the word proactive but I *try* to y'know
356 I'd *like* to think that we are as *proactive* (.) as possible
357 And I think we've gone through a full sort of *circle* where
358 We were initially reactive were *punitive*
359 Punishment was the driver for improvement
360 It worked to an extent
361 It put got the school community in shape
362 It moved some people on who perhaps needed to
363 But then of course
364 That has a le- limit and that has a ceiling
365 {Hmm}
366 And that er um um um I think
367 Outs- Good and outstanding leadership is about reflection and
368 And er (.) non punitive measures and
369 Er to build strong relationships we have-
370 We have a a erm a community which
371 Which is represented by about 20% 25% disadvantaged
372 And they're mostly white british
373 {Hmm}
374 And actually quite a *difficult* demographic to change (<b)
375 White british people
376 And also the proportion of disadvantaged pupils in our community
377 With it only being 25% (.)
378 Erm ((inaudible)) because the majority of pupils are quite different er
379 *Economically*
380 {Hmm}
381 And values wise
382 Than the minority its it's not as if we're in a school where we've got 60% PP
383 Where the where it's more of a *homogenous* er-

384 Level of disadvantage and
385 Maybe homogenous w- value of education more so
386 Amongst the school community
387 W- we're *more* polarised and we have the difficult to shift white british families
388 Which *are hard* to keep on board and keep that
389 I use the words y'know
390 I need a positive wave I need a positive momentum
391 With the relationships *particularly* among more disadvantageded pupils in our
392 community and their parents (...)
393 {Hmm
394 Hmm Ok (.)
395 So can you remember a particular time when this had happened (.) you've built a
396 relationship with parents (.) of the children you describe?}
397 (.) Yeah I can remember er
398 Remember *several occasions* one
399 I just had a conversation with a colleague just as we walked out er
400 A young lady who er
401 Er *was* from a disadvantageded background who did get it wrong a lot of the time-
402 Who didn't react *well* to the punitive measures that we had in place
403 {Hmm}
404 Er she's just now joined our sixth form so she's gone through (.)
405 Going back to when she was a younger pupil in school
406 She was a *difficult* child
407 Erm (.) didn't get it right-
408 And the punitive measures weren't (.) er
409 Weren't *great* (.) er
410 Parental relationships with the school weren't strong
411 Erm (.) there was always a
412 At loggerheads with the school and the decisions we'd made-
413 {Hmm}
414 Sanctions that we'd put in place
415 And it wasn't it wasn't about *solutions* and what we can do

416 And then when we started to have conversations er *more* conversations
417 And again I'll stress that *with the right people* and the *quality* staff in place (...)
418 {Hmm}
419 They were able to elicit (.) elicit from the family that we *do* care
420 We *are* supportive
421 Erm and that child's behaviour drastically improved
422 She did (.) f- *well* for *her*
423 In the GCSEs enough to get on to the next step
424 {Hmm}
425 And er she's now in our sixth form
426 And er I've just literally just said to my colleague (.)
427 That if we can turn that kid around and if that
428 Child leaves this school and goes on to university or
429 Goes on to an *apprenticeship* or goes on to what she wants to do
430 Then that *really is*
431 What this is all about (.)
432 ((I mean)) We could have continued in a punitive fashion
433 She would have been out the door
434 {Hmm}
435 And she would have been in er a PRU or-
436 {Hmm}
437 And her life would have been very difficult
438 {Gosh (.) so that's quite a quite an achievement isn't it (...)}
439 Yeah
440 {And do you so do you put that down to the to the quality of the relationship did
441 you say then?
442 Between the *right* person engaging with the family?
443 What what was it that (.) made the difference there?}
444 (...)
445 I think it is it's it's erm
446 To *me* er I've spoken a lot about erm
447 The sort of the *moral purpose*

448 Of what we are all about as teachers and (<b)
449 To those colleagues who have been appointed as er
450 Middle leaders around pastoral support
451 We're all sort of on the same page in the sense of
452 We work *extra hard* with those from a disadvantaged background because we
453 *have to*
454 And you know what I've what I've *spoke of-*
455 {Hmm}
456 Erm (.) having that solution focused mindset meeting the kids
457 The kids half way in the sense of-
458 And then thinking about the *language* that's used
459 I think I've had some really-
460 I've just we've appointed some very intelligent people
461 Some very erm (.)
462 *Emotionally* intelligent people erm
463 And that has been *absolutely crucial*
464 {Hmm}
465 Er because without that
466 It just I don't think it would I don't think it would work
467 {Hmm}
468 Now don't get me wrong
469 It's not all roses y'know it's not all of the time
470 Absolutely perfect
471 And we do *still have*
472 ((inaudible)) Loggerheads with the school who don't agree with the things that we
473 have to put in place
474 Erm (.) and perhaps it's
475 It is a little m- more a little more difficult
476 The *times* that we're in *now*
477 As I said earlier the erm (.)
478 Child in Year 10 who was in the wrong area
479 Of the school *mixing* with kids in Year 8-

480 And they shouldn't be there (.)
481 And it's a breach of covid (if then?)
482 You either ignore it (.) and (.) er
483 Then the whole thing erodes and kids start wandering all over-
484 Or you deal with it
485 And you punish them
486 And you may well exclude them because we have-
487 We can't have detentions we can't have this internal reflection room
488 {Hmm}
489 We need to be
490 What we've told you before
491 This is a significant breach
492 You're going home (.) you're excluded
493 {Hmm}
494 (...)
495 {It is quite a difference isn't it
496 To where you were um just er last academic year (.) I suppose
497 Needing to have that I suppose more erm (.) quick response}
498 It *is* but it's
499 Yeah it is but
500 But that to me that's the *only* difference
501 Cause when it's simply about behaviour the same process applies
502 In the sense of good quality conversations
503 {Hmm}
504 Are still being had
505 Erm and I think y'know we've had to make a decision
506 I mean at the end of the day the
507 The Covid situation
508 The schools have been advised in the document published (.) er
509 Er about advice to what schools should and should not do
510 But it is only advice
511 I mean we've taken (.) we've probably applied nearly all of the er

512 Advice (.) that we've been given (<b)
513 Because we want to protect the school community-
514 Want to protect staff (.) and
515 Y'know we're making a *decision* that
516 Y'know (.) how can you have a conversation with a child
517 Who's been in the wrong area when they *completely knew* that they shouldn't be
518 in that area
519 And they're actually breaching the *safety* (.)
520 And the *integrity* (.) of these covid principles
521 We're applying in school (.) to protect people
522 How can you have a mediated conversation with them and their family
523 Erm at the end of the day they've actually made people unsafe and (.)
524 Er we *haven't got* anywhere to put them
525 {Hmm}
526 Ok I'm just erm (.) the video's a little bit patchy
527 It might be easier because I don't know if it's my signal or yours
528 If we take the video off cause then it'll just be the audio (.) if that's all right
529 Do you mind if you er put your video off}
530 Yep yep
531 {And then er see if that's any better cause I can generally hear you ok it's just the}
532 I tell you what I'll do I'll
533 {Yeah (.) go on}
534 I'll just turn my wifi because that er sometimes has an effect
535 I'll just turn my wifi off
536 {OK}
537 Cause I'm not on school wifi anyway
538 {OK}
539 (...)
540 {Is that all right?}
541 Yeah
542 Is that better?

543 {Yeah (.) I missed the just about like the last ten seconds of what you said if you
544 don't mind can you remember}
545 Just ask me what what
546 What did you ask me
547 {Oh gosh <laughs>
548 I'm not sure}
549 I think I think what I was saying I think
550 Is it clear now?
551 {Hmm yes
552 It's clear (.) I can hear you yeah}
553 Erm what I was saying is is that erm
554 We've had to make a decision as a school
555 That (.) most *recently*
556 The the the plans that we've put in place
557 In relation to protecting the school community from this this
558 Coronavirus situation
559 We are we *have* to protect the integrity (.)
560 Of of that
561 So let's say if we've got a child who is mixing with uh pupils from another year
562 group
563 Who they *should not be* because they're (.) y'know-
564 They shouldn't be mixing between bubbles
565 {Hmm}
566 Then it's quite difficult to then have a *mediated conversation*
567 {Hmm}
568 And to have a reflective conversation
569 When they've known exactly what they've done and
570 {Hmm}
571 They're in the wrong area
572 And if we're go- if we're going to protect the integrity of the plans that we have in
573 place
574 Then *that is* I guess it is a little more *punitive* if I'm honest

575 {Hmm}
576 It's not that *everyone who breaks the rules* is out the door
577 But those pupils who *persistently* break the rules and and
578 *Compromise the safety of staff*
579 Er (.) and pupils
580 Then they er then they *are excluded* so
581 But it but all the same y'know-
582 Tho- those pupils are in a minority
583 {Hmm}
584 And (.) the pupils who get it wrong in the classroom (.)
585 The conversations are still being had by those that I would say
586 Intelligent people who are having the conversations with people
587 Er when they (.) go to that difficult situation in the classroom
588 {Hmm
589 Ok (.) it's almost as though the kind of covid (.) element has-
590 Had to sort of change the approach that you've had
591 Just through safety (.) by the sounds of it because-
592 You're obviously having to think about the *bubbles* and so on}
593 Yeah
594 {And that's (.) although your approach sounds like one of
595 Trying to empathise and erm (.) listen
596 And encourage reflection
597 There is a there is a kind of (.) a bit of a conflict in terms of the covid element
598 because-
599 As you say there's a safety side to it}
600 There is there is a little bit
601 But I think what I'm *describing* (.) is-
602 {Hmm}
603 I'm talking about those about those pupils who
604 *Persistently* don't follow the instructions and don't stay in the right area of school
605 {Hmm}
606 Then there is a level of reflection you know-

607 It's not like right you're in the wrong zone and that's it you're excluded
608 {Hmm}
609 (.) Erm (.) y'know pupils who refuse to
610 Wash their hands when they're told to wash their hands at the beginning of the
611 lesson
612 {Hmm}
613 Y'know we don't say right you're excluded but we will be having a conversation
614 with them but
615 We have had the (.) very very much the minority
616 Where we've had pupils who've persistently *mostly* been a breach of er
617 Going into the wrong area because they want to mix with kids in different year
618 groups
619 {Hmm}
620 And they've just decided to take themselves off
621 But you can't put walls we can't build walls or put barriers in place
622 {Hmm}
623 And we can't watch everyone all the time
624 But it's sometimes where we've got *persistently*
625 Some kids wagging lessons (.) and going into the same cubicle
626 And you've got a Year 11 kid (.) a Year 10 kid (.) a Year 9 kid
627 And it's just *not on er*
628 And we need to er
629 Protect the integrity of the principles that we've applied for covid that
630 That is something that I think er
631 Obviously it will go away because we won't be doing this forever (.)
632 {Hmm (.) no
633 Hopefully not (.) no
634 <laughs> OK
635 I wonder if we could just bring it back to the internal uh
636 [Growth Hub] (.) that you referred to
637 Cause you said (.) so was it about
638 Seven years ago you were saying things were quite punitive

639 And *then*}

640 Yep

641 {Was this this hub developed at some stage?

642 Could you tell me a little bit about the whole (.) starting up of it?}

643 Yeah well we've just we just erm

644 Just through honest reflection erm

645 And the er (.) perception y'know

646 It was it was *hard* for staff who worked in there

647 Initially (.) when it was a punitive response and pupils went (.)

648 And pupils were put in what was *then* called isolation (.) erm

649 Pupils didn't like it

650 They weren't provided with a strong mechanism to reflect on what they'd done (.)

651 They were provided with work (.)

652 {Hmm}

653 Sometimes that work was of a low quality (.)

654 When we're in a school that we were passionate being a good and beyond

655 school-

656 At the time we weren't a good school (.)

657 {Hmm}

658 Erm but I wasn't proud of it

659 It was an area of school that I was not happy with

660 {Hmm}

661 And I (.) well I actually to be fair I wasn't in charge of things then

662 I worked in a different area of school as

663 As an assistant headteacher but-

664 Someone else was in charge of what I now do (.)

665 {Hmm}

666 And then I was appointed and-

667 Er (.) I I wanted to pull it apart-

668 And and *really* really instil the moral purpose of

669 Sort of (.) the process of er this

670 [Growth Hub] (.) what's the purpose of it

671 {Hmm}
672 What is the clear intention of it (.)
673 How do we want pupils to *feel*
674 So we started off erm (.)
675 You know obviously we got a team of staff together
676 Reflecting on what we want how we want to run er
677 Started off with er
678 Mechanisms of reflection so pupils could reflect (.)
679 On their own (.)
680 We provided them with headspace (.) apps er
681 On chromebooks that are in the room
682 We allowed them to read (.)
683 We allowed them to relax (.) to calm down
684 {Hmm}
685 And provided them with a member of staff in there
686 Who was emotionally intelligent who could
687 Who could get them to reflect on what's gone on
688 Erm (.) we also made sure that they weren't missing out on work
689 And we put a proper mechanism in place
690 So that work was (.) of an equal quality
691 Or as best as as possible
692 To the quality of work that they were receiving in the lesson
693 {Hmm}
694 Erm (.) and w- what we're what we've now moved to
695 Is (.) where we've got a
696 We call it an S E M- SEMH hub
697 {Hmm OK}
698 Where (.) we we've erm
699 And it was *really positive* among staff (.)
700 We publicised among staff in school (.) erm
701 Who wants to offer things in a different- in a different-
702 Who wants to offer things in a different way

703 {Mmhmm}
704 And I actually wanted this to start as
705 Off the shelf programmes that pupils (.) that staff could follow-
706 For example you you're probably familiar with things like
707 Things like the [name of local organisation]
708 Or a mindfulness programme
709 {Mmhmm}
710 Erm (.) or d- starving the anger gremlin
711 These are these are off the shelf programmes that you can buy-
712 Cost about 200 quid
713 {Yeah}
714 And at *first* I wanted
715 Intelligent staff members (.) experienced staff members
716 Maybe an experienced geography teacher (.) PE teacher (.) Art teacher
717 {Hmm}
718 Who wanted to get involved in a different aspect of school
719 And they've what they've done is they've er
720 They've trained up (.) in delivering an off the shelf programme
721 And they now *run* that programme-
722 So (.) we've *grown* that *into* erm (.) we've now got a mechanism where
723 Pupils can *reflect* on the issue that they've got (.)
724 They can make *self-referrals* to the er (.)
725 To this programme (.)
726 {Ok}
727 We have a mechanism where (.) *staff* can make referrals
728 And (.) it's emerging but it isn't yet established but
729 We're going to have a mechanism where *parents* can make referrals (.) erm
730 And I'll just go through some of the things that *we've got* so
731 If a kid is feeling angry If a child is angry we've got anger management-
732 Starving the anger gremlin
733 {Mmhmm}
734 We've got erm (.)

735 An organisational one er just to getting organised and facilitating change
736 We've got around one around self esteem and building self confidence
737 We've got one around (.) er making new friends
738 Er (.) peer relationship building social skills and what makes a good friend
739 We've got er one around pressure (.) erm (.)
740 An intervention around er (.) making sure that pupils can *deal* with pressure
741 Erm (.) and we've like erm
742 If I just give a minute to take this off the wall erm
743 (...)
744 Probably just tear it off and put another one on
745 I know you won't I know you
746 Oh you can't actually see me can you
747 {I can't well we could put it on (.) see if it works
748 Put your video on}
749 Yeah
750 Erm (.) I know you can't see *that* but you see this grid
751 {Ok (.) Mmm}
752 What we've done is identified (.)
753 We've identified all of the erm
754 Things that we want to *grow* to people
755 In the sense of them being able to deal with anger self esteem anxiety-
756 Dealing with bullying issues self esteem like that
757 Self regulation independence (.)
758 So we we've we've put together a programme where
759 Every one of those things is covered
760 So that er (.) that's what else
761 That's the other mechanism that we've put in place
762 Where pupils can make referrals to this-
763 {Hmm}
764 This er SEMH hub
765 {Ok so is the SEMH hub is that is that to replace the Growth (.) hub-
766 Or is it a separate thing?}

767 (...) Yeah
768 {Hmm}
769 Because because I I sort of have *ambition* to-
770 I don't want punitive measures (.) I don't want there to be detention (.)
771 I don't want there to be an isolation room or a [Growth Hub]
772 {Hmm}
773 What I would like to have (.) is erm (.)
774 Let's say a child repeatedly gets it wrong (.)
775 In the classroom (.) erm
776 I want us to (.) identify what the *issue* is (.)
777 And for the parents to tell us what the issue is or the child to tell us what the issue
778 is or-
779 Or the experienced staff members who work with that child to (.) raise the issue-
780 And as opposed (.) as opposed to
781 Giving them sanction (.) we're saying to the parents look (.) this is an issue-
782 You've got clearly an issue with anger (.)
783 We're having these outbursts
784 Your child is at risk of permanent exclusion because I-
785 I'm worried about a significant one off
786 {Hmm}
787 I think *using* the resource of the SEMH hub ((at the ending?))
788 A six week programme erm of starving the anger gremlin or working with peers
789 {Mmhmm}
790 And discussing the issues I think that is a
791 It is to be fair it's in its infancy this programme
792 But I'm I'm really proud of it actually I think
793 What we what we've got growing we've got now a mechanism to actually er
794 Deal with the issue
795 {Hmm}
796 It's sort of born partially out of the fact that
797 Well (.) internal isolation or whatever you might call it internal exclusion
798 In my opinion (.) it is punitive it doesn't offer a solution

799 So what so what we've got here is we've got an offer of a solution
800 {Hmm}
801 And er it's like again you're working with a member of staff who we've *appointed*
802 to that position
803 Erm and it's win win because the staff member is getting *paid*
804 {Hmm}
805 Erm (.) that staff member is also contributing to the school in a different way-
806 So they're (.) they are dealing with challenging pupils
807 And they're (.) they're getting to know kids that they don't normally teach and
808 they're meeting them in a different setting
809 {Hmm}
810 And the child is obviously benefiting
811 Er and they're starting to get the *tools* necessary to actually er (.) grow
812 And er (.) be a positive member of the school communit- school community
813 Just see it as win win really and I would really like
814 When when this situation calms down-
815 {Hmm}
816 I would really *like to not go back to*
817 Er (.) the use of the [Growth Hub]
818 {Hmm Ok
819 So would your SEMH hub is that still a *room* or is it
820 How does it fit around the curriculum (.) if it's individual children that are doing
821 those programmes
822 How does it fit in}
823 (...)
824 I just I'll just turn my camera off again cause it's just breaking up a little bit so
825 {Did you hear me}
826 The original (.) yeah I can hear yeah
827 The original intention was that er
828 We would be able to have mixed year group er groups
829 Right (.) but obviously the covid situation scuppered *that*
830 {Hmm}

831 So what we've got is a these these these classes happen outside of school
832 So they happen at the end of the school day
833 {Mmhmm}
834 Er we've *had to decide* on er what classes were going to offer to Year 7 to Year 8
835 to Year 9 to Year 10 to Year 11
836 Er (.) because (.) er
837 We can't mix the bubbles
838 But but when this thing goes away
839 It will be it will be after school so
840 The the way in which I think my colleagues and myself will *sell* it to people
841 And to parents is like (.) look
842 This is what's wrong (.) we agree that this is what's wrong and these are the
843 issues
844 Y'know we *have* to work at trying to resolve the issue and this programme could
845 be the key-
846 Could be the thing that's going to make a difference
847 {Hmm}
848 Erm (.) and er I'm really positive about it and the *staff*
849 I mean I put it our to staff bearing in mind we've got a hundred staff members in
850 school
851 Erm (.) and I had 25 people come forward who were really really keen on doing
852 the sessions-
853 {Gosh}
854 And from all walks of the school from receptionists to TAs to teachers
855 Heads of department
856 It was absolutely fantastic
857 {Gosh that's *very high* isn't it}
858 Erm (.) yeah
859 {A lot of people}
860 I think er (.) I was really *pleased* because (.) one of-
861 One of the things that that *worries* me is is that er
862 You're probably familiar with the er [name of social care multi agency teams]

863 {Mmhmm}
864 And er (.) if I'm if I'm being *frank* about it
865 I I see er (.) I see little impact
866 In much of the work that's done when we refer
867 I think there's more effort in terms of the application is more effort
868 Then we've got to go and speak at meetings and describe the issues
869 And then the *actual outcome in the end* is often er (.)
870 Futile (.) if I'm honest with you and er
871 Happens weeks after the issue has come about so
872 We we've got these six week programmes in place where we know that
873 The maximum wait time to get on a programme is probably six weeks
874 {That's good (.) yeah}
875 And we are sort of like topping and tailing it with
876 Pupil voice (.) through an online survey using an MS form
877 {Mmhmm}
878 Erm (.) so we're getting the wishes and feelings of the kid
879 And we are looking at the academic and the pastoral data
880 Er well actually we're not looking at the academic yet (.) we're looking at the
881 pastoral data of attendance and behaviour
882 To see whether it's having an impact
883 Er but most importantly to me
884 Is about how the *pupil feels* because I-
885 I would *like* them
886 I'd like *all* children to really *enjoy school*
887 And and for *stress*
888 'Cause it is a a *very stressful* place
889 Er and it does er grate on pupils and it would be really nice if er
890 If pupils we protected their *childhood*
891 And er had had they enjoyed school (...)
892 {Absolutely
893 I think it's really positive that you're talking as well about your
894 Getting their *voice* as part of the intervention (.) erm}

895 Yeah
896 {Is that is that something that you sort of seek to do (.) I don't know-
897 In other areas as well?}
898 (.) Erm yeah we do I mean we have
899 Have I mean most schools will have er pupil councils
900 {Mm}
901 And we do we do run that well y'know we have er dele- designated member of
902 staff who
903 Leads that group
904 So there are (.) y'know the wishes and feelings of pupils *are heard*
905 And they are responded to and they understand when they've made a difference
906 Erm (.) and it really is (.) er
907 It is it is a sort of integral part as to what we do we do always try and take pupil
908 voice
909 {Hmm Ok
910 Yeah sounds (.) sounds great yeah
911 So have you ever done any sort of SEMH (.) any of these sort of type of
912 interventions before
913 Did you put anything like that in before when it was called the [Growth Hub]}
914 Erm (.) we didn't really do much of it no
915 And that that to me was what was missing
916 {Hmm}
917 Erm (.) and as I say it
918 And I just thought look this is an *easy win*
919 This is an easy fix this
920 Because we've got plenty of intelligent people in the building
921 {Hmm}
922 We've got plenty of off the shelf programmes which
923 When used correctly *can* be effective
924 It's not as if we're just gonna say
925 We're not we're not we're not trying to er
926 Er just tick a box by this because we don't *have* to do this

927 {Hmm}
928 We want it to work but I'm
929 I *need* to sell it to these (.) strong members of staff
930 Because an *easy thing* for them to be doing (.) because I don't want them to have
931 to plan an additional lesson
932 {Hmm}
933 I want them to be *paid*
934 To have good conversations with young people
935 {Hmm}
936 And to make a difference in them but
937 For it to be *as little a burden as possible* for that member of staff who's running it
938 {Yeah}
939 But I've got I've got one colleague who's come forward
940 Who's said to me look in my *last school*
941 I ran this I developed this programme-
942 This guy is a TA
943 And he developed a programme (.) and
944 He he came to me (.) with er some Year 7 pupils who were getting it wrong-
945 Little kids who'd just started school who were getting it wrong
946 And he said to me
947 Can I do an additional group-
948 He's already doing one he wants to do another one
949 Because he's passionate about making a difference
950 Er with these children sort of four or five children who were getting it wrong in
951 Year 7
952 And I said to him yeah I'll *pay you for it* and er
953 *Let's see* this programme and try to set it up so that it's er
954 A a long lasting er-
955 {Hmm}
956 Programme y'know where someone else can pick it up and use it
957 In two three weeks time or two months time
958 'Cause I want things to be er

959 Er (.) I *don't* want them to be short-lived and people spending time developing and
960 building resources for them to be used once
961 I want them to be (.) pretty powerful
962 So we are careful about (.) er evaluating it-
963 We you know we *have asked* colleagues
964 To see their *plans* when they're going to deliver these sessions
965 Erm and I know that (.) it is an off the shelf programme
966 People have read it (.) they've reflected on it and said y'know-
967 I'm gonna do that (.) I'm gonna do that but I'm just gonna do something different-
968 You know not in a greatly pressured way we're not putting people under great
969 pressure by asking to see
970 Lesson plans really (.) but
971 We are try- We're trying to ensure that that that
972 The things are positive and erm
973 You know because it's in infancy still my er my
974 Colleague who er er who *leads* this for me
975 What I've said to her is that (.)
976 This is a bit of a *marketing game* at the moment
977 So we're in the marketing phase where-
978 It's about (.) I don't want *anyone* er
979 Going on it (.) who's going to fail-
980 We've selected pupils purposefully who are malleable
981 Who are (.) easy wins
982 Who will be a positive advocate of those programmes
983 Because what I don't want is-
984 For them to go on it (.) see it as a punishment
985 Not attend all of the sessions and then
986 Tell everyone it's rubbish
987 {Hmm}
988 And then all of a sudden it then gains a negative momentum-
989 I need there to be a positive wave
990 A positive voice-

991 So when we start to publicise it
992 It's not just the staff member who delivers it who's speaking of it
993 It is the *child* who says look (.) maybe some w-
994 We haven't got any yet but I would like to see in the short-
995 In the near future we've got a child that would say look (.)
996 These are the things that were wrong with me (.)
997 These are the issues I've had (.)
998 And this is how this has helped me
999 (.) this is how I'm different now y'know
1000 I think it would be *incredibly powerful* if we were to build in that way (...)
1001 {Hmm
1002 Sounds like there's some momentum some sort of pos-
1003 Erm moving towards something I guess that is more in line with your values really}
1004 Yeah
1005 {Than what was there before}
1006 Yeah
1007 {That's (.) what it sounds like
1008 And (.) you've got quite a lot of interest among the staff which I guess is
1009 Absolutely key}
1010 Yeah
1011 {Because they'll be delivering it}
1012 And it's been y'know to be honest y'know
1013 It's been it has been *hampered* a little bit by this covid situation
1014 Erm (.) because staff are working hard I've had y'know
1015 Of all those people who came forward I've had some who've pulled out-
1016 Who've said they can't offer it *at the moment*
1017 {Hmm}
1018 A little bit frustrated with that
1019 Er but we *have* got a programme and we have
1020 Y'know we're moving forward with it
1021 {Hmm}
1022 I mean you know one thing I haven't mentioned is

1023 Y'know we've got *as many schools will have*
1024 We've got er a detailed er
1025 Reading resource on the website about
1026 About safeguarding about health and wellbeing
1027 {Hmm}
1028 Erm (.) and we've identified y- y'know like
1029 On this grid that I was talking about before
1030 {Mmhmm}
1031 We've identified all the sort of *values* that we want pupils to have
1032 And I've made sure that there's there's at least
1033 *Two mechanisms* for everything-
1034 So for *anger* (.) there is a face to face meeting
1035 But there is also (.) a section on the website about
1036 How can parents help children who are angry how can a child help themselves if
1037 they're angry
1038 {Hmm}
1039 Erm (.) and so that we can
1040 We can actually *point* in the right direction
1041 The families so they can use our resource base as well
1042 {Hmm
1043 Trying to join everything up}
1044 Yeah
1045 {So that it (.) it all fits together}
1046 Yeah
1047 {Hmm
1048 So it sounds quite *cohesive*
1049 Sounds like it's quite thought through (.)}
1050 *It is* (.) erm
1051 Making it *work*
1052 Is obviously (.) where we are
1053 And er as I say the SEMH hub is in its infancy
1054 {Hmm}

1055 Erm we've only we've only er
1056 Started this cohort
1057 With the mechanisms of evaluation in place such as the topping and tailing of er
1058 Y'know surveys at the beginning and surveys at the end
1059 {Mmhmm}
1060 Data tracking (.) beginning and end
1061 And and I've a member of staff in the admin doing a write up because I want to
1062 I want to understand the impact
1063 The measurable impact on money that we're spending because it's costing us (.)
1064 Three grand (.) this year
1065 {Mmhmm}
1066 Y'know it's c- it's a reasonable chunk of money
1067 {What would y- how would you know if it had been successful}
1068 (.) Well it would reduce fixed term exclusions for that child
1069 {Hmm}
1070 It would hopefully improve attendance-
1071 It would reduce the number of incidents of er negative behaviours recorded in our
1072 system
1073 {Mmhmm}
1074 And I'd like to see more positive (.) rewards are given to pupils
1075 And that they're being recognised by staff
1076 So we're just getting a positive skew towards all of the-
1077 Sort of measures of er (.) of that
1078 I mean y'know of *course*
1079 *Of course* I'd like to see er children academically doing well (...)
1080 {Hmm
1081 (...)
1082 It sounds like you've had quite a lot of thought put into this and erm
1083 I guess yeah the covid thing's a bit of a spanner in the works but
1084 You're still able to-}
1085 Yep
1086 {To run it are you

1087 You are actually able to run it this term}
1088 Yeah
1089 In a in a redu- reduced fashion where
1090 We've had to er as I say-
1091 We've had to decide er what are we going to put on for Year 7-
1092 What's the biggest emerging issue
1093 {Erm OK
1094 And are you seeing any particular issue emerge
1095 Sorry to interrupt you}
1096 It's all right (<b)
1097 So yeah we've just we've just had to make that decision
1098 'Cause obviously we've got
1099 We have got a limited resource in terms of staff
1100 {Mmhmm}
1101 We can't mix bubbles so we've had to
1102 Y'know analyse the data
1103 Identify the pupils and and put the right-
1104 Session on for the year group (...)
1105 {Have you seen any particular (.) areas of need that you've put in place just in the
1106 first couple of weeks
1107 So you're putting in interventions for?}
1108 (.) Erm (.) certainly around erm
1109 Around anxiety
1110 {Hmm}
1111 So we've got a mindfulness group (.) erm
1112 We also have a (.)
1113 A mindfulness coach who comes in and works with pupils *individually*
1114 And that works (.) er
1115 More (.) er it's more effective when pupils do it on a one on one basis
1116 {Hmm}
1117 Erm (.) in terms of getting it *right* (.) the the pe- you know the peer one that I
1118 spoke of-

1119 {Hmm}
1120 Erm (.) peer relationships and friendships is one that we've got working with er (.)
1121 Year 7
1122 {Hmm}
1123 And so far that's working well
1124 I mean obviously we're only a couple of weeks into it now
1125 {Weeks yeah
1126 Yes early days but erm
1127 It sounds like you've got quite a lot planned out and erm
1128 It's been really interesting to hear about it
1129 I can see the time's getting close to 6 so-}
1130 No problem yeah
1131 {So I don't want to take up any more of your time obviously you're at the end of
1132 your teaching day aren't you
1133 You're still in school}
1134 Yeah
1135 {Er is there anything else that you'd like to talk about
1136 Before we sort of wind down}
1137 Er (.) no I don't think so really
1138 Erm but I think what I would just say is
1139 For me the crucial thing is about appointing the right people
1140 {Hmm}
1141 And having the right mindset
1142 Right the way throughout and it's
1143 Something that we've we've really worked hard on
1144 Is to make sure that *everyone*
1145 Heads of year form tutors
1146 Er middle leaders SLT
1147 Are all on the same page
1148 {Hmm
1149 Absolutely
1150 Yeah that's really interesting and erm

1151 Thank you so much for giving up your time to talk to me today}
1152 No problem
1153 {I really appreciate it [Phil] erm
1154 I'll I'll what we're planning to do is I'm going to transcribe the interviews and then
1155 I'm planning to send them to participants-
1156 Everything will be anonymised}
1157 Yep
1158 {But I can't guarantee when that's going to be 'cause er
1159 I'm a bit slow with my transcription but erm
1160 As you know it's all anonymised there't no school names used at all and your
1161 name won't be in it at all but erm
1162 If at any stage it goes to publication-
1163 I mean this is all in the information sheet but I'll just tell you anyway
1164 I'll get in touch to to notify you ask if you want your data to be inside
1165 But again everything will be anonymised}
1166 Yeah
1167 That'll be interesting to read it read it when it comes out
1168 Hopefully if you get it published
1169 {Hopefully <laughs>
1170 Might be quite a while 'cause I've got to write the thing first but-}
1171 Ok
1172 How long's your programme
1173 {Erm well I'm in the third year of my training so
1174 It's supposed to be until July but sometimes the thesis can take a little longer-
1175 It's quite a big piece of work so}
1176 Yeah
1177 {Alright well take care have a good evening}
1178 Yeah
1179 {And thank you so much}
1180 And good luck with your work
1181 {OK thank you}
1182 Bye

1183 {Bye}

1184

