Successful interventions with difficult pupil behaviour in primary schools. A critique of consultative practice between educational psychologists and teachers from the perspective of applied behavioural analysis, organisational dynamics and attribution shift.

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Summary

Successful interventions with problem pupil behaviour in primary schools. A critique of consultative practice between educational psychologists and teachers from the perspectives of applied behaviour analysis, organisational dynamics and attribution shift.

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This two-part study examines practice by educational psychologists who draw upon behavioural psychology when consulting with teachers of pupils of primary age range deemed to be displaying difficult behaviour. The first section examines the content and effectiveness of strategies and aspects of the consultative relationship by means of a postal questionnaire completed by a sample of 68 educational psychologists from 13 Local Education Authorities. Unlike published accounts of successful interventions, this questionnaire study examines practice with a variety of outcomes. Results show that educational psychologists favour approaches that frequently incorporate contingent teacher praise but that there are few grounds to warrant concerns about the 'dangers of a mindless technology' (Berger 1979) or 'behavioural overkill' (Wheldall 1981). The second section of the study concentrates upon the teachers' perspectives and is based upon a structured interview with 24 primary range teachers in 8 LEAs. The teachers were identified by local educational psychologists as having taken part in consultations concerning the difficult behaviour of a pupil in their class. The sample was also selected so that each had experienced successful outcomes following a

recommended intervention that derived to some extent from behavioural psychology. Using a grounded theory approach, these outcomes are shown to be far more closely related to factors such as staff culture, organisational boundaries and inter-personal dynamics than is normally recognised in the literature on behavioural interventions. The study concludes with a formal statement of the emergent grounded theory in respect of successful behavioural consultations in primary schools.

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SECTION I

THE EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGISTS' PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER 1

Educational psychologists and behavioural approaches in British mainstream schools

Educational psychologists and behavioural approaches in British mainstream school

The surge of interest in applying behavioural methods to educational contexts is usually credited with having its origins in the work of Becker et al (1967) and Madsen et al (1968). These researchers demonstrated experimentally that the classroom behaviour of North American primary aged pupils could be influenced by their teachers stating rules clearly, ignoring undesired behaviour and praising desired behaviour. As well as setting in train an interest in replication and extension of this work, this publication also provided a useful primer in terms of illustrating a range of precisely defined pupil behaviours, teacher strategies and methods for data collection and recording. This practical advice was extended in early textbooks (eg. Tharp and Wetzl 1969; Blackman and Silberman 1971) and the first British replication of Madsen et al's study was published in 1971.

This review will consider mainly British work and will look explicitly at that carried out by practising educational psychologists. The term 'British' is slightly inaccurate given that the structure of bodies such as the British Psychological Society and the Association of Educational Psychologists tend to separate out Scottish practitioners from those in the rest of the United Kingdom. Thus 'British' in this context tends to omit the less easily available accounts that may be produced by Scottish practitioners. Similarly, the criterion of 'practising educational psychologists' is not precisely adhered to as a number of the contributors to the literature are more accurately tutors in higher education establishments (most of whom still work for a small part of their time as educational psychologists) or teachers with a specific interest and expertise in the area.

Another introductory issue, related to terminology but extending far further, concerns the theoretical perspective within which this study is written. The ultimate intention is to provide a critique of practice and thus the conceptual framework from which terminology derives cannot necessarily be assumed as the only, or the most appropriate one within which to develop the analysis. It is in the nature of research paradigms to define not only the methods and content areas for investigation, but also to legitimate certain areas of knowledge at the expense of others (Kuhn 1970).

Consequently, although it is far easier to provide a descriptive account of the research literature from within the assumptions of the behavioural paradigm, the adoption of this standpoint will be only for this purpose, and the subsequent critique will proceed from a more independent stance. In adopting this approach, familiarity with the basic principles of the behavioural approach are assumed and an introductory exposition of these will not be given. However, they will nevertheless become apparent as this review and the first phase of data analysis and discussion procedes.

The first area for consideration is the initial development of behavioural approaches in this country. The first decade, from 1971 to 1981, is chosen somewhat arbitrarily to be this initial phase and the published work carried out in this period is generally described in more detail than later studies, the criteria for inclusion for the later phase being that the study advances merely than replicates previous findings or discussion.

British studies 1971 to 1981

In 1971 Ward published his British replication of Madsen et al's classic study. This investigation concerned the mainstream classroom behaviour of three children, aged six, seven and eight years old. Baseline measurements were established for different categories of 'difficult behaviour' as well as estimates of the

teachers' use of positive and negative reinforcement. Informal advice on the use of praise and ignoring was then given to the teachers. Ward reported that one pupil displayed a dramatic improvement, another showed a decrease in difficult behaviour but which could not be described as dramatic, and in the third case there was no change as the teacher was unable to follow the advised course of action. Thus, in this, the earliest of British studies, Ward highlighted the challenge to the consultant, or trainer, or, perhaps, writer:

> '...the communication of advice may be the most demanding part of the programme' (Ward 1971).

A further group of case studies was published by the same author two years later which again demonstrated the effectiveness of the contingent use of teacher praise and attention in managing certain forms of pupil classroom behaviour (Ward 1973). In the meantime, Harrop and Critchley (1972) had provided another case example of a nine year old boy in a mainstream school who was helped by means of a 'rules, praise and ignoring model'. Also McNamara, who along with Critchley had carried out some of the practical observational work for Ward's first paper, drew on the North American research into the use of behavioural methods with children who had severe learning difficulties, to show that the methods of behavioural analysis could be used in a sequential fashion, not only to achieve the intended successful outcomes from a programme, but also to use initial failures as part of the repeated analysis of the problem behaviour. In particular, this programme was designed for the teachers of an incontinent seven year old girl in a special care unit and was seen as an example of the way in which the repeated measures during a behavioural intervention could be used as an experimental procedure in order to further adjust the programme in the light of feedback evidence (McNamara 1972).

At the same time Presland made a substantial contribution by publishing the first of a series of articles that were to extend the base of successful behavioural case work in mainstream and special

education settings and to elaborate some common aspects of working as a consultant with teachers (Presland 1972,1973a,1973b,1974). These approaches were, of course, very much a minority interest and Tizard (1973) criticised the EPs of that time for spending very little time in classrooms and advocated the wider use of behavioural approaches as a means whereby EPs and teachers could be brought into a much closer working relationship.

Although reported fully much later, Berger, Yule and Wigley (1987) commenced a detailed collaborative project between the Institutes of Education and Psychiatry at London University and the Inner London Education Authority in 1973. This was one of the first attempts in Britain to train teachers systematically in the use of behavioural approaches and to evaluate this by means of a rigorous experimental design. Few comparisons within the data collected on the participating teachers' classroom behaviour showed a statistical significance between the experimental (course) group of teachers and the controls, but the trends were in the direction predicted, that is, there was an increase in their use of approval and instruction at the expense of reprimands and 'no interaction'. Similarly, although the children as a group increased in the frequency of their appropriate behaviour, this was not significantly greater than the control group and not all individuals changed.

The study raised questions about appropriate methodologies for investigating innovations in complex settings such as a range of schools, as well as suggesting that whereas single case study graphical representations could suggest positive effects, it could not be assumed that more traditional experimental approaches would confirm these results with accepted statistical significance levels.

Another aim of the study was to investigate the 'diffusion' of knowledge and skills into the teachers' normal routines and on to their colleagues. The project concluded that both of these effects were limited and recommended that

> '...emphasis must also be placed on optimising conditions in such a way that teachers *do* use the skills. Such work would need to recognise the importance of the school as an organisation and the influence this has on the change potential of individual teachers'.

By 1975 Presland was able to offer an extended discussion of the what he termed the 'practical problems' of advising schools on the use of behavioural approaches. These included the realisation that attempting to encourage the take-up of these approaches by means of written information in the form of an introductory pamphlet was seldom successful because teachers seemed to require 'specific answers for a particular child'. He also found it difficult to deliver a programme to the staff of a secondary school because of the reliance this placed upon the skills and understanding of the school's 'contact person'. Meeting the charge from teachers that 'we've tried all that', Presland contended that closer examination usually revealed that either the stage of obtaining a precise definition of the problem behaviour had been omitted, or teacher attention that was intended to be punishing was acting as a positive reinforcer, or that there was a lack of consistency in the application of the technique.

Presland also noted that teachers might want the pupil removed from the school rather than retained by means of an intervention strategy and that they may retain a 'medical model' of deviant behaviour or have reservations on ethical grounds about the apparent element of bribery within the approach. To counter all these reservations, he recommended that practitioners equip themselves with accounts of successful practice to relay to teachers (Presland 1975a). The points made in this article are probably taken for granted by most if not all of today's practising EPs but they have been described in full here so as to illustrate the early stage at which they became apparent to pioneering practitioners.

In addition to the case studies resulting from the work of EPs within schools, this period also saw the publication of the first

account of a set of workshops set up to introduce teachers to the approach (Harrop 1974). These followed a pattern of introducing principles in a gradual way and helping the teachers who attended to develop and implement an intervention with a particular pupil in their class during and sometimes beyond the course of the workshops. Other accounts of workshops were provided by Presland, covering work with ESN(M) schools (Presland 1977) and mainstream schools (1978a:1978b).

In addition to providing a similar sequence of sessions to Harrop and illustrating the outcomes of the course with records of programmes carried out by some of the teachers, Presland also focussed again upon issues to do with teachers' acceptance of the techniques. Although post-course questionnaires revealed that some of the teachers (four out of five from the ESN(M) schools and seventeen out of twenty seven from the mainstream schools) were using some of the techniques with other children, none of them had directly influenced their colleagues to also adopt them. This led Presland to conclude that from the follow-up evaluation of workshops '... it seemed unlikely that their expertise would spread to other teachers' (Presland 1977) and that there was no '...support here for the hope that participants might pass on the approaches to colleagues in an effective way' (Presland 1978a).

After a further five year's experience, Harrop and McNamara (1979) re-appraised the original workshops and charted their move towards giving greater emphasis to classroom rules, as well as praise and ignoring. They also commented upon the phenomenon they termed the 'storm before the calm', the period immediately after the implementation of a strategy, especially one involving ignoring of certain behaviour, when difficult behaviour might become more intense before subsequently subsiding. They saw it as important to forewarn teachers about this possibility in order to help them maintain an intervention despite apparent evidence of its exacerbating problems. In addition, they made the point that behavioural interventions must ask whether the curriculum within

the classroom where the difficult behaviour is being manifested, should be altered to meet the pupil's interests and aptitudes before embarking upon a behavioural intervention. Again this point is frequently made among today's practitioners but it is included here to make the point that this was not an aspect that was emphasised in the earliest British accounts.

Despite this wave of enthusiasm among some British EPs for behavioural approaches, not everybody viewed these developments with enthusiasm. In 1975, Quicke delivered a critique, the main thrust of which was that the growth of the influence of behaviourism within education would lead to a narrowing of goals and aspirations. Quicke agreed that behavioural approaches had been shown to be successful with children in special educational settings with severe and profound difficulties in such areas as self-help and language skills. He also cited the research finding, later to become elevated to prominence by the Warnock Report, that one in six children should be recognised as experiencing special educational needs and that therefore it could be expected that the behavioural methods developed in special schools would infiltrate mainstream schools as the need for more specialised provision within mainstream settings became accepted.

Quicke argued that the claim by some advocates of behavioural approaches that they operated from a 'humanistic' stance was usually illustrated by a case study which demonstrated '...learning or a 'cure' in an otherwise hopeless case' but he pointed out that these practitioners shared the same theoretical and methodological principles and practices as those who worked in far more contentious areas such as, for example, aversion therapy with people who were homosexual. He claimed that work such as behavioural counselling, by being action-oriented rather than insight-oriented, enabled therapists to ignore the social implications of their own behaviour and therefore ruled out the '...hope of any real understanding of all the issues involved' in therapeutic practice. He was also critical of what he saw as inconsistencies in

practices such as systematic desensitisation, which included work with 'imagined scenes' whilst at the same time deriving from a theoretical background the major tenet of which was that behaviour should be defined in terms of observable events.

Presland (1975b) replied to this article by stating that he doubted '...whether many of those who practised behaviour modification still subscribe to it completely.' He attempted to differentiate between a theory of behaviour and a technology for affecting change in behaviour

> '...behaviour modification can be regarded as one aspect of an attempt to explain behaviour scientifically, or it can be thought of as a series of techniques which will have been shown to produce certain kinds of effects and can be applied in an intuitive, even 'artistic' way to human affairs.'

After divorcing practice from theory he also attempted to counter the implication in Quicke's article that all advocates of behavioural approaches bear some responsibility, by association almost, for the most coercive of practices by separating techniques from the social uses to which they might be put

> '...the techniques are not the (social) aims for the intervention.'

Presland also responded to Quicke's accusation of the lack of theoretical consistency, especially in respect of the use of 'mentalistic' concepts, and the charge of breaking with the canons of scientific practice while at the same time claiming to be operating within their boundaries. He argued that

> '...to combine different explanatory models into a more comprehensive one is surely justifiable scientifically, unless the models contradict each other in some irreconcilable way.'

Following this first debate, EPs who were enthusiastic about behavioural approaches were not to receive their next critical broadside until Berger's much quoted paper in 1979.

In the meantime, Ward (1976) offered an overview of British practice and drew up 'a model for implementation'. In his overview he concluded that, in contrast to the American literature, in which the experimental demonstration of contingent control of behaviour was usually the purpose of the research, British practice tended to be more '...strategic(ally) and without evidence of pronounced ideological commitment' (Ward 1976). He predicted that '...the future development of behaviour modification within education will depend upon the economic realisation of objectives rather than technical demonstration of functional relationships, despite the ongoing necessity to monitor these experimentally.'

In this paper, Ward also looked at what he termed implementation issues, that is, the whole area of the relationship and interactions between the EP as consultant and the teachers who are seeking help and advice, the area Presland (1975a) referred to as 'practical problems'. In this review, these topics will be subsumed under the term 'consultation'. Ward warned that school staff would be resistant to the changes proposed by a consultant offering behavioural approaches unless a number of conditions were met:

- staff felt ownership of the strategy
- there was wholehearted support from all involved
- the strategy accorded with existing values
- the participants' autonomy and security was not threatened

- the participants felt the change would reduce their burdens, rather than increase them, as in some detailed and demanding ('heavy') interventions

- the participants contribute to the planning, which was difficult to achieve in large schools

- there was trust and confidence amongst all concerned ('a feature of BM programmes is the remorseless identification of weak teaching')

- attitudes were open-minded, allowing for reconsideration and revision if necessary

Here Ward refers briefly, as did Presland (1975a), to the extra difficulties encountered by consultant EPs attempting to work within this paradigm with secondary schools, in particular the problem of having to work with, and ensure consistency between a large staff group. McNamara (1977) provided an extended discussion of the problems of working with secondary schools, both from the point of view of the organisational complexities and in terms of the older pupil group involved for whom teacher praise might not in itself be reinforcing in the same way as for younger pupils and might in fact have the opposite effect. In order to overcome some of these difficulties, an interest in methods whereby pupils were responsible for monitoring and reinforcing their own behaviour grew, and an early account was provided by McNamara and Heard (1976) of an experiment in a secondary school in which some of the beneficial effects of self-recording were demonstrated. Lane (1977) also provided case history examples of successful work carried out from a clinic base, with two secondary aged pupils, one with a reading difficulty and one with a problem of controlling outbursts of temper.

Also in the mid-1970s, the first experimental validation of the behavioural approach's positive contribution to management of a

whole class was provided by Tsoi and Yule (1976) who used extra break time as a reinforcer for a whole class. Two types of strategy were each shown to be effective, one where the behaviour of a single child formed the basis for the class reinforcement and one in which changes in the whole class' behaviour was used. The study was well designed and used control procedures to demonstrate objectively the experimental effects. Merrett and Wheldall (1978) employed a similarly rigorous methodology in a study that was again concerned with management of the whole class, in this instance combining an RIP approach with a 'timer game'. Rennie (1980) subsequently employed similar game strategies with whole classes, again with success.

During the late 1970s, McNamara advanced discussion about working at the secondary level, by providing both further examples of successful practice and cautionary accounts of the failure of teachers to take up the methods. In respect of the successes, he published a further set of three case studies of self-recording in a secondary school (McNamara 1977) and, in partnership with Harrop, he added a warning about the extent to which teacher take-up and compliance with recommended interventions could be expected by describing the evaluation of a course for secondary school probationary teachers (McNamara and Harrop 1979). From the one hundred teachers who undertook a four two-hour session course on behavioural approaches delivered by the authors, sixty completed an evaluation questionnaire and a written account of their intervention strategy. Only six of these teachers reported successful outcomes as reflected in their data, whereas a further thirty felt that the interventions had been beneficial but were unable to substantiate this with numerical data.

The formation of the Association for Behaviour Modification with Children in 1977 and its Newsletter and Journal provided a further forum for the publication of such work. This provided an accumulating range of case study examples for practitioners as well as wider theoretical and methodological discussions. Operating from

firmly within the behavioural paradigm, Winter initiated a trend of obtaining and reporting follow-up data from a period substantially subsequent to the cessation of a strategy. For example, in 1978, he reported on a case study of a nursery child whose disruptive behaviour had been modified by a simple intervention (Winter 1978). Then, eleven months later (Winter 1979) he reported, in a follow-up investigation of the same case, that improved behaviour had been maintained despite procedures for maintenance and generalisation not having been built into the original intervention and hypothesised that '...verbal interaction, once established with any frequency, is strongly reinforced by a child's natural environment'.

The first decade of the use of behavioural approaches by British educational psychologists in mainstream schools drew to a close with the approaches receiving wide support within the profession. From a questionnaire study of 291 EPs (approximately one third of practising EPs at that time), designed to examine their professional knowledge, (Quicke 1978) found that behaviourism featured highly among the schools of psychology that influenced educational psychologists. In rating either a strong or weak preference for various psychological perspectives, 76% of respondents mentioned the behaviourist approach, second only out of a choice of 14 perspectives to developmental psychology. Similarly, when these EPs were asked which of 33 psychologists they drew on in their work either regularly or occasionally, 72% cited B.F.Skinner - the third most frequently mentioned after Jean Piaget and Michael Rutter.

At the same time, Harrop also published a very comprehensive review of behaviour modification studies carried out in ordinary school settings, the paper making reference to one hundred and eleven studies, almost all of them from North America. This review, in particular, considered the types of target behaviour chosen, the methods for relating contingencies to targets, the persons acting as agents of change, the educational level at which the study was carried out and the kinds of reinforcement used (Harrop 1978). He

concluded that there was some danger of a conflict between the need for measurement and social and educational priorities, such that studies might end up investigating the trivial. He also felt that there was a definite need to decrease the demands that some strategies made upon teachers. The choice of reinforcement was seen as a complex issue but he recommended that interventions should start with social reinforcement unless there was 'clear evidence to the contrary'.

A number of papers also pointed out anomalies or unexpected effects from behavioural interventions. For instance, Harrop (1977) working with a group of teachers in a workshop setting, found that one in six of them reported improvements after the initial baseline period of recording a child's behaviour, before any attempt was made at implementing a strategy. (A similar phenomenon was reported later by Laing and Chazan (1987) who found that, in a small sample of twelve teachers of children with behaviour difficulties, one quarter found that the act of completing a record of behaviour led them to change their view of a child). Miller (1979) described the unexpectedly sudden and pervasive improvements in a child's withdrawn behaviour reported by his teacher after only the first few steps of a behavioural intervention and speculated that some features of behavioural programmes - the splitting of target behaviour into small steps and beginning an intervention well within a child's capabilities - make them particularly effective in changing a teacher's expectations and perceptions of, and possibly their general subsequent behaviour towards, a pupil. And in a study that highlights the interactive, social climate of the classroom, Harrop (1978) demonstrated that using a behavioural intervention for one child in an ESN(M) school produced measured improvements in the behaviour of other disruptive pupils in the same class.

The first decade of publications concerning behavioural interventions in British educational settings, special as well as mainstream, was appropriately concluded by Merrett's review (1981)

but not before Berger (1979) had launched a strong attack upon what he saw as the undermining of the actual and potential contribution of behaviour modification by a dangerous trend towards the application by practitioners in education of a 'mindless technology' - the use of procedures divorced from their theoretical techniques and applied framework. Whereas Quicke had criticised practice from the point of view of someone who was concerned about the social role of the applied psychologist and the development of humanistic educational institutions, this attack was potentially far more wounding, coming as it did from within the behavioural camp itself.

Berger claimed that he was finding that teachers whom he was interviewing had often become familiar with behavioural approaches, perhaps through attending a course, but displayed only a superficial knowledge of what a behavioural approach entailed. He strongly asserted that

> '...behaviour modification is not, and never has been, simply a technology. It has always had associated with it some theoretical position, or at least a set of assumptions about behaviour and behaviour change. The techniques too have been applied within a particular framework of assessment or functional analysis, recording and ongoing monitoring of changes. It is when the techniques are taught or used with little or no regard to the theory and system of application that the dangers arise. ..'.

In order to prevent negative consequences arising from a simplistic application of behavioural principles, - continuing failure for the child, demoralisation for the teacher and a growing negative public opinion towards the approach - Berger recommended that any training approach should include at least the following components

- a knowledge of normal development (if this cannot be assumed)

- information on common disorders, theories about their aetiology, and factors which contribute to their development

- behavioural views on the genesis and maintenance of problems (in the course of which both the radical and social learning views should be covered)

- functional analysis, recording and monitoring, the general principles and derived techniques

- ethical issues

Berger was concerned that teachers were not encouraged to use behavioural techniques without being monitored *in vivo* by a tutor who should only gradually withdraw this supervision. Although he was very opposed to attempts to teach techniques solely by means of lectures and accompanying reading, Berger's major worries were with the presentation of such approaches as token economies and 'time out' and he did concede that

> 'There are nevertheless certain aspects of the behavioural approach which we could encourage teachers to use, such as identifying and responding to the positive combined with ignoring the minor disruptions. One might even cover the use of graded change techniques, provided that it was made explicit that these were only aspects of the behavioural approach. But even these suggestions are difficult to implement in practice particularly if there is no competent observer to give feedback on how appropriately the techniques are being used.'

This review of the first ten years of publications has generated a number of themes that continue to recur during and after this period. The most prominent among these are:

- the range of interventions devised in mainstream schools

- the particular problem of attempting to intervene at the secondary level

- individual and whole class interventions

- courses and workshops for teachers

- teacher's understanding and attitudes towards the approach

- teachers' reservations about behavioural approaches

- the consultant's role

- practicalities of implementing strategies in classrooms

- methodology and the design of interventions

- generalisation and maintenance of pupils' behaviour

- the spread of the approaches to teachers' work with other pupils and to their colleagues

- measurement

In order to avoid unnecessary repetition and the artificial confines of a chronological approach, rather than continuing with a linear format, these themes will now be reviewed under a number of broad headings, viz:

- Behavioural approaches in secondary schools

- Teachers' reservations

- Behavioural approaches in British primary schools and other paradigms

- Generalisation

- Methodological issues

Behavioural approaches in secondary schools

Although a detailed consideration of applications in secondary schools is outside the scope of this project, a brief review of the developments following the early work by Presland (1975), McNamara (1977) and Lane (1977), already referred to, will show how certain aspects of this work were to feed back into and advance the discussion of work at the primary level.

When McNamara and Harrop (1979) reported on the outcomes of their course for one hundred secondary probationary teachers and found only a limited response in terms of accounts of successful interventions supported by accompanying data, they concluded that these results and the general paucity of studies in behavioural approaches in secondary schools, could mean that the nature of these schools did not easily lend themselves to behavioural approaches. This paper prompted a reply from Wheldall and Merrett (1981) who had persuaded the headteacher of a comprehensive school to carry out an RPI intervention with a fourth year class identified as difficult by the staff. At the signal of a random bleep, the headteacher was asked to make a judgment as to whether the class was adhering to the particular four rules used in the study and, if so, to award a point which built into a system of free time for the class. From a baseline of 55% on task, the intervention achieved an increase to a 95% rate.

McNamara and Harrop (1981) then delivered a rejoinder to Wheldall and Merrett's paper, to which they gave a 'cautious welcome', as a means of elaborating upon their original argument. They claimed that the fact that the experiment had utilised the services of the headteacher, rather than showing that high status personnel supported the approaches, as Wheldall and Merrett claimed, should be seen as demonstrating that it was unlikely that the school staff could have been persuaded to take part in the intervention. They thus saw the study as illustrating rather than dispelling the problem of access to secondary schools. McNamara and Harrop also

used this paper to comment on what they saw as the 'waves of development' of behavioural approaches in Britain, and concluded that much practice up until that time had been 'somewhat naive' in focussing so much attention upon 'on task' behaviour as opposed to academic work output. They argued that, if behavioural approaches were to move beyond encouraging what might be only a superficial pupil compliance, then a lot more attention would also have to paid to manipulating such aspects of the setting events as lesson preparation.

A good analysis of the problems likely to be encountered in work at the secondary level was provided by McNamara (1979). He listed these as including:

1 The teachers might not wish to change their own behaviour, they might feel their teaching style is appropriate for the task

2 Even if they wished to do so they might find this hard to achieve

3 The fact that secondary-aged pupils have a number of teachers mitigates against any consistency of approach being easily achieved

4 It might be more difficult in lecture-type lessons than in the more loosely structured primary classroom to interrupt a lesson to deliver praise

5 Because of the pastoral care system subject teachers might be more willing to see problems of pupil behaviour as being the responsibility of these staff rather than themselves

6 Teacher praise for some adolescents may not be reinforcing because of the experience of alienation from the school's goals and aspirations

7 Teacher praise might actually serve to alienate pupils from particular peer groups

Although many of these points are debatable, the first two for instance seeming equally applicable to the primary level, McNamara used this discussion to argue that, even if teacher control of behaviour were to be achievable in these contexts, the ultimate goal should be self control on the part of pupils. As well as providing a solution to many of these problems concerning secondary schools and adolescent pupils, self control strategies were also seen to have the advantage of being likely to maintain improved behaviour and prevent the regression that sometimes took place when a behaviour modification approach was faded out. Subsequently, McNamara (1979) published three controlled case studies of the use of self control strategies in a secondary school. And in addition to these contributions to practice, he also examined in more detail what he called the 'reality problems' associated with attempting to research the setting up and implementation of behavioural approaches in secondary schools, such as gaining access in the first place, acquiring observers with enough time, understanding and skill and the physical layout of the settings (McNamara 1982).

The subject of self control strategies was further researched in the British context by Merrett and Blundell in 1982. They reported a study involving a thirteen year old boy in a remedial department of a comprehensive school who displayed a very unsettled approach to many aspects of his work and also distracted other class members from theirs. Following a baseline period, an intervention was introduced which required the pupil to tally his on-task behaviour during the same periods that his teacher collected a similar record. A signal, audible to both the pupil and teacher, was used to indicate when both should record the behaviour. It was explained to the pupil that only the tally marks of his that agreed with his teacher's would be counted towards a reinforcing activity, - ten jointly agreed marks could be exchanged for a two minute period of colouring in a Doodle Art picture. The boy's on-task

behaviour rose from a mean level of approximately 30% during the baseline period to a mean level of more than 60% during this intervention period.

An interesting 'reversal' design feature was then introduced whereby the pupil did not record his own behaviour but continued to earn reinforcement as a result of his teacher maintaining the same recording schedule. His on-task behaviour fell to a mean level of 40% during this period and then rose again to 61% when the full intervention was re-introduced. A six week follow-up, after the cessation of the intervention, in which the teacher repeated the original baseline measures without the pupil being aware of this, showed that the rate of on-task behaviour was being maintained at a high level.

Subsequently, Panagopoulou-Stamatelatou (1990) reviewed the research carried out at primary level in mainstream schools on attempts to train 'children to be responsible and, thus, have the ability to maintain and alter their own goal-directed behaviour'. She looked at studies aimed at improving pupils' academic skills, others concerned with pupils' classroom behaviour, more specifically 'attention-to-task', and those that were a mixture of the two. The latter two groups are relevant to this discussion and comprised nine and seven studies respectively. Panagopoulou-Stamatelatou discussed the problem that there is no uniform classroom-based behavioural self-management intervention. Consequently, there is no common language with which to discuss critically these interventions, no easy way of exploring further the role of particular variables and no clear-cut, step-by-step training procedures for teachers or pupils (or, therefore, for psychologists who advise teachers). Nevertheless, Panagopoulou-Stamatelatou was able to conclude from her review that

> 'Self-management procedures have often proved to be powerful in changing classroom behaviours by means of increasing children's appropriate, or decreasing

inappropriate social behaviour, as well as improving their academic behaviour.'

Research and the development of practice in behavioural approaches have also led to other innovations. Practical advances in the form of using video-recording in classrooms were made by Frankland et al (1985) who collected data by this means over the period of a successful RPI intervention with a difficult class of 14 and 15 year olds in a comprehensive class. Scott et al (1986) attempted to deal with McNamara's 'reality problem' of acquiring sufficient observers by training teachers within a particular school to collect data in a colleague's classroom. They saw this as a move towards more naturalistic practice by reducing to some extent the reliance on external researchers. Initially the teachers observed in pairs and 'huge' discrepancies sometimes occurred in their observations but it was possible to stabilise this and demonstrate a replication of Madsen et al's (1968) study but using teachers to collect the data.

Gersch (1986) found that introducing principles and research findings from behavioural psychology into a series of discussions with a group of secondary school staff, led to the staff subsequently reviewing and then making major changes to the school's policies on rules, sanctions and the merit system. In 1989, Cross, who was at the time of writing the paper a comprehensive school teacher, described a strategy aimed at increasing the on-task behaviour of four targeted pupils which included letters of commendation to parents. She was able to present data showing successful outcomes over the period of the study. Finally, Swinson (1990) focussed more on antecedents by combining a survey of pupils' perceptions of teachers and lessons, which were fed back to the staff, and the development of a social skills training course in work with a third year secondary class that was widely regarded as difficult to manage. A number of evaluation measures were used, the most impressive results deriving from the attendance record which showed the target class maintaining their attendance over a

three term period whilst the rest of the year group steadily declined.

Developments of work at secondary school level, important from practitioner's perspectives in their own right, have also had an effect upon the extension of practice in the primary sphere. The increase in interest in self-control or self-management strategies, necessitated by the difficulties in acquiring a consistency of approach across a large number of staff in a secondary school, and the need to maximise the likelihood of generalisation taking place, have provided an impetus to the further study of similar approaches at the primary level. Issues of access to key staff were also raised early in the discussions of practice at secondary level, adding further to considerations about consultation with teachers in relation to systemic process such as policy making and change. And finally, the added complexity of work at the secondary level has prompted developments in relation to the design and execution of research, in terms of who acts as observers in studies that aim to move towards more naturalistic practice and in terms of technological advances such as the use of video-recording.

Teachers' reservations

It seems reasonable to begin examining teachers' possible reservations about behavioural approaches by assuming that these misgivings might derive from a number of sources. There is the possibility that they lack an initial plausibility, - 'face validity', - or that they do not easily accord with the way teachers typically operate within a classroom, or that the approach has little to offer in the areas that are of most concern to teachers.

In terms of the initial plausibility of behavioural approaches, Wheldall and Congreave (1980) carried out an anonymous survey of one hundred and sixteen mature students who were following advanced courses in education, in order to assess their attitudes towards behaviour modification and its use in educational settings.

Their overall mean score suggested a general ambivalence of attitude, the sample as a whole being neither strongly opposed to, or in favour of the approach. Neither sex, age, number of years of teaching experience nor the age of children taught were significantly related to attitude score, but there was evidence to suggest a strong positive relationship between prior knowledge of behaviour modification by study or practical experience and attitude score. Wheldall and Merrett then re-tested forty four of this original sample after they had completed a course in behavioural approaches and found significantly more positive attitude scores. This study demonstrates that the more teachers know about behavioural approaches, the more positive they are likely to be towards them. It should however be pointed out that a positive attitude does not imply implementation will automatically or even easily follow.

If plausibility or acceptability increase with familiarisation, do behavioural approaches initially fit easily alongside the typical classroom behaviour of teachers? It might be the case that they are directly antipathetic to some teachers' preferred or natural styles or it may be that they are so similar as to lead to a disinterest on the part of teachers because they feel that nothing new is being offered to them. Some clarification of this issue is offered in a study by Merrett and Wheldall (1987) in which one hundred and twenty eight teachers were observed in their classrooms. Using a specially constructed instrument, OPTIC, the rates at which teachers offered approval and disapproval were recorded and, in general, more approval than disapproval was observed. However, although there was a high rate of approval for academic behaviour, it was found that pupils were rarely commended for appropriate conduct but were frequently reprimanded when it was inappropriate. This finding suggests that the very frequently recommended use of teacher praise as a reinforcer in behavioural strategies may conflict with more naturally occurring teacher styles. Where teachers are not conscious of this aspect of their own behaviour, where there may

be the greatest need for a positive intervention, there could be a strong tendency for a teacher to assume that recommendations that include approval directed at appropriate conduct are stating the obvious, thus devaluing the credibility of the advice and, probably, its proponent.

This study suggests that pupils in certain teachers' classrooms might benefit significantly from some typically prominent aspects of behavioural interventions. A further study by Wheldall and Merrett (1988), and replicated for the Elton Committee, found that such interventions would also be particularly appropriate for the types of classroom difficulties that were most troublesome to teachers. Wheldall and Merrett (1987) sent out a questionnaire to a 25% random sample of all infant, junior and infant-junior schools in a West Midlands LEA and received a reply rate of 93%. Of the one hundred and ninety eight teachers from thirty two schools who replied, 51% believed they were spending more time than they ought to on problems of control and order. The most troubling type of behaviour, mentioned on 47% returns, could be subsumed under the heading of 'talking out of turn' and the next most troubling, occurring in 25% of the sample, was 'hindering other children'. These are very much the types of difficulties for which the accumulating body of research and practice suggests that a behavioural approach is particularly suited. Had the survey revealed, say, more intense forms of physical assault to be the most worrying for teachers of this age group, then classroom management procedures deriving from the behavioural literature would not necessarily have seemed so appropriate.

So far this section has presented evidence from surveys of teachers that points to some of the factors that are likely to influence teachers in their judgements about the acceptability of behavioural approaches. Another source of information, of course, is provided in the accounts of practising psychologists who have built up a comprehensive casework experience. Although responding to surveys yields valuable information, it may well not be of the same

order or type as the information that can be gathered when a teacher has actively sought the help of a psychologist because of a pupil's behaviour difficulties.

In these circumstances an additional set of issues that are absent from questionnaire approaches and that do not arise during workshop presentations when those present have made a commitment to attend, may arise and have a fundamental effect upon the overall acceptability of the approach. Although this would be a judgement in relation to the consultation overall rather than just the behavioural strategy, in a casework setting the two will probably be seen as inextricably linked.

For example, the question of an appropriate curriculum for a particular child or even the whole class often arises, and it may be necessary to consider whether a child's disruptiveness is partly the result of boredom or repeated failure (McNamara 1982). If this is a possibility, does the classroom organisation permit a change of activities for one child? What should such activities consist of anyway? It may be the case that there are fixed class or school policies on curriculum or procedures which appear to give a clear benefit to the majority of pupils and cannot be changed because such changes would be seen as the 'thin end of the wedge', leading inevitably to the dismantling of successful practice. A promising solution might involve some physical movement for the child to a new seating position and the structure of the classroom or the whole school, or the use that is made of it by other staff, may prevent this.

Similarly, a strategy might benefit from the involvement of other members of staff and there may be questions over the likelihood of this cooperation (Ward 1976). If the reported behaviour problem has led to some degree of acrimony between the child's parents and school and a pre-requisite for a solution appears to be a reconciliation of viewpoints and purposes, will there be a willingness on the part of all involved to work towards this? If

there is not and the EP is still expected to resolve the problem, because this is a role expectation or obligation, should s/he first attempt to bring together opposing parties?

In addition to these questions of organisation, physical and staffing resources (Leach 1981, Gersch 1983), and relationships between professionals and parents, a set of issues also concern teachers' perceptions of problem behaviour and their own individual morale. There has been a long-standing discussion about the degree to which problem classroom behaviour is caused by constitutional factors or patterns of upbringing or family relationships, and how much may actually be exacerbated or even caused by factors within the control of schools and teachers (Presland 1975, Leach 1981). This dialogue often takes place in particular educational settings without recourse to any specific reference to the research literature. In the consultative context it may well be necessary to enter this debate and attempt to resolve certain aspects before being able to proceed towards any form of strategy. Even if the locus of causation can be deemed in a certain case to lie clearly outside the school's orbit, there may still be some benefit in acknowledging that schools can play a substantial part in reducing disruptive behaviour.

Practitioners also find that teachers are sometimes reluctant to be involved in programmes that seem to include aspects of 'bribery', or 'disproportionate attention to one child', or 'rewarding naughty children' (Presland 1975, 1978). When these concerns cannot be dispelled by talking through the issues, how feasible is it to consider a change of teacher? Given the implied criticism or attributions of inadequacy which surround changing a child's teacher, headteachers are likely to be extremely reluctant to condone such a course of action and teacher colleagues to accept it. Consultants have to answer for themselves the question of whether it is possible to proceed with devising programmes without first attempting to find some means of changing negative attitudes or reducing personal anxiety.

In addition to the early contributions to the discussion of consultative aspects provided by Ward (1971, 1976) and Presland (1975, 1978), practitioners have continued to address the issue of teachers' reservations about behavioural approaches when recommended as the result of some form of referral or request for help within an LEA context in which the EP is required to make some response. Usually this comes about as part of a wider discussion but, in 1981, Leach provided an extended discussion of the issue of teacher acceptance. He set himself the task of attempting to answer the question

> '...why have behavioural models for assessment and intervention not yet been adopted as routine problem-solving and preventative strategies in schools, despite their....convincing data-base?'

He confesses that he had once thought that the 'clinical-pathological' perspective had a general appeal to both psychologists and teachers, to the former it helped confer professional status as a result of using 'exclusive psychometric apparatus, secret diagnostic ritual, hypothetical constructs about unseen mental faculties, pseudo-medical diagnostic labels and deceptively precise statistical prediction'. For the teacher, whether or not the psychologist's 'findings' were accepted, there was a reassurance, Leach argued, in being given an explanation of a child's difficulties in terms of 'within-child' factors which thus absolved the teacher from any part in the original problem or in its solution.

Leach went on to argue that he had changed his view and come to see the lack of take-up of behavioural approaches as being not solely the result of their potential for upsetting this mutually-supportive style of practice, but also as being caused by psychologists' lack of attention to the whole issue of the practice of consultation

> '...we have neglected to face the fact that we are dealing with slow changing permanent systems...We have, therefore, not considered the need for developing system-change skills as vital extras to basic intervention expertise'.

In order to do this, Leach proposed that EPs should concentrate on three mutually supportive forms of practice in order to innovate practice that would extend beyond their immediate locus of activity

'1 Respond to referrals from teachers by initiating psychologist-directed intervention programmes and hope for generalisation by modelling good practice

2 Run in-service training courses for groups of teachers on behavioural approaches to problem-solving, and

3 Work towards mutual acceptability and adaptation of behaviour-based procedures by teachers and psychologists... to allow for mutual adaptation of the novel programme such that local experience (can) mesh with the ideals of the innovators'.

Another major paper on the issue of teacher reservations which also proposed a set of recommended actions (sixty eight in all!) was provided by Winter (1983a, 1983b). This was a major synthesis of practitioner experience written obviously from the perspective of an advocate for behavioural methods and in the style of a set of 'tips' for psychologists when working with teachers' specific reservations. For example, Winter recommended that EP should always see the child 'however unnecessary it may appear' so that a sceptical teacher or parent will know that as a consultant 'you know what you are talking about'. This aspect of the consultation process was again taken up specifically by Gersch (1983) who provided a model to guide practitioners and emphasised that it was also necessary to attend to aspects of the school system - 'its hierarchy, structure, and 'hidden rules'. He stressed that consultants needed to pay careful attention to the procedures involved in negotiating and contracting and should listen carefully for teachers' constructions of deviant pupils.

Behavioural approaches in British primary settings and other theoretical frameworks

In addition to the many studies concerning the effectiveness and, or, the applicability of behavioural approaches, a number of papers have also considered the extent to which other theoretical frameworks might be combined with these approaches, either to give a greater explanatory power or to yield a wider range, or a more effective set of techniques. Two of the alternative fields of study that have been partnered with behavioural approaches in the literature, although in Britain this only amounts to a few papers each, are the areas of systems theory/organisation development and classroom ecology.

The roots of the concern to marry the behavioural with the systemic perspective lie partly within the experiences of practitioners but also in a more theoretical paper by Willems (1974) who coined the term 'behavioural ecology'. Willems was one of the first to discuss applied behaviour analysis from the standpoint of the then emerging ecological orientation, with its emphasis upon system-like interdependencies among environment, organism, and behaviour. He argued that the widespread possibilities for unintended effects of simple interventions provided the context for evaluating effective behavioural technology and called for cooperation between the technologist and ecologist. He cited examples from macro-ecology, such as the attempts to rid large areas from the disease and damage caused by insects, in which the noblest and most humane intentions could go awry in the most vexing ways because of a neglect of the possible second, and third order changes that might occur within the wider ecological system.

Willems spelled out several areas where cooperative research efforts between technologists and ecologists could be to their mutual benefit. He anticipated a 'phenomenal growth in the array of behaviour problems, settings, age groups, and diagnostic groups to which behaviour modification will be applied'. However, he argued

that the 'enthusiastic proliferation of simple strategies should be evaluated and planned' within a larger ecological framework. He reported verbal accounts of behavioural interventions such as the example of a programme that was 'successful' in its intention of reducing the 'nagging' behaviour of the mother of a troubled child. The fact the mother subsequently gained weight, reported increased anxiety and tension and finally abandoned the child were construed by the therapist as unfortunate and vexing interruptions of the treatment programme!

Willems claimed that there was a fundamental misconception embedded in the popular term 'side effects', that it no more deserved the adjective 'side' than did the 'principal' effect its descriptor - 'they are all aspects of the interdependencies that we need so badly to understand. But it is hard to think in terms of systems, and we eagerly warp our language to protect ourselves and our favourite approaches from the necessity of thinking in terms of interdependent systems'.

He concluded by castigating the narrow operant conditioning paradigm for ignoring the very aspects that could extend both the theoretical framework and practitioner strategies in the area of implementing behavioural approaches within complex environments:

> 'When operant technology is applied with a particular behavioural outcome in mind and the result is outright failure, marginal success, or some vexing behavioural drift over time, it is easy to assert that no larger, system wide problem or no *theoretical* problem has arisen; that there is only the need for more technological ingenuity and for more rigorous programming and control of contingencies. I submit that there is a theoretical issue here that has to do with assumptions and predictions not borne out and with the overall adequacy of the operant view of behaviour to deal with behaviour-environment phenomena. As an ecologist I would prefer that behaviour analysts became involved in clarifying the profoundly complicated and theoretical nature of the simplified interfaces they arrange between organisms and environment.'

In a similar vein, Eisenberg (1972), speaking of the general effects of technological interventions, drew attention to ecosystemic aspects. 'The challenge is to our ability to anticipate second- and third order consequences of interventions in the ecosystem before the event, not merely to rue them afterwards.' Although the whole thrust of the ecological movement during the last two decades since these papers were written has understandably echoed the sentiment of technological advances being at the expense of environmental degradation, this should not obscure the possibility that certain 'technologies', such as interventions in the social rather than the physical world, might have the potential to generate positive and desirable second- and third order consequences. Again, in our present state of theoretical development, accurate anticipation of these may indeed remain a formidable challenge.

Drawing upon Willems' and Eisenberg's formulations, Douglas (1981) provided an analysis of the application of behavioural techniques within families, schools and institutions. She argued that '...time and time again behaviour therapists have faced the problems of implementation of their ideas in all of these settings' Douglas was thus able to extend Presland's (1975a) discussion of the 'practical' problems involved in consultation by locating them within a theoretical framework rather than merely to produce suggestions for effective practice.

Basically, Douglas was emphasising that consultants recommending behavioural approaches needed to spend more time considering the 'side-effects' of their recommendations in terms of the internal dynamics of the family, school or institution, if their recommendations were to be acceptable and capable of being implemented. Otherwise, the intervention would run the risk of challenging other explicit or covert activities or expectations within the system and thus render its enthusiastic and unhindered take-up less likely. In a subsequent paper (Douglas 1982), she offered a more pragmatic account of how a 'behavioural consultation in a systems framework' could be carried out so that it acknowledged

and built upon the contribution of 'relevant systems' such as the child's interaction with the teacher and with other pupils, staff attitudes to the child and the relationship between home and school.

Douglas' recommendations closely resemble those of Leach (1981) who was also arguing at the same time for EPs to work on organisation development and to practice consultancy skills specifically in order to increase the chances of the successful implementation of behavioural approaches. In an example in which the sequence of systems work leading to the acceptance of behavioural approaches was reversed, Gersch (1986), quoted above, found that systems analysis, - an examination and reappraisal of a school's rules, sanctions and merit system, was made more acceptable by arising from work with a school concerning research and practice in behavioural approaches. And Scott et al (1986), who used teacher colleagues as observers in their replication of the Madsen et al study, concluded that

> '...the spin-off was felt by the teacher directing the project in the school to be more important and productive than the actual project itself'.

This 'spin-off', a desirable second order change, was the generation, for the first time within the school, of a great deal of discussion between the four participating teachers of their own classroom behaviour whereas previously conversations had consisted predominantly of reporting anecdotes regarding pupil misbehaviour.

Another closely related area of study, in a field that is bedevilled by the use of ambiguous and overlapping terminology, is that which is sometimes referred to as 'classroom ecology', where the focus is upon features of the actual classroom more than aspects of the teacher's belief system or the school's overall organisation. For example, Wheldall in 1981 pointed out the dangers of what he termed 'behavioural overkill', the use of very powerful reinforcers

to change behaviour where a less powerful and more 'natural' reinforcer would suffice. He stressed that behavioural approaches needed to take the focus away from the 'consequences' of behaviour and place it more upon the 'antecedents'.

Pursuing this line, Wheldall et al (1981) carried out an experiment with two classes of ten and eleven year olds in a junior school. The amount of 'on-task' behaviour was recorded over a two week period while the children were seated around tables, the measurements then being repeated for a further two weeks while the children were seated in rows. The mean on-task behaviour was higher for the rows condition and when the children were subsequently returned to tables for a further two weeks, their mean on-task behaviour declined. Examination of the data revealed that the rows condition had the greatest effect on the children with low initial on-task behaviour, there being little effect upon those children with high on-task behaviour. Although this study might be seen as contributing to discussions about classroom layout, its relevance here is as an early experimental demonstration that contingencies are not the only factors that can bring about changes in classroom behaviour. And, although experiments in such areas as classroom layout need not necessarily originate with proponents of behavioural approaches, they would probably argue that it is the methodology developed within the behavioural paradigm, especially the recording of pupil behaviour, that enables them to be conducted.

Bradley and McNamara (1981) also called for a greater attention to be paid to antecedents by referring to work in a school for what were then termed maladjusted pupils. They suggested that such factors as the geography of the classroom, the routine order of the day and the rules of the classroom should always be considered in behavioural interventions. McNamara (1982) cited an example of a failed intervention in which a teacher of a class of third year juniors had been unable to implement a rules, praise and ignoring approach. Looking at the intervention in retrospect, McNamara

stated that, had he paid a greater initial attention to antecedents, he would have realised that the class was very poorly organised and would not have attempted to implement a contingency approach.

Wheldall and Glynn (1988) subsequently took the opportunity to clear up some of the confusion surrounding the term 'antecedent' by pointing out that the term is used in two separate ways, one to describe those conditions that provide physical constraints or opportunities for behaviours and the other those antecedent conditions that have acquired power over behaviour by association with rewarding or punishing consequences.

In addition to attention to physical or structural antecedents, some writers have also argued the need for a more 'interaction' account of the effects of behavioural interventions (Gersch 1983). An ambitious paper by Wheldall and Glynn (1988) attempted to achieve this - '... our behavioural interactionist perspective seeks to optimise natural learning situations not to construct artificial ones.' They examined the features of contexts that had been shown experimentally to promote independent learning in pupils, these being the contexts that:

a) allowed learners to initiate as well as respond

b) provided shared tasks that promoted reciprocal gains in skills between teacher and learner, and

c) provided responsive rather than corrective feedback

Wheldall and Glynn then went on to examine various behavioural approaches from the point of view of the degree to which they incorporated these principles and were thus likely to lead to independent learning in pupils. Although moving far more into the area of instructional techniques and learning opportunities, and therefore not the main concern of this study, their paper does nevertheless represent a major attempt to marry together two

different areas of study and thus develop a more ecological body of behavioural theory and application.

Ecological perspectives have also been reflected in a number of other papers. Leach and Byrne (1986) demonstrated the spill-over effects of a behavioural intervention that affected the behaviour of pupils other than the target child and a similar report by Harrop (1978) has already been reported.

Although the ecological and systemic/organisational paradigms represent the fields of study that have most frequently been allied to behavioural perspectives, other theoretical approaches have also been examined.. Alongside the massive growth in cognitive behavioural approaches with adults, there has been a slower growth in this type of work at the primary level (eg Fox 1983), as discussed in the section on work at secondary level.

Leach and Raybould (1977) made an early and explicit link between behavioural approaches and the personal construct psychology of George Kelly, in a book written by educational psychologists and addressing directly their concerns about working effectively with teachers. The area of humanistic psychology has been linked with behavioural approaches by Gurney (1987) who reported on a small-scale study using modelling, instruction and contingent reward in an attempt to raise the self-esteem of 'maladjusted' pupils. Not only was the behavioural paradigm evident in the intervention techniques used, the outcome measures were 'positive self-referent verbal statements' and 'overt behaviour related to self-esteem.' Miller (1978) speculated upon the under-researched issue of the role of non-verbal behaviour in behavioural interventions and McNamara (1983) pointed out that although there was limited research in this area, the same could not be said for research into the importance of non-verbal behaviour in counselling psychology. Finally the extension of the work into social skills training (eg Swinson 1990), and hence sometimes wider areas of social psychology, has already been commented upon.

Generalisation

Clearly, an intervention that demands much in terms of the time of a teacher and psychologist would show relatively little return for this effort if its effects were to last only as long as the most intensive application of the intervention. Consequently, practitioners have shown an enduring interest in the issues of treatment generalisation, or the extent to which improved behaviour is maintained and spreads after the ending of the intervention. In the literature produced by British practitioners, Presland (1981) was one of the first to approach the issue of generalisation by offering detailed recommendations. He drew a distinction between four types of generalisation - across behaviours, situations, time and subjects.

Although the first item on the following list reflects the manner in which the term 'generalisation' is conventionally used, a number of other possible 'spill over' effects might be envisaged such that, were they to occur, a wider benefit from the intervention might be reaped:

1 Improved behaviour by the child generalises beyond the intervention to other settings

2 Improved behaviour by the child influences the behaviour of other children

3 Changed teacher behaviour towards the target child extends beyond the intervention

4 Changed teacher behaviour extends to other pupils

5 Target teacher influences the behaviour of teacher colleagues in directions related to the strategy

1 Improved behaviour by the child generalises beyond the intervention to other settings

Presland (1981) offered twenty four suggestions that might aid generalisation of a pupil's changed behaviour. Drawing on the research literature, he included among his suggestions involving other children in providing reinforcement, involving the child in the construction of the programme and explaining to the child how improvements can be transferred to other behaviour and then encouraging these.

Winter (1980), describing an intervention package for establishing play and interaction behaviours and eliminating aggression in a nursery aged child, concluded that the differential reinforcement of other behaviour (DRO) and time out were not enough in themselves and that, for generalisation to take place, there was also a need to teach desirable social behaviour. In another case study, he found that improved behaviour following an intervention had been maintained on follow-up eleven months later despite this generalisation not being programmed in to the intervention and concluded that 'verbal interaction, once established with any frequency, is strongly reinforced by a child's natural environment' (Winter 1979).

As has already been stated the trend towards the cognitive mediation of self-control strategies (McNamara 1979; Merrett and Blundell 1981; Panagopoulou-Stamatelatou 1990) was another attempt to encourage generalisation by reducing the reliance upon externally delivered reinforcement, usually by teachers. Similarly, the systemic and ecological approaches were concerned with generalisation effects in the sense that they considered the nature of environmental factors that facilitated and inhibited certain types of behaviour.

Finally, Houghton (1991) provided a detailed Australian case study in which a six year learned a self monitoring strategy, by means of

'a high degree of teacher management'. The boy was described as being 'intellectually impaired' and exhibiting disruptive classroom behaviour. His time was spent between a mainstream class and a 'support classroom' and, by teaching the self control strategy in the support class, it was possible to record a decrease in disruptive behaviour in both settings and at follow-up one week after discontinuing the strategy.

2 Improved behaviour in the target child influences the behaviour of other children ('generalisation across subjects')

A few studies, already mentioned, have noted changed behaviour in pupils other than the pupil who was the target of the particular intervention. Harrop (1978) demonstrated measured improvement in the classroom behaviour of two 15-year old boys in what was then an ESN(M) school, when a third pupil in the class became the recipient of a standard teacher-administered behavioural intervention. The details of the programme were not communicated to the other two pupils by the teacher. Harrop argued that, although the pupil probably discussed these contingencies with his friends, as these friends were not themselves rewarded, another type of explanatory mechanism was required. He speculated that a form of modelling of desirable behaviour may have occurred, or that the reduced disruptiveness of one pupil may have led to fewer opportunities for the same type of behaviour from others, or that seeing one pupil receiving more praise from the teacher may have stimulated the others' desire to seek the same. As Harrop noted, 'just how this happened leaves considerable room for speculation'.

Leach and Byrne (1986) demonstrated similar 'spill-over' effects of improved classroom behaviour onto 'equally disruptive control students' in a study of a home-based reinforcement scheme in an Australian secondary school. They argued that it was important to attempt to identify possibly facilitative factors so that spill-over effects could be planned for. Their speculations about possible mechanisms led them to one of Harrop's proposals, - the target

pupils acting as a model for the others - and also to the possibility of the decrease in opportunities for peer reinforcement of deviant activities as result of the changes in the target pupils' behaviour and aspirations.

Their third suggestion, which they favoured as most likely from their informal observations of the classrooms, was that the increase in rule-following and attention to work by the target child acted as an 'establishing stimulus' that prompted the teacher's use of more effective class management strategies which, in turn, gradually increased the positive behaviours of all the class. They conclude that '....this assumes the teacher.....had effective skills and strategies to draw on but that he needed the impetus of some relief from disruptive behaviours in order to apply them'. In a parallel class the intervention failed to produce spill-over effects and Leach and Byrne speculated that this might be due to the teacher not having had appropriate management skills to draw on and thus being unable to gain control of the class.

A systems explanation, less concerned with isolating precise cause and effect mechanisms would of course see such spill-over effects as highly likely. It would not, however, be in a position to make more specific predictions about precisely what results might be expected from an intervention, and hence be in a position to engineer particular outcomes, - advice and help that practitioners often feel under pressure to provide.

3 Changed teacher behaviour towards the target child extends beyond the intervention

Leach and Byrne's notion of a strategy acting as an 'establishing stimulus' leading in turn to an improvement in pupil behaviour through improved class management techniques, would be an example of the way in which an intervention leads to a change in teacher behaviour towards the target child (and the others in the

class) extending beyond the duration of the intervention. Harrop's (1978) study is another example.

However, McNamara (1977) was one of the first to raise the question, based on his early experiences with behavioural approaches, as to whether all teachers wished to change their behaviour in the direction required by these interventions and, even if they did, whether they all would be able to.

Little in the way of data has been collected to provide an answer to whether teachers persist in the use of some or all of the procedures in a recommended strategy beyond its designated duration. Some teacher behaviours could become habitual and not consciously exercised whereas other teachers might think they were still following certain recommendations whereas, in fact, they had deviated markedly from them. In neither sets of circumstances would teacher reports be very reliable sources of data for judging whether or not teachers continued to use aspects of interventions.

One empirical source is the Teacher-Child Interaction Project (Berger et al 1987). Although it was not possible to demonstrate statistically significant changes in teachers' classroom behaviour, the trends were in the direction predicted. There was a 'striking' within-group variability among the small number of teachers studied but an interesting 'sleeper effect' was discovered whereby teachers changed their behaviour more in the predicted direction some time after the cessation of the project than immediately afterwards.

4 Changed teacher behaviour extends to other pupils

Presland (1978) followed up twenty seven teachers who had attended his workshops on behavioural approaches and found that seventeen reported themselves to be using some of the techniques with pupils other than the study child. There is also a suggestion, of course, from Harrop (1978) and Lynch and Byrne (1986) that two

of the teachers in their studies generalised their new management techniques to some or all of the other pupils in the class.

5 Target teacher influences the behaviour of teacher colleagues in directions related to the strategy

Although there have been published accounts of whole school approaches to using behavioural strategies in special schools (eg Burland et al 1979; Fry 1980) there have been no published accounts of teachers in British primary schools influencing colleagues after taking part in a behavioural intervention. The special school staff who published such accounts worked at establishments that had a reputation for using such approaches and catered for what were known as maladjusted pupils, where a special interest in behaviour management would be expected.

Presland in his early workshops for teachers made assiduous attempts to gauge the extent to which a ripple-like spread of new ideas could be expected within schools. After providing a course for six teachers from ESN(M) schools in 1977, Presland reported that, although four out of five on follow-up were trying some of the techniques with other children, '...it seemed unlikely that their expertise would spread rapidly to other teachers'. In a larger more specific investigation the next year (Presland 1978), he found that only five respondents out of twenty seven had influenced anyone else to use the techniques and one of these was in a special school where other staff were required to join in work with the target child. In fact, '...there were no clear accounts of influence leading to effective applications' and Presland concluded '....nor is there any support here for the hope that (course) participants might pass on the approaches to colleagues in an effective way'.

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Methodological issues

A number of books by British authors appeared in the 1980s, attempting to present to a wider readership the rationale behind behavioural approaches, examples of successful practice and, to some extent, an outline of procedures (Westmacott and Cameron 1981; Harrop 1983; Wheldall and Merrett 1984; Cheeseman and Watts 1985). Because teachers were envisaged as part of the audience for these books, there was less of a discussion about methodological issues. In the British literature such discussion has been restricted to a fairly small set of papers.

For example, Schweiso (1985a) has provided a discussion of the inadequacies of traditional group design techniques for carrying out research into the work of practitioners. He has argued instead that single case designs offer a far more applicable methodology. However, Berger et al (1987) have pointed out that although graphs from single case designs can suggest that change has taken place, it cannot be assumed that more traditional group designs would confirm change even if they could be arranged in the same circumstances. In other words, there is not only the massive set of problems associated with being able to arrange a true experiment in this field, there is also the problem that, even when enough resources can be marshalled, as they were in Berger et al's study, trends that would please practitioners may not be confirmed as statistically significant.

A possible solution to this dilemma is provided by Hersen and Barlow (1985) in their book on single case methodologies, in which they discuss such techniques as autocorrelation. By this means it is possible to use non-parametric statistical techniques to compare data collected in a baseline period with that obtained during an intervention phase, all the data being collected from the same individual case. Despite its potential, however, the technique has not been widely used, the main disadvantage being that it requires

a very high number of data observations in each phase of an intervention.

In terms of case work, Schweiso (1985b) has argued forcefully that, despite the demands of practice for techniques that use time economically and are maximally acceptable to teachers, certain elements of interventions should not be omitted, particularly the collection of baseline data and repeat measures after an intervention - 'The demonstration of the effectiveness of an intervention is an integral part of the behavioural approach rather than an optional extra.'

After reviewing a very large collection of American literature, Harrop (1978) concluded that there was a danger of conflict between the need to be methodologically correct and the pragmatic desire to provide useful and usable techniques. Although Harrop's published work displays careful attention to issues such as the empirical demonstration of effectiveness, he argued that too much attention in that direction might lead to studies that ended up investigating the trivial. Similarly, McNamara (1987), whose published work has been equally conscientious in this respect, came to the conclusion that practitioners might have to accept 'soft outcome measures', particularly the judgement of teachers over whether desired changes had occurred.

Purpose of study

Despite all this discussion in the literature, the accumulation of replicated research studies and the methodical accounts of practitioners' consultative endeavours, despite the attention paid both to theoretical developments and the linkage with other systems of explanation and to the practical issues involved in implementing interventions in classrooms, there are those who assert that behavioural approaches have made no real inroads into the educational scene.

Dessent (1988) has argued that, despite the high degree of interest in behavioural methods shown by the educational psychology profession in Britain there has been low take up and maintenance of the resulting techniques over time in schools. He attributes this phenomenon to the possibility that behavioural approaches may make unrealistic demands on resources, in terms of teachers' time, effort and classroom reorganisation. He asks whether some of these approaches are 'compatible with the realities of busy classroom life' and suggests that attention could be profitably switched from 'ever more fine-grained task analysis' to helping develop actual teaching resources. He also suggests that if EPs wish behavioural approaches to find more favour with teachers, they should stop trying to present them as discoveries from within psychology and focus on 'the behavioural principles which are evident in good teaching'.

This same lack of take-up has also been reported in N. America where Axelrod et al (1990) have suggested that factors from the outside have obstructed the 'dissemination of behavioural technology' and 'characteristics of the behavioural approach.... have diminished its use'. In terms of factors outside the techniques, these writers identify what they see as the pervasive influence of psychodynamic approaches, the negative image of behavioural approaches as being associated with control and its off-putting terminology. From within the approach itself, they draw attention to the fact that research appears to be too concerned with 'what we already know a lot about and too little on what we do not. Areas that we know too little about are treatment adherence.... - how to get people to do it right and treatment acceptance..... - how to get people to do it all'.

The purpose of this research is to attempt to provide a clearer understanding of the extent and effectiveness of British educational psychologists in their use of behavioural approaches. To do this, it is necessary to conduct some form of empirical study rather than rely upon the published literature. McNamara (1988) claims that

published demonstrations of the successful use of behavioural interventions 'have often been carried out under conditions that maximise the probability of a successful outcome.' Yet these may only have a limited resemblance to the contexts in which educational psychologists often work when a pupil is exhibiting disturbed classroom behaviour. In such circumstances teachers may be more anxious, more threatened, less informed and amenable to new concepts, and more interested in interventions that provide extra resources or remove a difficult pupil.

The everyday work of an educational psychologist frequently suggests that devising behavioural programmes that teachers will actually implement involves consideration of a whole range of issues not normally addressed, or at least not given a central position, in a literature that concentrates mainly on either the principles behind programme planning or examples of the successful applications of such programmes.

In order to gain a more accurate picture of how strictly the behavioural approach was being applied outside the more conducive setting of the 'demonstration study' a survey of practising LEA EPs was carried out. The main aims of this were to provide a description of what was actually being delivered by British EPs in the name of behavioural approaches, how effective this was, and whether certain aspects were more or less essential for any success that was being achieved. It was also hoped that a number of the issues that have been raised in the literature could be examined in a more informed and productive manner with access to a wider and more detailed description of professional practice.

CHAPTER 2

The questionnaire study of educational psychologists

The sample

In order to gain a clearer impression of the actual nature of programmes that EPs are devising for, or in conjunction with, teachers, a questionnaire was distributed to a sample of EPs working in England and Wales. Thirteen local education authorities were chosen at random and, after obtaining permission for the study from the principal EPs, each of the EPs was sent a pre-questionnaire asking whether they ever employed behavioural approaches and also whether they would be willing to complete a longer questionnaire on the subject. The pre-questionnaire was thus an attempt to establish some form of prevalence rates for this aspect of professional practice as well as identify probable respondents to the major questionnaire. One hundred and forty seven EPs, 63% of those sampled, returned this pre-questionnaire.

A particular context and set of behavioural problems was chosen for study. Questions were restricted to programmes designed for mainstream primary classrooms, because of the less developed body of practice within secondary schools. Similarly, it was judged that in many special schools and units there would be a greater familiarity with behavioural approaches and this would lead to a different type of teacher and EP consultation. An attempt was also made to define the type of children's behaviour that was under consideration.

In essence, EPs were asked about programmes for children who were described as either restless, unsettled, completing little work, engaging in physical attacks on other children or not being compliant with teachers' requests or instructions. In other words, this was an attempt to shed more light on work done with that group of children often described as disruptive, troubled or troubling, rather than those who had various learning difficulties but remained relatively 'well-behaved' in the classroom. Completed

questionnaires were ultimately received from sixty eight EPs, this representing a response rate of 64% from those who had expressed a willingness to participate.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix II) was mainly structured by listing sets of possible components of a behavioural intervention, an aim being to make these lists as inclusive as possible. Additional questions encouraged more detailed replies by asking for expansion of certain items, especially where respondents had chosen the 'Other' reply to a question. A final set of questions was far more open-ended and encouraged replies in respondents' own terminology.

The main sections of the questionnaire were:

1 Initial assessment of the problem

2 Strategy planning - consultation,
selecting target behaviours,
selecting reinforcers

3 Possible reservations on the part of the teachers

4 EP approaches to teachers' reservations

5 Altering aspects of the classroom environment

6 Ongoing management of the strategy - monitoring,
adjusting programme,
ending programme

7 Methods of evaluation

8 Outcomes of evaluation

9 Factors which seemed to restrict the effectiveness of the intervention

10 Open ended section on EPs' views about behavioural approaches

11 Basic details about EP respondents

Respondents were asked to answer each item from two separate perspectives, one with their last recommended intervention in mind and the other with their typical practice in mind. Most items in the 'Last Intervention' categories required the circling of either 'Yes' or 'No' and this was then sometimes followed by a supplementary question seeking more information if the answer was 'Yes' . So, for example, EPs were asked if in the last intervention they designed with a teacher there was a 'Target behaviour(s) to decrease chosen?' (Question B1b). The supplementary question then asked for a brief description of this behaviour.

Clearly, respondents would be likely to give replies that reflected well upon their practice, either by choosing an intervention in which they had achieved successful outcomes or, at the least, selecting one in which they had performed conscientiously. The first attempt to minimise these effects was to emphasise in the covering letter that the study was attempting to obtain a picture of typical practice. It was stressed that respondents should answer with their last intervention in mind, irrespective of whether or not they considered it to be detailed or brief, or whether it had proved to be successful in its outcome.

The second check on this potential bias was the inclusion of the opportunity to offer equally detailed information on typical interventions. Thus it was made more acceptable to describe a less than complete or successful last intervention when it was also

possible to rectify this immediately by indicating that this may not have been typical practice. The layout of the questionnaire was such that as each item in the lists was scored 'Yes' or 'No' depending on whether it was included in the last intervention, it was then also immediately scored 'Frequently (ie more than 66% of occasions)', Sometimes (between 66% and 33% of occasions)' and 'Rarely (less than 33% of occasions)'. As well as an attempt to minimise bias in the 'last intervention' category, this layout was chosen in order to make the method of responding clear, the regular pattern of 'Yes' or 'No' and then 'Frequently', 'Sometimes' or 'Rarely' being broken up by requests for specific details about the last intervention to discourage a response set.

Three EPs participated in a pilot study by attempting to fill in the questionnaire and then provide feedback on unclear or ambiguous items and major topics that had been omitted.

Results

The Pre-questionnaire

The 147 EPs who responded to the pre-questionnaire represented 63% of the personnel of the 13 LEA services randomly selected for the study. Assuming that these services are representative of the national picture, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the prevalence of the phenomenon under investigation. How often in England and Wales, in one year, do EPs and teachers devise some form of behavioural intervention for these type of problem in primary schools? Is it in the tens, the hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, or what? What order of magnitude is being discussed? (Asking these questions informally to EPs before giving them the results of this part of the study had certainly produced a very wide range of 'guesstimates').

If the 63% who completed the questionnaire were the only ones in their services to be using these approaches and this was a typical proportion in any service, then the number of interventions devised in England and Wales in one year can be estimated by multiplying the average of these respondents estimates of the number of interventions per year by the total number of EPs in England and Wales and then by 63%. This yields a minimum figure of around 12,500 interventions per year in England and Wales.

Within the 147 respondents, 15% stated that they did not use such approaches. It is not possible to know how many of the 37% who did not reply to the pre-questionnaire belong in this category and how many of them actually did use behavioural approaches. It is possible to calculate the potential maximum number of interventions by including all of these missing replies in the user category. Doing so, yields a maximum figure of around 21,000 programmes per year, although the actual figure is likely to be closer to 12,500

because of the tendency of non-responders to be less enthusiastic about the subject matter of a questionnaire.

This figure of 12,500 still suggests that there is a considerable body of experience in consulting with teachers over behavioural interventions being built up within the EP profession.

The main questionnaire

Table 1 shows the results of questions 1 to 6, listed under the heading, - A. Preliminaries

Table 1. The form of initial assessment of the problem.

	%age answering YES
1 Was the problem described in behavioural terms?	89
2 Was informal classroom observation carried out by the E.P.?	84
3 Were baseline measures taken by the teacher?	59
4 Were psychometric (norm-referenced) tests used by the E.P?	29
5 Were baseline measures taken by the E.P.?	28
6 Were other forms of assessment used?	60

A wide range of 'other forms' of preliminary assessment was mentioned, by far the most common being the collection of information from, and the opinions of parents. As many of these items were mentioned only once or twice, these responses are presented numerically rather than as percentages of the total sample.

Table 2. Other forms of preliminary assessment.

	Number of programmes
Meeting with parents	16
Discussion or interview with child	4
Brief reading assignment for the teacher	2
Assess child's academic abilities	2
Assess amount and quality of work produced by child	2
Discussion with parents and social worker	1
Discussion with previous teacher	1
Sociometry tasks for the teacher	1
Assess child's response to various reinforcers	1
Description from dinner supervisors/non-teaching assessment	1
Description of strategies already used and outcomes	1
Observations in playground and at home	1

Stating the problem in behavioural terms, a cornerstone of the behavioural approach, was not surprisingly a characteristic of 89%

of the programmes. In answer to the question about how long it took to arrive at this, a wide rang of responses, ranging from 5 minutes to 90 minutes, was obtained. These replies confirm that formulating a description of a child's behaviour in terms of actions which are observable, and avoiding inferential judgements about either motives or personality characteristics, can be a time-consuming process during the initial discussions between an EP and teacher.

On the other hand, these figures suggest that this is not always the case, implying that there are some teachers or some EPs who find observable descriptions easy to make, or that there are some children's problems that yield readily to them, and some who, or which definitely do not.

In more than four out of five interventions, the EP sat in on the class to carry out some informal observation activities. In contrast, psychometric testing was employed in only 29% of occasions. The use of behavioural approaches may thus be seen as bringing EPs far more into classrooms.

Similarly, in 29% of interventions, EPs actually carried out baseline measurements in classrooms, although this task was performed by teachers themselves on 59% of occasions. In total, baseline recording, another fundamental component of the behavioural approach, was undertaken by one party or both in 74% of interventions.

In total, EPs spent a considerable time - a mean of two hours and fourteen minutes, and ranging between twenty five minutes and five and a half hours - on these preliminary assessments before proceeding to the next phase, the development of an intervention plan.

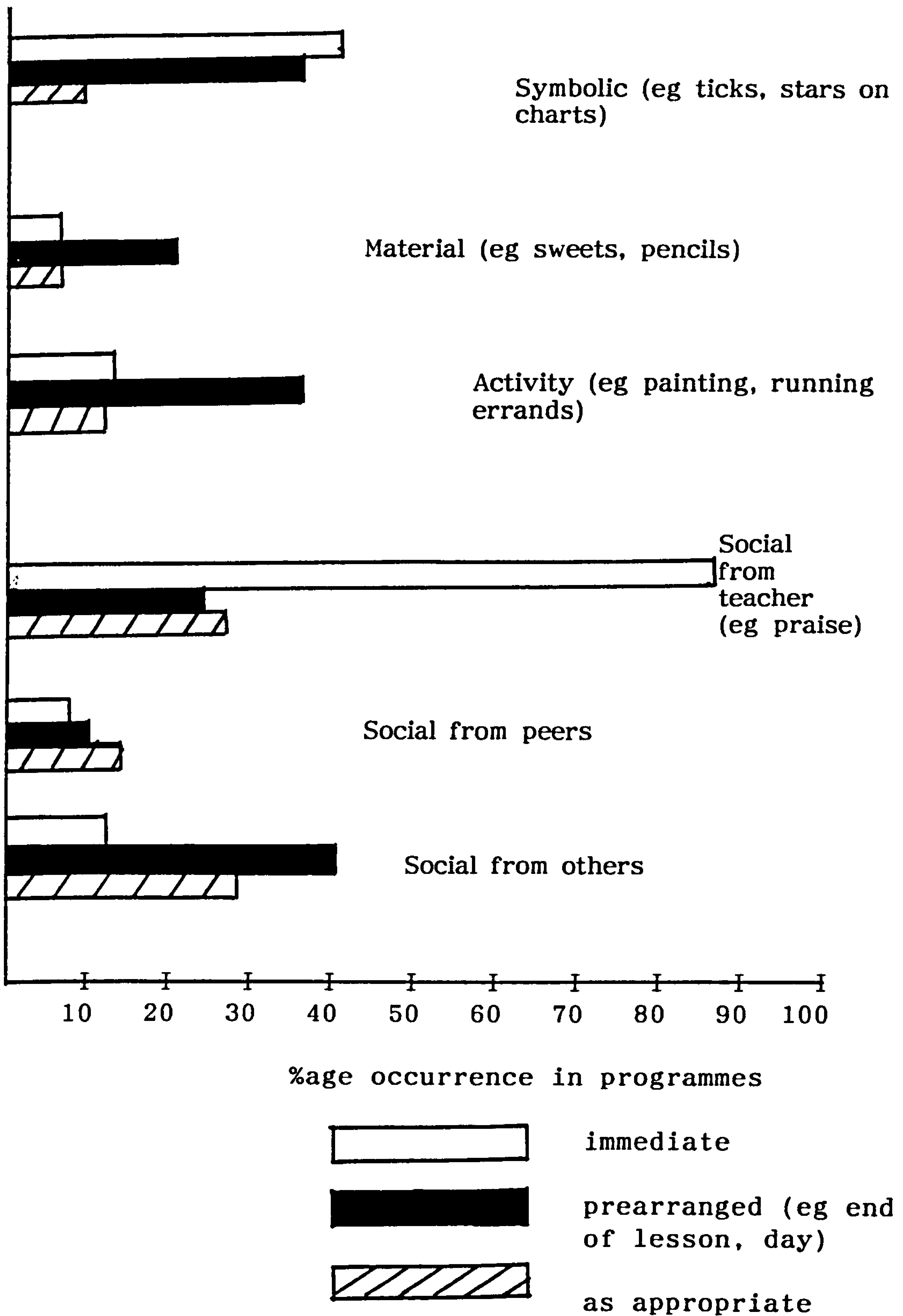
Strategy planning

A major feature of the behavioural approach is the identification of one or more target behaviours to attempt to increase or decrease. In the programmes sampled, 85% included the identification of a target behaviour to increase. Of those who did, there was an almost unanimous agreement (87%) to work on either the child remaining seated or completing set amounts of work (being 'on task', in the jargon). The few remaining interventions were concerned with more specific problems such as being responsible for graffiti in the toilets or having difficulty in separating from a parent at the beginning of the school day.

A target behaviour to decrease was also chosen in 73% of programmes. Not surprisingly, these were such as to be incompatible with remaining 'on task'. Specifically, a pupil leaving his seat was seen by 44% as a behaviour to attempt to increase. Calling or shouting out in class was the next most frequently stated at 24%.

Figure 1 shows the the types of reinforcement included in the programmes and the ways in which these were presented to the children.

Figure 1. The forms and delivery of reinforcement



55% of respondents indicated that they used 'Other reinforcers'. The items that they offered here are listed in Table 3:

Table 3 Other reinforcers

home-school link
parent record
daily visit to valued neighbour
home-school report system-pocket money
parental praise
achievement slip for parents
errands
sticker/certificate home
response cost
progress report to parents half way through
diary of good behaviour sent home
parents to give extra T.V. time/social worker to give outings
having hair done in plaits
home/school book
house point
leave school early on Friday-pocket money from parents
small presents
parent allowed child to select a video to watch.
parent and child decide rewards on basis of daily diary home from school
pudding
weekly to clinic for computer games
colouring section of a large picture
trip to park with parents
letter sent home
certificate to take home to parents/ daily diary from teacher and child compared

playing the piano
sheltered play with chosen others
chart/certificate home
letter to parents
tidying art cupboard/choosing a friend to sharpen pencils with
sticker from headteacher
pocket money

In 16 of these programmes, more than half of the list, a link between home and school was established. In many ways these programmes could have been categorised within Figure 1 except that the reinforcers were, in the main,delivered out of school. Table 3 can be collapsed in the following way:

	(no. of cases)
symbolic	2
material	6
activity	12
social from teacher	15
social from peers	0
social from others	19

This list assumes that teacher-parent communication schemes involved social praise from both teachers and parents, and shows a similar trend to the pattern of reinforcers used in school.

Returning to these, Table 4 looks more closely at those reinforcers that are said to be given at a pre-arranged time and shows, for the category of reinforcer, the percentage of programmes that involved reward delivery within the lesson, at the end of the lesson, at the end of the half day, at the end of the day and at the end of the week.

Table 4 Categories of reinforcers delivered at different pre-arranged times

	Within lesson	End of lesson	End of half day	End of day	End of week
Symbolic (N=20)	10	50	20	5	15
Material (N=11)	-	9	9	36	45
Activity (N=19)	5	16	16	21	42
Social from teacher (N=14)	7	36	21	21	14
Social from peers (N=0)	-	-	-	-	-
Social from others (N=17)	-	-	18	47	35

Table 4 shows a high proportion of the symbolic reinforcers being given at the end of lessons rather than at other times. This accords with what seems least intrusive but not too distant in time for the link to have become too weakened. Again perhaps for reasons of intrusiveness, more time consuming and 'larger' categories such as activities and material reinforcers are given far more frequently at the end of the week. In between these, the category of 'social from others' - possibly parents involved in

home-school links - occurred most frequently at the end of the day but also at a high rate at the end of the week.

Table 5 Use of ignoring, time out and punishment

	%age of programmes
use of ignoring	72
use of time out	39
use of punishment	9

Table 6 Persons other than teachers or peers providing social reinforcement

	%age of programmes
parents	40
headteacher	24
EP	4
non teaching assistant	3
grandparent	3
another teacher	3
dinner superviser	3
sibling	1

The most prominent features of Figure 1 and Tables 3 to 6, are the very high incidence of immediate social reinforcement from the teachers and the ignoring of undesired behaviour, the high usage of symbolic reinforcers both immediately and at more convenient times, usually the end of lessons and the provision of favoured activities at pre-arranged times. The low incidence of material rewards at any time counters any charges that EPs and teachers are involved, in such programmes, in at least the cruder forms of 'bribery'. It can be speculation only as to whether the very frequent recommendation of teacher praise is an attempt, conscious or otherwise, to engineer an improved relationship between teacher and child.

The frequent involvement of parents as additional agents of approval and encouragement may be seen either as merely an extra potentially potent reinforcer or as a means by which more harmonious relationships between home and school can be encouraged. The very low figures for punishment should also help dispel some persistent misconceptions that behavioural approaches involve the use of threatening and punishing activities.

Even after devoting, in many cases, a number of hours to the assessment of factors involved in a pupil's difficult behaviour, a workable intervention strategy may not readily be forthcoming. For example, 29% of EPs stated that there had been difficulties in agreeing upon a strategy with the class teacher.

Teachers' initial reservations

Question 6 in section B asked EPs to judge whether the teachers had appeared to have certain initial reservations or whether there had been disagreement. Table 7 shows their replies.

Table 7 Teachers' initial reservations about strategy

Did the teacher appear to have initial reservations about:	%age YES
practical problems of implementation?	61
fairness (rewarding only one child)?	46
issues of bribery?	27
praise not being spontaneous?	16
other matters?	34

A variety of other matters was raised by teachers at this stage of strategy planning, the most common being a rather generally stated disbelief in the strategy working. Again, these frequencies are presented in absolute terms rather than as percentages.

Table 8. Other reservations

	Number of programmes
disbelief in likely effectiveness	6
intervention too 'simple' for massiveness of problem	3
teacher's ability to behave consistently	2
amount of time required	2
child might become bored with the programme if it went on for too long	1
child might become dependent on rewards	1
difficulties getting support from home	1
would changes generalise beyond the half hour per day of the programme	1
possible lack of motivation on part of other teachers	1
problem seen as in child's character	1
programme not seen as part of duties	1
teacher did not see problem as major but head did	1

Clearly, in the light of such a range of reservations, and in those instances of serious disagreement over the strategy, a number of demands will be made upon EPs' skills. The plan may either need to be amended, perhaps even abandoned, or the teachers may need to be helped to overcome their reservations. Question 8 in section B asked about approaches to the reservations about the strategy on the part of teachers and the replies are shown in Table 9.

Table 9 EPs' attempts to overcome teachers' reservations

If teacher had reservations, how did you attempt to overcome them?	%age YES
by describing similar examples from your previous experience	81
by lending or recommending a book or article	26
by asking the teacher to trust your judgement	19
by describing examples from the literature	17
by leaving a handout prepared by yourself	11
by other means	54

Table 10 expands verbatim the responses made in the 'other means' category.

Table 10 Other means of attempting to overcome reservations

	number of programmes
short story to put teacher in the place of child (emotional insight)	1
talking to other teachers	1
discussion of behavioural principles and modifying programme to fit teacher's preferred working method	1
talking through and listening to teacher's problems	1
urging teacher to take an experimental view	1
further investigation, seeking parents view	1
comparing with real life issues, such as going to work for a salary	1
observation of the process in action	1
by suggesting "let's try it for 2 weeks and see"	3
using an 'outcome justifying the means' argument	1
refer to how reward systems work on us as adults all the time and how we are unconsciously rewarding all other children	1

group discussion with other teachers	3
by discussion with a teacher who had been successful with such a programme	1
'bribing' with more visits	1
by acknowledging teacher's feelings but negotiating input	1
"If you want my advice will you give it a fair trial"	1
asking her to use her own judgement to fit the programme into her own routine	1
general discussion	1
explain that if child is sufficiently badly behaved, other children will understand 'different' treatment.	1
discussion and written feedback of discussion	1
by regular 'topping up' meeting by E.P. and trainee	1
by encouraging a positive attitude, for an experimental period, and promising to return to monitor in an agreed time.	1
by giving name of another teacher working in this way	1
head teacher accepted child and encouraged teacher to review doubts as to level of professional ability	1
general discussion of her teaching strategies -'she's already doing it'	1

Tables 7, 8, 9 and 10 reveal a complex pattern of issues likely to lead to discussion, negotiation, modification or rejection of the strategy. Clearly, teachers present problems of fitting the strategy into their ordinary classroom routine as a major reservation rather than more 'ethical' issues, although these as well as a belief in 'within child' origins of problems and a doubt in their own abilities, were also mentioned.

In response, EPs appear to take a far more pragmatic than erudite approach, relaying examples from their previous experience and encouraging and providing support during an experimental period and taking a role in creating supportive peer interactions for teachers. EPs also saw themselves as encouraging an experimental

approach, sometimes by setting an early review date, within a week or two, when the EP would return and the programme would be changed or abandoned if it was proving unworkable or unsuccessful. A tendency not to over-prescribe the detail of a programme was also revealed and in some cases EPs gave a number of general suggestions and recognised that it was the teacher's professional contribution to adapt the programme and the usual classroom routine to each other. In still other instances, the support of professional colleagues was enlisted by introducing the teacher to another who had produced positive outcomes in a similar situation, or by the EP gathering together a group of teachers in a school to create a joint responsibility for planning and implementing a strategy.

In all of these items, a range of consultative skills is displayed and it is hard to believe that the form of the strategy finally implemented is not being negotiated and modified during these conversations.

Altering aspects of the classroom environment

A behavioural strategy may have more success if certain aspects of the classroom organisation or the curriculum are changed. Section C examined these issues and the replies are summarised in Table 11

Table 11 Alterations made to classroom organisation as part of the strategy

	%age of programmes
child's seating changed	51
amount of work for child increased	43
classroom rules explained differently	42
distractions removed from child	40
work for child changed	32
amount of work for child reduced	17
other changes	16
classroom rules changed for child	12
classroom rules changed for whole class	5
at least one aspect of classroom organisation changed	85

This table shows, among other things, that changes are made to at least one aspect of classroom organisation in a large majority of the interventions. The most prominent of these aspects is moving a child's seating position which occurs in one out of every two programmes. It also shows that many of the items that may be viewed as more 'permissive', such as reducing the child's workload or making exceptions form the class rules, are much less frequently employed. It may well be that these 'allowances' would be likely to arouse teachers' reservations of unfairness and are thus avoided for this reason. On the other hand, incorporating into a programme the expectations that a child will achieve greater amounts of work clearly helps create a positive climate.

It is tempting to ask why these classroom changes, fairly ordinary routine matters in many ways, are necessary. Why has the teacher not tried them before? Does the behavioural programme serve in some way as an elaborate Trojan Horse within which some very simple management procedures, which may have been overlooked in the face of the presenting problem, may be introduced into the classroom? The discussion of 'Elements of programmes affecting outcomes' suggests that there may be some truth in this suggestion.

Monitoring of the evaluation

Table 12 shows how the intervention was monitored and the extent to which various changes were made during implementation. Figure 2 then indicates the number of visits in total that were made by the EP during implementation and Figure 3 shows how long after initiating the intervention the first of these visits occurred.

Table 12 Monitoring of the intervention

	%age of interventions
criteria for ending programme set in advance	41
measures taken during implementation	63
visits made during the implementation	85
changes made during implementation to:	
- target behaviour(s)	34
- reinforcer(s)	24
- punishment(s)	6
- setting events (ie classroom environment)	25
- any other changes	26
decision made before starting about:	
- a review date	75
- an ending date	21
intervention longer than originally expected	50
intervention shorter than originally expected	50

Figure 2 The number of visits made by the EP during the implementation of the strategy (N=38)

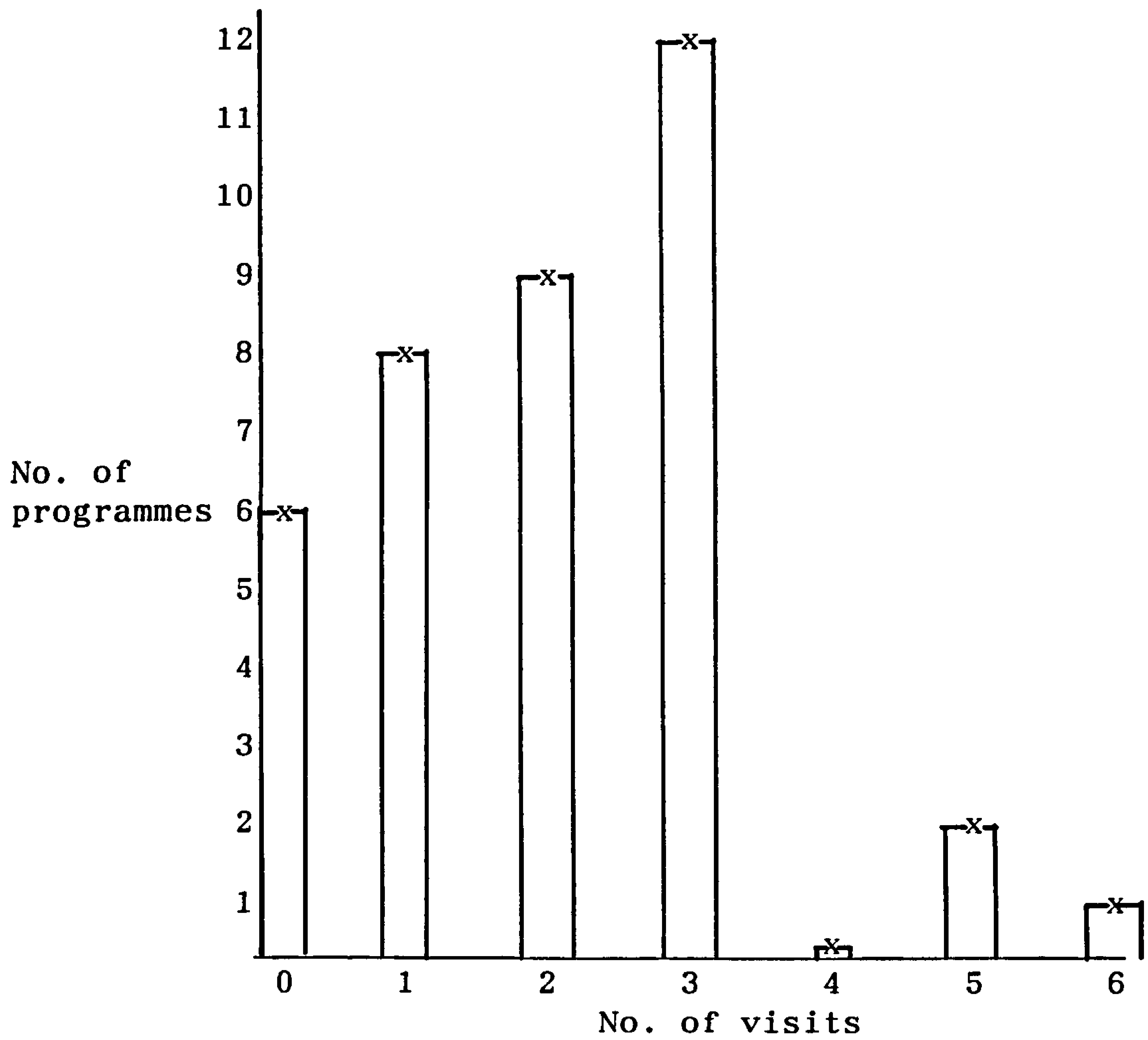
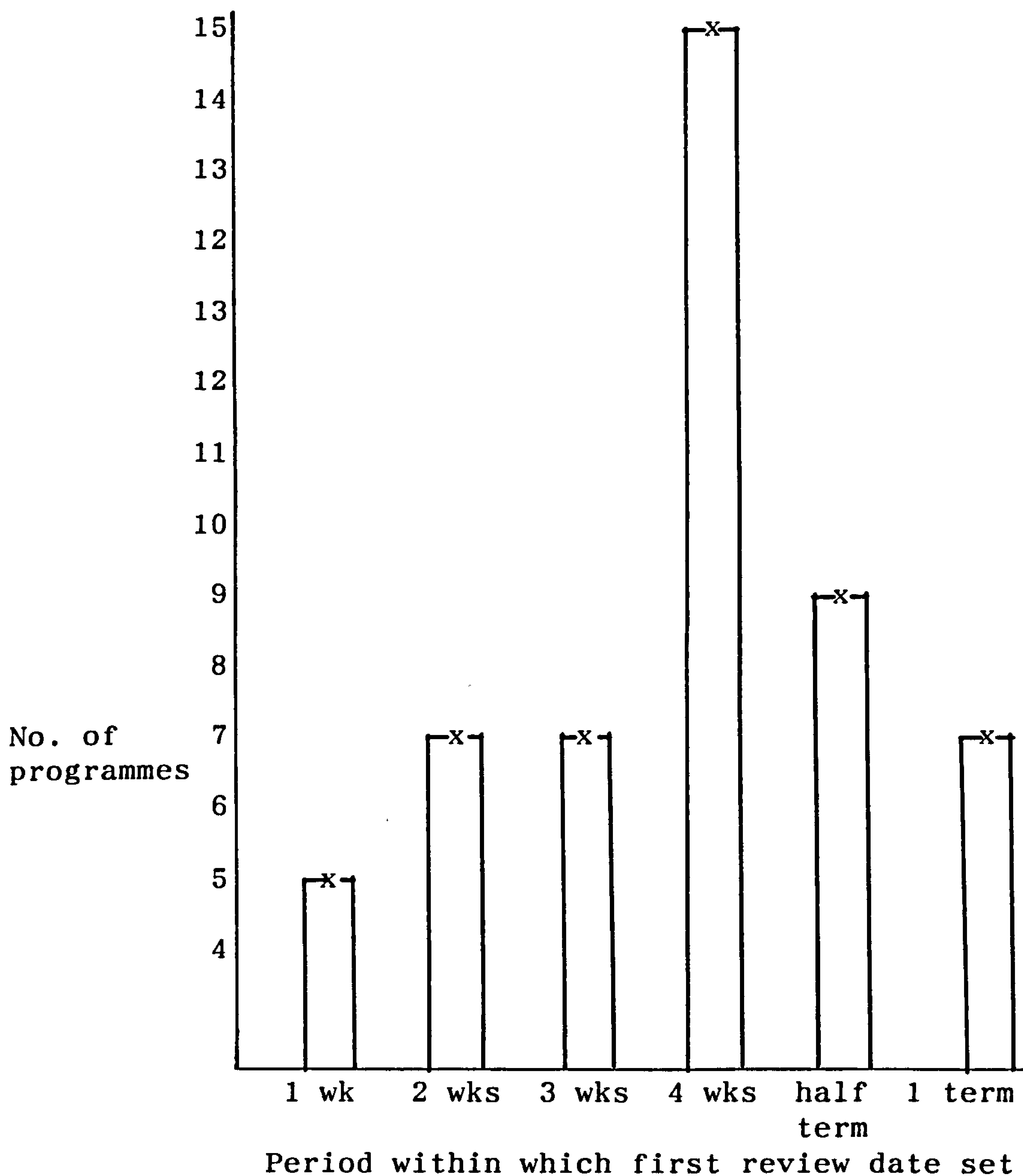


Figure 3 The period within which the first review date was set (N=50)



Of the 38 replies to the question about the number of visits, 84% made at least one visit, 32% achieved the modal value of 3 visits and only 8% carried out more than this.

Figure 3 shows that four weeks was the most favoured interval before the first review (in 30% of instances), with only 32% taking longer than this.

Table 13 Person initiating changes during implementation (%age of programmes)

Changes to:	Teacher	EP	Joint
target behaviour	48	9	43
reinforcer	50	25	25
setting conditions	75	16	8
other changes	68	16	16
discontinuing	31	3	66

Table 13 indicates that the teacher is very much in charge of most changes made during the programme, although alterations to the target behaviour were as likely to be a joint decision between the teacher and EP. The major sole responsibility of the EP was for any changes to the reinforcers whereas by far the biggest shared responsibility was the decision to discontinue the intervention. This information dispels any notion that strategies are somehow imposed upon teachers, or at least that teachers are following some course of action which does not command their support for any length of time.

Figure 4 Eventual length of the intervention (N=60)

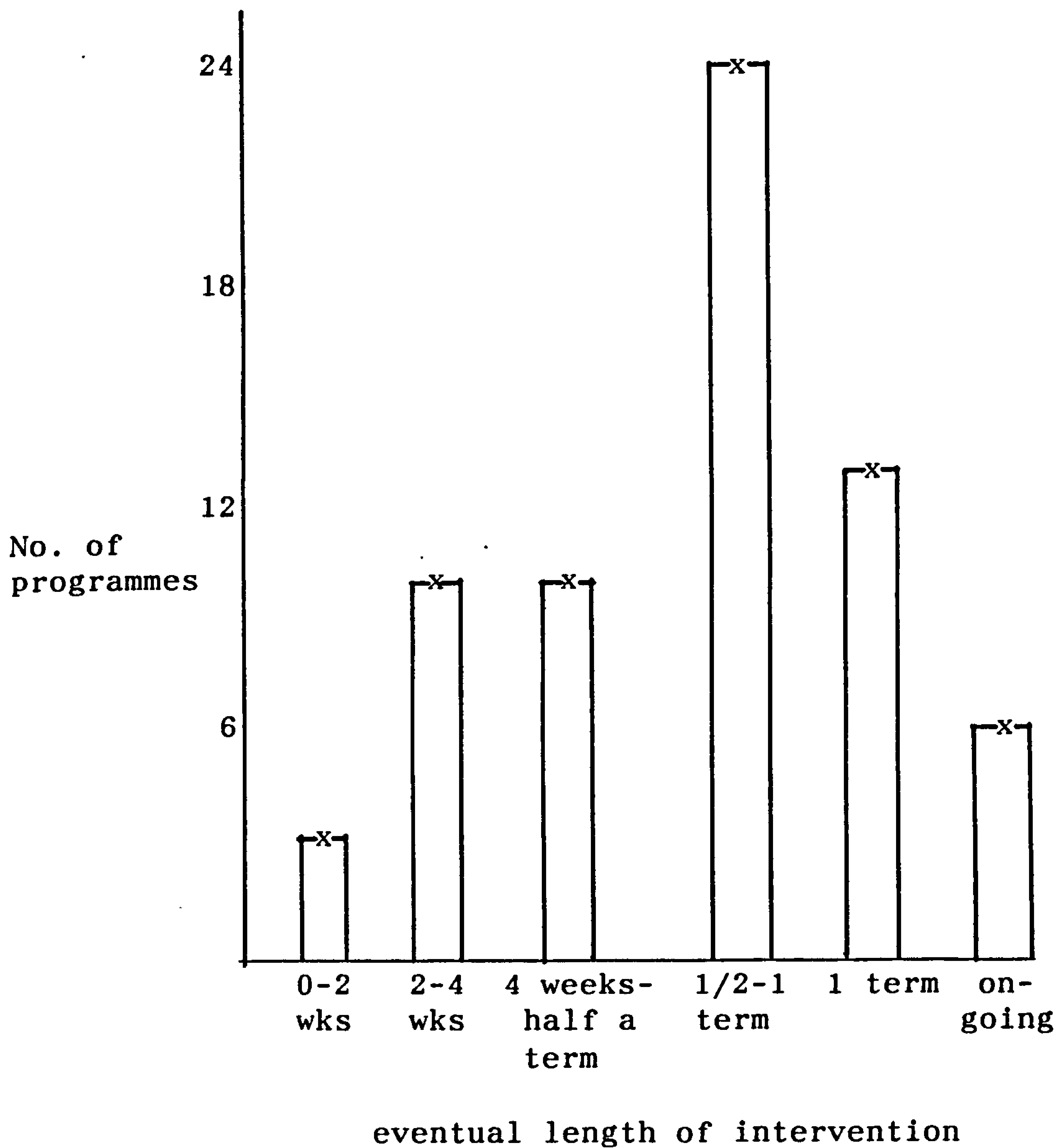


Figure 4 shows that the majority of interventions (40%) lasted between one half of a term and a full term, with only 20% being discontinued within a month or less. A further 32% were longer than one term in duration.

Methods of evaluation

Some form of evaluation always takes place during any educational

intervention. It may be only at the level of opinions and impressions of various participants and observers, or it may be in the form of more rigorous quantitative measures. Table 14 shows the means of evaluation employed in the 68 programmes under study

Table 14 Means of evaluation employed

Means of evaluation employed	%age of programmes
class teacher satisfaction	90
parent satisfaction	35
head teacher satisfaction	31
child satisfaction	13
other teacher's satisfaction	6
grandparent's satisfaction	3
welfare assistant's satisfaction	1
class teacher written report	35
repeat of baseline measures	29
repeat of other preliminary measures	26
satisfaction, without accompanying written evaluation	42

The ways in which programmes are actually evaluated, as shown in Table 14, raise a fundamental issue. The number of programmes that included a baseline measurement at the end of the intervention fell to 29%, from an initial level of 74%. Behavioural psychologists consider the objective demonstration of change through the comparison of pre-, and post-intervention measurements of target behaviour to be essential. Schweiso (1985), for example, states quite clearly that '....the demonstration of the effectiveness of an intervention is an integral part of the behavioural approach rather than an optional extra'.

The survey has shown a clear preference on the part of EPs for leaving evaluation at the level of expressed satisfaction of the class

teacher and, in about one third of programmes, to that of the head teacher and parent as well.

Why should this be so? One likely explanation is that part of the negotiated agreement between the EP and teacher, probably made implicitly, was that the teacher will be involved in the minimum of additional duties over and above the usual classroom routines. Schweiso acknowledges that busy practitioners will be more interested in what happens as a result of an intervention rather than in being able to demonstrate exactly how it has happened.

The problem for EPs is probably that they see themselves as busy practitioners as well as research-minded behavioural psychologists. Because of the need to adapt techniques to a set of constraints imposed by schools, EPs are likely to experience some degree of role strain and, because their interventions appear to 'fall short' of reported case studies, they may well be reluctant to publish and disseminate these 'less than complete' interventions.

A major aim of this study, of course, is to describe the actual widespread behaviour of professionals in applied settings, in the belief that this, in itself, is a body of data from which important lessons can be drawn.

However, if this explains why baseline measures are not usually repeated after an intervention, it then raises the question of why they are so frequently included before. If the pre-intervention measure is not there for subsequent comparison does it serve the function of continuing to clarify the nature of the problem, or, does it, perhaps, encourage the teacher to construe the child's behaviour in a different fashion? This subject is returned to in the Discussion section.

Outcomes of evaluation

What ultimately then are the outcomes of these evaluations? Table 14 shows the degrees of improvement, as percentages of the total number of programmes using that method of evaluation, judged to have taken place.

Table 15 Outcomes of different forms of evaluation as perceived by EPs

Means of evaluation	considerable improvement	moderate improvement	no change
class teacher satisfaction	38	52	8
satisfaction of others	40	43	16
class teacher's written reports	29	58	12
repeat of baseline measures	35	45	20
repeat of preliminary measures	17	61	22

The results are generally very positive. The programmes in which there was no change in the pupil's behaviour are relatively few although it should be noted that this change is a little harder to demonstrate by a repeated baseline measure than by a class teacher's expression of satisfaction. Of course, how much improvement respondents classified as ' moderate' is not known, but even if only the 'considerable improvement' category is considered, these figures are encouraging when one bears in mind that the problems under consideration had all been deemed serious enough to warrant referral to an EP.

Most frequently occurring elements within programmes

One of the aims of this section of the study was to provide a description of the most common forms of behavioural interventions being negotiated between EPs and primary school teachers. Most of this information can be gleaned from Tables 1 to 15 but Table 16 provides a summary of all those elements and activities that were found to occur in more than half of the programmes.

Table 16 Most frequently occurring elements of programmes (those occurring in more than 50% of the programmes)

	%age of programmes
Initial assessment	
informal classroom observation by EP	84
problem stated in behavioural terms	89
baseline measures by teacher	59
other initial measures	60
Strategy planning	
target behaviour to increase chosen	85
target behaviour to decrease chosen	73
child involved in strategy planning	53
Reinforcement	
immediate social reinforcement from teacher	87
use of ignoring	72
Teachers' reservations	
classroom practicalities	61
EPs' attempts to overcome teachers' reservations	
by describing examples from previous experience	81
by other means	54

Alterations to classroom organisation

child's seating position changed	51

Management of strategy

measures taken during implementation	63
visits made during implementation	85
review date set in advance	75
end initiated by teacher and EP jointly	61

Methods of evaluation

class teachers' satisfaction	90
satisfaction of others (all)	63

Factors restricting effectiveness

EP's time	59

Elements of programmes affecting outcomes

This section of the study has shown that certain elements figure very frequently in the behavioural interventions that are devised by EPs and primary school teachers for pupils displaying disruptive classroom behaviour. It has also shown that certain practical, theoretical, ethical and interactional aspects are commonplace in the discussions during the setting up and implementation of these programmes. Interestingly, it has shown that other practicalities and issues are not as frequently encountered as might be expected.

But of all the various elements and procedures examined, are some more essential for successful outcomes than others? Some may be necessary to gain teachers' participation in the first place, some may be included because of their traditional appearance in the literature, but do they all make an equal contribution towards the programme's effectiveness?

To answer this question the presence or absence of each item on the questionnaire was considered in terms of whether it was associated for each programme with considerable improvement or not, as judged by the class teacher, - this being the major evaluation method used and hence also yielding the most data. Of all the elements discussed in the tables in this section, only three were differentially represented in the two outcome categories at a statistically significant level.

Table 17 Factors associated with differential outcomes as judged by teacher satisfaction (%age of programmes)

	considerable improvement	moderate improvement or no change
classroom rules explained differently	59	32
difficulties in agreeing strategies with teachers	8	43
other changes made during the strategy (ie other than changes to target behaviours and reinforcers	9	32

The third item in Table 17, 'other changes during the strategy', does not refer to any one specific alteration and is thus difficult to interpret. Table 13 shows that in 68% of instances these 'other changes' are initiated by the teacher, with only 16% originating solely with the EP and another 16% jointly. In other words, when changes are made in the strategy other than to target behaviours, reinforcers, or setting conditions, and these changes are most likely to be made by the teachers acting independently, then these changes are connected with failure of the intervention. As these are changes made after implementation has begun, they may therefore be a consequence of a strategy that has seemed to the teacher to be failing, rather than a cause of a strategy that fails.

The 'difficulties in agreeing strategies with teachers' item suggests that programmes which are put into effect in such circumstances are significantly more likely to fail. This certainly suggests that more attention to the whole issue of teachers' reservations may be necessary in some cases and also casts some doubts upon whether encouraging an experimental attitude is a useful strategy if some prior disagreement has been encountered. One practical outcome from this may be that EPs during consultation may be able to make explicit the research finding that unless difficulties in reaching some basic agreement are resolved, then the outcome of an intervention is unlikely to be particularly favourable.

The first item in Table 17 is the only one to be associated with increasing positive outcomes. It is reassuring to see that explaining classroom rules differently during a strategy (it may be that they had not been explained at all before, of course) is the particular item as this was one of the three factors involved in the Madsen et al study (1968).

Of course the item 'classroom rules explained differently' does not in itself indicate which rules these were, nor the manner in which they were subsequently presented. However, it is possible to gain at least an impression of these changes from the added and unsolicited comments that respondents made about this item on their questionnaires and these verbatim comments are shown in Table 18

Table 18 Further details of classroom rules being explained differently as provided by nine respondents

- made explicit as part of the programme
- discussion with child about wandering around the class
- made more specific
- not differently just more closely stuck to
- during time out
- to the child for clarification
- rules about sitting and completing tasks and what to do then

simply made more explicit
- more detailed description of what was required
- simplified, personal and direct

The common themes in this list seem to be the clarification and simplifying of classroom rules, probably being explained to the particular pupil individually and then being adhered to more consistently by the teacher. This is somewhat inferential and only based on nine replies but the comments seem consistent with each other and have, at least a surface plausibility. One can imagine that an EP who only recommended this course of action would be treated with some scepticism and there are thus grounds for viewing the overall programme as a means of introducing this seemingly potent ingredient. Of course, this is not to suggest that all other elements are unimportant. Many may appear quite different in practice when implemented by teachers and EPs, and may interact with each other or have a cumulative effect. But the study does endorse strongly the inclusion of a re-statement of rules in any programme, the one of Madsen et al's three independent variables which this study has revealed to feature less prominently in behavioural interventions.

Factors perceived as restricting an intervention's effectiveness

Table 19 Factors perceived as restricting intervention's effectiveness

	%age of interventions
time EP could allocate to intervention	59
time teacher could allocate to intervention	45
other factors	39
teacher's understanding of approach	38
type of presenting problems	30
child's cooperation	29
EP's knowledge and experience	29

teacher's cooperation	23
head teacher's understanding	21
head teacher's cooperation	12
other staff in the school	10

This table shows that time constraints, for the EP even more than the teacher, are perceived as the major impediment to strategies being more successful. Items relating to cooperation on the part of school personnel figure much less highly, - class teacher cooperation, which is the highest of these items, being seen to restrict the effectiveness in less than one third of programmes.

Psychological skills judged to be employed in behavioural interventions

In addition to examining the way in which EPs actually construct programmes with teachers, it is also of interest to ask proponents of these approaches what they see as specifically 'psychological' about the interventions.

After the main body of the questionnaire, respondents were therefore asked a far more open-ended question in an attempt to ascertain their views on this matter. Specifically, they were asked

'For the types of school and childrens' problems examined in this questionnaire, which aspect(s) of devising and implementing a behavioural approach do you feel most require the skills and/or knowledge of a psychologist?'

The replies were very varied and the finer levels of the content analysis are, of course, susceptible to misclassification. However, the results showed EPs to be almost evenly divided over the issue of the psychological skills necessary to work with primary school teachers on behavioural approaches. One half see their expertise purely, or at least primarily, in terms of the 'technology' of the approach (eg stating the problem in behavioural terms, task analysis, reinforcement schedules etc) while the remainder see other skills as of equal, or more importance (see Table 20). Indeed, about one fifth did not even mention knowledge of technological aspects, or programme construction, as being among the most significant skills they brought to these interventions. It is, of course, quite probable that more respondents would have listed more items if they had been encouraged to do so. However, when asked to give their view of the *most important* skills and knowledge that psychologists bring to this work, these were considered the most salient features.

Table 20 The aspects of devising and implementing a behavioural approach that most require the skills and/or knowledge of a psychologist (N=62)

	%age of respondents
'technological' aspects only	47
'technological' plus other aspects	36
not mentioning 'technological' aspects	18

The most frequently mentioned technological aspects were the stating of the problem in behavioural terms, selection of appropriate reinforcers, and the creation of a monitoring or recording system. The frequency of occurrence of these and the other technological aspects are shown in Table 21.

Table 21 The most frequently cited technological aspects (N=51)

	%age of respondents
stating the problem in behavioural terms	53
choosing appropriate reinforcers	27
(general programming skills	22)
choosing a realistic target	22
devising a measuring/recording system	20
analysis of causative/maintaining factors	14
recording an initial baseline	10
sequencing steps	10
choosing step size	8
(monitoring	8)

manipulating setting conditions	6
changing a failing programme	4

The other aspects of applying programmes requiring the skills or knowledge of a psychologist - the 'non-technological' aspects - were identified by respondents as 'working with the emotional climate', - that is, countering mistrust, absorbing negative emotions and 'selling' the intervention. In addition, the ability *to explain* specialist knowledge, especially in terms of identifying causative and maintaining factors for behaviour, a knowledge of what is feasible in classrooms, and being aware of issues associated with role, such as avoiding the assumption of total 'ownership' of a problem, were also quoted. The frequency of occurrence of these items are shown in Table 22

Table 22 The incidence of non-technological aspects that most require
the skills and knowledge of a psychologist (N=33)

	%age of respondents
working with the 'emotional climate' (eg countering mistrust, absorbing negative emotions, selling the intervention)	23
general previous experience (eg knowing what is feasible in a classroom, previous experience with programmes	21
ability to explain specialist knowledge (eg explaining possible causes of behaviour to a teacher)	20
utilising role (eg being an outsider, avoiding total ownership of the problem)	11

These results show that, within the widely used behavioural approach, some practitioners consider the 'psychological' component of their interventions to lie in the skills that they make available for teachers to use with certain pupils whereas others see psychology's main emphasis to lie in the actual interactions they have with the teachers.

Behavioural approaches, EP's belief systems and professional role

A second general question was asked -

'What are the most difficult aspects of a behavioural approach for you to accept?'

with the intention of identifying any ways in which such approaches might conflict with some EP's belief systems, professional role or whatever.

Table 23 The aspects of behavioural approaches that respondents had the most difficulty in accepting (N=62)

	%age of respondents
no difficult aspects	18
the paradigm ignores wider factors (as an explanatory framework - 9% in its interventions - 18% other - 4%	31
limitations of EP's time	24
problems with programme construction eg. generalisation, sampling etc	7
teachers' reservations/reluctance	10
other	10

One set of replies to the question referred to the limitations of the behavioural paradigm in providing a comprehensive explanation for

disruptive classroom behaviour whilst another set raised the related issue of it leading to interventions that were too limited in their scope.

As an explanatory framework, it was felt that issues such as the interactive nature of problem behaviour, the effects of family background, school variables, and emotional factors were not adequately addressed. In terms of the interventions, they were felt to overlook, among other things, the fact that 'adverse systems' could lead to the washing out of any gains from programmes or that more of a counselling approach was required to enable clients to understand their role in events. In total, 31% of the sample raised the problem of the lack of comprehensiveness of the behavioural paradigm, 31%, that is, of a group who were all nevertheless employing these approaches.

Differences between strict adherents to behavioural approaches and others

If the results from the 'technological aspects only' group are compared with the combined results from the other two groups, it is possible to ask questions about the practice of those EPs who might be termed the 'strict adherents' of behavioural approaches and the others who utilise these approaches but also see the the psychology in these interventions as deriving at least partly from other sources.

In particular it is of interest to ask whether practitioners who are informed by these different theoretical perspectives:

a) devise different types of interventions

b) have different types of difficulties in accepting the behavioural approach, and

c) experience different rates of success

In order to investigate the first of these issues, the 91 items on the questionnaire were compared for the two groups in order to see which

items were represented significantly differently within the two groups. Table 24 shows the three items that emerged from this analysis.

Table 24 Aspects of interventions that differed significantly between the interventions devised by strict adherents of the behavioural approach and by the other psychologists

	%age of programmes containing particular aspect		
aspect	strict adherents (N=29)	others (N=33)	p
attempted to overcome teacher reservations by describing the literature	25	4	0.03
programme involved reducing amount of work for child	4	31	0.01
EP made visits during the strategy implementation	96	76	0.02

Only three items were differentially represented in the programmes constructed by strict adherents to the behavioural approach and the other psychologists. The only item from the list of most frequently occurring elements within all programmes, as shown in Table 16, to be represented at a statistically different level between the programmes of the strict adherents and the others is whether or not visits were made to school during the implementation of the strategy. A very high 96% of strict adherents (all but one of the sample) made visits as did a high 76% of the others. Whether or not visits were made was significant, the actual spread of numbers of visits did not differ significantly between the two groups.

Similarly, a comparison was made between the replies given by the same two groups of practitioners to the open question about difficult to accept aspects of behavioural approaches. Table 25 shows their responses.

Table 25 The aspects of behavioural approaches that strict adherents and other psychologists had the most difficulty in accepting

	%age of respondents within each category		
	strict adherents (N=29)	others (N=33)	sig
ignores wider factors	14	42	0.05
no difficulties	17	21	ns
teacher reluctance/ resistance	21	9	ns
time constraints on EP	34	24	ns
problems constructing programmes	14	24	ns
other	7	3	ns

Table 25 suggests that only 17% of those who see the psychology of these interventions as being concerned primarily with the technological aspects have 'no difficulties' in accepting these approaches.

However, the table also suggests that where difficulties are perceived they are most likely to be seen in terms of the availability of enough time to plan and implement programmes effectively.

There is a statistically significant difference (chi squared test) between the strict adherents and the others in terms of whether the approach is thought to ignore 'wider factors' in analysing problems or recommending solutions, only 14% of the strict adherents compared to 42% of the others believing this to be the case. Similarly, the more 'narrowly behavioural' group also attributes difficulties in implementing programmes to the reluctance and resistance of teachers more than twice as frequently as the other group. However, this only applies for one fifth of their programmes so there is no wholesale attempt to place the responsibility for difficulties

upon the shoulders of hesitant teachers. This difference is also not significant between the two groups.

There would thus appear to be a group of 'hard-nosed behaviourists' within the profession - about 40% of all EPs who use these approaches see the theoretical rationale as deriving from behavioural psychology and see no problem with this as an explanatory framework. Conversely, about 60% using the approaches either have reservations about the explanatory power or see the psychology that informs their interventions as deriving at least partly from other paradigms.

Table 26 The rates of success experienced by practitioners informed by different theoretical perspectives (N=56)

	%age of programmes	
	considerable improvement	moderate or no improvement
strict adherents	38	62
others	37	63

The proportion of respondents who achieve 'considerable success' in each group is surprisingly similar, just over one third, demonstrating that, although the EPs' theoretical rationale affects a few aspects of their practice (see Table 24), it does not lead to differential outcomes as a result of their interventions.

CHAPTER 3

Discussion of the results from the questionnaire study

Discussion

One of the main tensions within the British literature is between the need to remain methodologically faithful to the behavioural approach and the need to tailor interventions to the circumstances of the teachers and schools who seek the consultative services of the EP. These professionals do not operate with the time frames and resources of the researcher. Underlying the debates around issues such as the 'dangers of a mindless technology' (Berger 1979), the problems of 'behavioural overkill' (Wheldall 1981) and the baseline as sine qua non of the behavioural approach (Schweiso 1985b), lies the major issue raised by Tizard (1991) in her discussion of the general relationship between research and policy.

She points to the assumption behind the linear model of research which dictates that, in social research, investigation should procede from a 'pure' to an 'applied' context and then into professional practice. It is possible to see many applications of natural sciences research in laboratories leading into field trials and subsequent widespread technological applications. Superficially, the development of behavioural applications within educational settings would seem to be a direct example of this process.

But, as many have pointed out, there is a world of difference between the pure context of early behavioural work with animals in laboratory settings, from which the basic tenets of the behavioural approach derive, and the educational context within which Madsen et al (1968) carried out their pioneering classroom research, - the applied context. The major difference is that in the classroom the social actors all have the opportunity to ascribe and negotiate meanings in relation to their, and other's behaviour. In the Madsen et al (1968) experiment, one of the three independent variables was the stating of classroom rules - a major difference from laboratory work with pigeons and rats. And yet the use of the same terminology and the attempts to demonstrate the same causal

connections within the two contexts, can very easily serve to mask the very real differences between them.

Schweiso and Hastings (1987) have criticised the 'almost universal.... linking of behaviour modification (in educational contexts) with behaviourism, conditioning or learning theory' as 'a practice that seems to...be widespread, wrong and unnecessary'. They see it as helpful to distinguish between a methodological behaviourism and a metaphysical behaviourism, the former embodying the idea that psychology must deal with the observable whilst the latter actually denies the existence of mental life. After a discussion of the explanatory and guiding functions of theory, Schweiso and Hastings go on to advance the view that the practice of behavioural approaches need not necessarily be viewed as the appliance of theory, but can be seen as an independent body of practice, despite the fact that practitioners may have referred to this theory as a rationale for the development of their practice.

They make a case for behaviour modification (they continue to use the term although many practitioners have substituted 'behavioural approaches') being seen not as the application of behaviourist science but as being 'composed of two distinct and necessary components: a framework for guiding interventions (the methodological component) and a set of techniques for changing behaviour (the technical component)'. Schweiso and Hastings see the guiding framework as consisting of three general procedures:

the measurement of behaviour before and after intervention,

the sequence analysis of antecedents or setting conditions, the exact form of behaviour, and the consequences of the behaviour

for the child or others, and the specification of clear goals, which may include preferred

alternative behaviours to the one that is causing concern.

They conclude by arguing that, just as much scientific theory developed in the last century from successful and unsuccessful developments in technology, so might theorising about aspects of human behaviour be advanced by the practices of behavioural approaches rather than vice versa.

The problem, however, not only resides with the nature of the link between applied studies and theory developed from 'pure' research. Although the Madsen et al (1968) research and 'demonstration studies' all take place within educational settings, there can also be as wide a gulf between these applied contexts and the professional context of consultative work. As has been mentioned, McNamara (1989) has argued that demonstration studies are likely to be conducted within highly conducive settings, whereas consultative work will often be in far less favourable circumstances. Not seeing the extent of this difference can lead some writers to misunderstand what is required in consultative work and assume that the move from the applied to the consultative setting requires skills or modifications that are relatively undeserving of systematic investigation in comparison to the complexity of research into behavioural approaches in applied settings.

Because of a lack of recognition of the qualitatively different social contexts within which applied research and consultative work are embedded, it is often the case that researchers who attempt to move from the 'pure' to the 'applied' or from the 'applied' to the 'consultative' become targets for criticism for having apparently diluted an approach developed by careful research in the former setting. This would be especially true if supporters of behavioural approaches within 'pure' laboratory contexts were to pass judgement on the workers in 'consultative' contexts, but the segregation of schools of research means that the distance between these contexts is too wide to encourage a view of one from the

other. Whilst some practitioners may look back from their work in schools and feel that this practice is far removed from the laboratory settings in which its terminology and experimentally-established connections are rooted, it appears far less likely that laboratory workers will comment upon professional practice.

The debates of relevance to this study relate to the extent to which EPs are mirroring the work carried out by researchers in applied settings, who themselves have assumed a direct link to the experimentally-respectable laboratory studies and ignored the fundamental differences between the expectations and constraints of the respective social contexts.

The present research allows some of Berger's (1979) concerns about the dangers of a 'mindless technology' to be addressed. Firstly, it is possible to look at the use of token economies and time out procedures. Berger was particularly worried that these techniques might be imparted to teachers with only little attempt to monitor their use and provide adequate tutorial support. The low level of material reinforcers used by the EPs in this study, around 20% (see Figure 1), suggests that token economies, at least for work in mainstream primary settings, are not very prevalent. From this 20%, and the types of reinforcers listed in Table 4, it would seem that at least some were tangible material rewards and that the use of token economies is therefore not widespread. The study is not, of course, able to comment on practice in special educational settings.

Table 5 indicates that time out procedures are used in 39% of programmes. In terms of Berger's concerns this is a higher figure than that for token economy procedures although the degree to which the procedures were introduced without an adequate rationale for their use has not been determined in this study.

Berger conceded that there were 'nevertheless certain aspects of the behavioural approach which we could encourage teachers to use, such as identifying and responding to the positive combined

with ignoring the minor disruptions'. Figure 1 and Table 5 certainly confirm that these aspects are widely used in EPs' interventions, 87% of programmes use immediate teacher praise and 72% ignoring of some pupil behaviour. However, he continued by saying that even these suggestions would be difficult to implement if a competent observer was not present to give feedback on how appropriately the techniques were being used. Table 12 shows that 85% of EPs made visits during the implementation of the strategy, although whether these visits included feedback deriving from classroom observation, is not known. This table does show that 63% of programmes involved the collection of data during the intervention so, presumably, at least changes in pupil behaviour, or the lack of it, were discussed on these visits. Figure 2 shows the mode for the number of visits during the implementation to be 3, with few interventions incorporating more than this. In most of these interventions the first of these visits is arranged for four weeks after commencement, as shown in Figure 3.

It seems reasonable to assume that this frequency is dictated more by EPs' workload pressures than considerations of ideal timings and, indeed, Table 19 confirms that EPs do quote constraints on their time as being the major barrier to more successful interventions. Even if these timings were felt to be ideal, it could be argued that this length of time before a first monitoring period might allow an intervention to drift from its original course or, at least, prevent initial 'teething' problems from being addressed earlier.

Although 48% of interventions are reviewed within less than four weeks, it might seem that Berger's concerns about adequate supervision and monitoring are at least partly justified. However, Table 17 shows that whether or not monitoring visits occurred, their total number and the extent of the period before a first review, were not related to the success or otherwise of the intervention.

One of the outcomes of this study to most challenge Berger's assertions is the finding that although EPs vary in the degree to which they subscribe to the behavioural paradigm as the psychological theory underlying their practice (that is, the degree to which they see their professional practice as deriving, via research in applied contexts, from 'pure' experimentation), this variation is not related to the outcome of their interventions. In other words, it is not necessary for the EPs to accept many of the theoretical underpinnings that Berger sees as essential, for their interventions to be judged successful. If they do not accept them, it is unlikely that they will see any purpose in communicating these to the teachers with whom they work. In his 1976 overview, Ward had predicted that, although it would be necessary to continue to monitor experimentally the relationships between variables in studies, British educational developments were far more likely to be concerned with the economic realisation of objectives. This predicted lack of 'pronounced ideological commitment' is clearly reflected in the high proportion of EPs who do not see behavioural psychology as the theoretical basis for behavioural approaches or do not, at least, see it as the sole framework (Table 20).

In summary, the study suggests that although some of Berger's concerns may be justified, others are not. (Or, that EPs' practice changed following the publication of his article and this changed practice is reflected in the replies to this survey.) Whichever, Table 17 suggests that the issues that concerned him are not related to outcomes. Whether or not practice by EPs serves to devalue the theoretical background to behavioural practice, - another of Berger's assertions, - is another issue, one that has been discussed to some extent already and which will be returned to.

Turning now to Wheldall's concerns about 'behavioural overkill' it is possible to examine the extent to which these fears have been realised. The first element of 'behavioural overkill' was the use of

very powerful reinforcers where more natural ones would suffice. This discussion has already noted the high degree of teacher praise and the relatively low use of material reinforcers, thus suggesting Wheldall's concerns to have been unfounded (or his warning to have been heeded). The other aspect Wheldall included within his notion of 'overkill' was a focus upon the consequences of behaviour and the relative paucity of attention paid to antecedents. The study certainly confirms a high usage of reinforcers, usually social in nature, but Table 11 shows that a range of antecedents are typically modified during an intervention and that, in total, 85% of programmes pay attention to this aspect.

The methodological issue of recording and monitoring, especially, repeating baseline measures after an intervention, is controversial, with varying viewpoints being expressed in the literature. Schweiso's assertion that baseline measures were not an optional extra in behavioural approaches but were an integral part was certainly an uncompromising assertion. McNamara and Harrop (1979), however, found that, from the one hundred teachers who undertook their courses, it was only possible to obtain baseline evidence of successful outcomes from an intervention in six cases although thirty more felt that they had had positive results but had no supporting data. These experiences would no doubt have been formative in McNamara (1987) pronouncing that it might be necessary to accept 'soft outcome measures'.

This study is able to show the degree to which these opposing perspectives are reflected in the professional practice of EPs. Firstly, Table 1 shows initial baseline data were obtained in 59% of cases by the teachers and by the EPs in 28% of cases. In total, baseline recording was undertaken by one or both parties in 74% of interventions, showing that this aspect of the behavioural approach is accepted and practised by a high proportion of, but not all practitioners. Table 12 indicates that this figure has dropped to 63% for the proportion of interventions that continue with measurements during the course of the intervention.

Presumably, in these cases, some of the the actual data collected was in the form of record sheets, tick lists or charts, or whatever, that were used as part of the strategy, that is, as symbolic reinforcers, rather than solely a continuation of the schedule that was used before the commencement of the strategy. After ending the programme, Table 14 shows that only 29% of programmes subsequently incorporate a post-intervention repeat baseline.

This final figure would probably prove unacceptable to Schweiso but is considerably higher than McNamara and Harrop's 6%. Although actual baseline measures are repeated in only 29% of instances, Table 14 also indicates that 58% of interventions use some form of written evaluation. It may be that the difference between these and McNamara and Harrop's results are due to the fact that visits to the teachers were made by many of the EPs during implementation of strategies in this study. The different expectations, agreements and commitments that are attached to in-service training events and to referrals to an educational psychologist might well also be implicated.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to ask why EPs arrange for baselines to be taken before the strategy in 74% of programmes if they are only repeated in 29%. The first measure must either be serving some function other than as a comparison with a subsequent measure, or the decision not to repeat must be made later as a result of developments during later stages. Harrop's (1977) finding that one in six teachers reported improvements after an initial recording period before any attempt at a strategy, might be implicated here. It has already been suggested that a number of features of a behavioural approach might have the early effect of altering a teacher's perceptions, and expectations of a child. Although there are only a few isolated references to this phenomenon in the literature (Miller 1979; Laing and Chazan 1987), this study suggests that the possible 'side-effects' of taking early baseline measures is worthy of further investigation. Of course, it is also possible to speculate that EPs make judgements about how

many demands it is reasonable to make of the teachers they work with, and may conclude during the strategy that further work, especially after a teacher is claiming improvement, would be unjustified and possibly prejudicial to their future working relationship.

It is salutary to return to Table 17 once again and be reminded that, whatever claims are made for the merits of the timing of measures, the presence or absence of these measures at any stage are not related to the success or otherwise of the strategy as measured in terms of the teachers' satisfaction.

Table 17 has demonstrated that a different explanation of classroom rules is one of the few variables linked to success as measured by the soft outcome measure of teacher verbal report. Table 11 shows that this occurs in 42% of interventions, a major practical recommendation from this study thus being that behavioural interventions should pay sufficient attention to classroom rules. Bradley and McNamara (1981) advocated attention to rules among other factors as they attempted to move behavioural approaches away from what they perceived to be an excessive preoccupation with contingencies. However, whether rules should be conceptualised as antecedents, as they were with Bradley and McNamara, is more debatable. If one is less concerned with developing theory by means of elaborating existing constructs such as 'antecedents', which themselves derive from the original 'pure' research that generated behaviourism, then it seems far more plausible to permit a cognitive dimension to enter the discussion, as it does in the extension into approaches involving self-management strategies.

A final area for discussion concerns the issue of teachers' reservations about behavioural approaches. Firstly, it is interesting to see from Table 9 that EPs who encounter reservations on the part of teachers, attempt to meet these with examples of success in their previous practice in a very high 81% of instances. Lending

books or articles, or recourse to details from the research literature, figure considerably less prominently. These results accord very closely with Presland's (1975) recommendation, offered after a range of early experiences involving workshops that also explained the theoretical and research background behind interventions, that practitioners equip themselves with accounts of successful practice when consulting with teachers who might feel some scepticism. Presland indicated that teachers might have reservations about interventions that appear to contain elements of 'bribery' or 'disproportionate attention to one child' and the survey suggests that these feelings remain, Table 7 indicating that they occur respectively in 27% and 46% of interventions. However, it is concern about practical problems such as the time available to implement a strategy that is voiced most frequently, - on 61% of occasions.

It is interesting to note from Table 25 that EPs who might be termed 'strict adherents' of behavioural approaches have more than twice as much difficulty in accepting that teachers may have reservations than do those who see the psychological component of the interventions to lie at least partly in the consultancy skills involved. Again it is necessary to remember that, although the issue of teacher reservations is likely to be important in shaping the form of the consultant EP's approach, the various responses that are made towards these reservations are not significantly linked with the ultimate success or otherwise of the interventions (Table 17).

Implications

The aims for this phase of the study were fourfold:

1) to provide a description of what was actually being delivered by British EPs in the name of behavioural approaches,

2) to determine how successful this was,

3) to see whether certain aspects were more or less essential for any success that was achieved, and

4) to discuss a number of the issues raised in the literature in the light of a more detailed analysis of the practice of EPs than that supplied by the leading, and possibly misleading edge of published research and practice studies that may well have been conducted in unrepresentative and highly conducive settings.

The study has been successful in achieving each of these aims and thus there is now documented a far more detailed account of practice in this theoretically, educationally and politically important and sensitive area.

Despite this, however, any claims that this study can represent the final word on behavioural approaches in consultative contexts must be quickly tempered by considerations of the validity of the data. All the data for this phase of the study was supplied by means of questionnaires completed by EPs. There must therefore be at least some level of doubt as to the representativeness of this data, it would be expected that respondents would be biased towards reporting initiatives that reflected well upon their conscientious attention to detail and to their effectiveness.

The covering letter took care to explain that this was an investigation of practice that was successful and unsuccessful and that no judgement would be passed upon the detail or outcome of interventions that were reported. It deliberately stated that published accounts of behavioural practice might already contain elements of this bias and asked correspondents to help in building a more representative picture, in which examples might well be less than 'textbook perfect'. And, by means of being able to respond with both a last intervention and usual practice in mind, it was hoped that bias would be further reduced.

The fact that a 64% response rate was obtained for a questionnaire that took between 45 and 60 minutes to complete at the pilot stage suggests that these EPs were sympathetic to the aims of the study. Detailed and very 'light' interventions were included which again

suggests that there was not a tendency to report only the more detailed.

If there are grounds for being reasonably optimistic about the validity of the data reported by the EPs it must, however, be remembered that a large amount of this exists as a result of teachers' reports. Teachers may say they did or did not do certain things, perhaps consciously in order to appear cooperative or to challenge, or perhaps unconsciously for similar motives or because the recommendations had not been clear, consistent or fully understood.

These opportunities for possible misunderstandings and misinterpretations direct the quest for a fuller understanding of the effects of 'behavioural interventions' to the other parties in these consultations, - the teachers. It was to the recipients of these behavioural interventions that phase two of this study would have to turn.

And over and above the research question itself, this researcher was beginning to relish more and more the possibility, after more than fifteen years of EP practice, of obtaining for the first time as comprehensive as possible an answer to the loosely formed question that had been circling in his mind through a range of reasonably successful and not so successful consultations over that period:-

'What sense do teachers really make of all these recommended interventions?'

SECTION II

THE TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

This study now moves away from the narrow confines of examining interventions solely from within the behavioural paradigm and the EP's point of view, and instead examines the perspective of the teacher who is the recipient of advice and recommended strategies. In Section I, apart from the discussion of other theoretical perspectives that impinge upon behavioural approaches in the literature, the study was conducted within the terms of the behavioural approach and did not treat these principles and their conceptual framework as possibly problematic in themselves. In order to investigate teachers' perspectives and understanding, however, it is necessary to move outside the assumptions of this particular paradigm and Chapter 5 provides a discussion of methodological issues involved in this type of investigation.

Before that Chapter 4 widens the discussion of consultative practice by EPs by considering the various definitions and interpretations of the term 'consultation' and at the growth in this type of professional activity among EPs. This chapter also considers recent empirical investigations that have been carried out in the United States into the nature of, and relationship between various aspects of the process and product of consultative practice in schools.

Chapter 4 also introduces the social constructionist view of deviance within schools, as an alternative perspective to the behavioural approach. As well as accounting for, and construing deviant behaviour in different ways, these two paradigms illustrate an historic split in research traditions deriving at root from a fundamental debate within epistemology, and this is elaborated more fully in the discussion of methodology in chapter 5.

The interview study carried out with teachers that derives from these methodological considerations, is described in Chapter 6.

Sample characteristics and details of the interview itself are included. This chapter then concludes by presenting the first stage of analysis of the data deriving from these interviews and indicates the rationale for the subsequent and final section.

A more focussed literature review in Chapter 7 then adds further detail to the main categories emerging from the analysis in the previous chapter after which Chapter 8 returns to the data for further transcript analysis in the light of the added theoretical perspectives from the preceding chapter.

Finally, Chapter 9 unites the various strands of this study into a 'conceptually dense' grounded theory as advocated by the methodology adopted in Chapter 5. That chapter also sets out suggested criteria for judging the quality of a grounded theory, and the final chapter also evaluates the derived theory in this manner. The last sections then attempt to judge whether the choice of a grounded theory was the most appropriate for the topic area of this study before finishing with a consideration of the implications raised for further research and for professional practice.

CHAPTER 4

Consultative practice and difficult pupil behaviour

Consultative practice and difficult pupil behaviour

Although primarily conceived as a means of damping down an unmanageable amount of individual referrals, the interest that grew in the late 1970s for allocating set amounts of time to schools (Jones 1978; Born & Sawyer 1979; Forrester 1981; Topping et al 1981; Bayley 1983) also derived from the desire to develop other styles of practice within schools, such as informal case discussions with teachers and in-service training of staff. Miller (1980), however, warned that this proposed trade-off in workload from different styles of practice was an untested assumption and Hart (1979) observed that in one service that had increased its amount of 'general and consultative' work, there had not been a consequent reduction in individual referrals.

A number of writers have offered definitions of the term 'consultation'. Conoley and Conoley (1990) describe it as a problem solving relationship between professionals from different fields, having aspects in common with psychotherapy and advice giving. Unlike psychotherapy, however, they argue, consultation only focuses upon work-related problems and avoids intrapsychic material. Although advice may be given by a consultant, the purpose is to enhance the problem solving capacity of the consultee and this is not seen as being likely to be accomplished merely by providing answers to questions.

According to Conoley and Conoley, consultants aim to provide:

- new knowledge
- new skills
- a greater sense of self efficacy, and
- a greater degree of objectivity in the consultee

West and Idol (1987) make a number of similar points in defining consultation as a technique that always possesses the following 6 characteristics:

- it is a helping, problem solving process
- it occurs between a professional help-giver and help-seeker, the latter having responsibility for the welfare of another person
- it is a voluntary relationship
- the help-giver and the help-seeker share in solving the problem
- the goal is to help solve a current work problem of the help-seeker
- the help-seeker profits in respect of future problems

The terms 'consultation' or 'consultative styles of work' were often used by EPs in the late 1970s and the 1980s to refer to more informal methods, either focussed on individual children or on organisational matters, but in none of the 'time-allocation' articles quoted were references made to any of the early writers within the three major theoretical perspectives in consultation. These have been delineated by Conoley and Conoley (1990 as Mental Health, Behavioural, and Process Consultation and these are discussed in more depth in the next section of this chapter.

However, Taylor (1981) took the argument on by asking, if psychologists were able to achieve the aim of negotiating their work more directly with schools, what psychological framework would guide them in ordering priorities in this work? She responded to her own challenge by quoting work in schools that drew to some extent upon the ideas of Caplan and Schein. At the end of the 1980s, Figg and Stoker (1989) also drew on Caplan's model of mental health consultation to provide an account of the management of referrals to an EP service.

Alongside these developments, Burden (1978) had been initiating a series of projects that involved trainee EPs working in schools. In the earliest example (Burden 1974), trainees acted as consultants to teachers in a number of primary schools in respect of pupils with reading difficulties. Breaking away from the individual referral/casework model, these trainees helped the teachers with diagnostic testing and then supported this with lectures and seminars on remedial reading techniques.

Similarly, in the Dart project (Burden 1978) trainees worked as a group, this time with the pastoral care system in one comprehensive school. A set of guiding principles for this type of work began to crystallise following the Priory project (Burden 1976) which derived from the request by a newly appointed head of remedial studies in a comprehensive school for help in establishing the most appropriate form of remedial provision. At this stage the two principles of establishing an explicit contract with the school at an early stage in the involvement and of holding regular feedback meetings with all staff involved, rather than just senior personnel or a link person, were established.

Burden's search for an underlying rationale to link together these interventions yielded very few leads within 'the known structures of educational or clinical psychology (although it later transpired that a search through the literature of industrial psychology would have proved far more helpful, viz. Georgiades and Phillimore, 1975; Miller, 1976)' (Burden 1978 p.118).

A subsequent introduction to systems theory provided what Burden was looking for and the Larches project, in which a primary school in an educational priority area requested help in improving reading standards, was organised and delivered so as to incorporate explicitly the lessons learned from previous projects within a systems theory framework.

Commenting on the use of trainees, Burden (1981a) argued that, rather than a trainee team being an advantage, operating from a power base outside of an LEA (ie a university) and with a group who were still in the process of developing their skills as psycholgists, meant that such a team was likely to be disadvantaged compared to what might be achieved by an LEA psychological service. He further argued that there was no necessity for a large intervention team and that there were many instances of two person teams forming highly effective partnerships. The task for a systems approach in schools he summarised as '...(to seek) to understand how the explicit and implicit organisational structure of a school affects the perceptions and behaviour of its pupils in a way that leads them to be seen as problematical or disruptive by those faced with the task of maintaining that structure' (Burden 1981b p.35)

Miller (1980) drew upon the socio-technical systems theory of Rice (1976) as the rationale for a project in which an educational psychology service directly addressed the challenge of encouraging all of one LEA's comprehensive schools to become more receptive to a consultative style of work by means of arranging pairings between senior staff and educational psychologists for visits to other schools, seminars for groups of these senior staff, and the sharing of questionnaire data concerning different schools' priorities for involvement. On a similar theme, Hedderly had proposed in 1977 a model of a psychological service negotiating with schools explicit contracts as to the form and quantity of work it would undertake.

Another strand of practice that was leading towards a similar end was being developed by staff responsible for the EP training course at Southampton University. Cameron and Stratford 1978) originally developed their model of problem selection and management as an experience for trainee EPs in which the latter were each involved in applying the same consistent approach to a different individual referral within one school. The authors then

applied the same problem solving sequence to work with a whole school staff, including dinner supervisers, the educational welfare officer and the school secretary, directed at the issue of managing school-based behaviour (Stratford & Cameron 1979).

By the early 1980s, a whole variety of in-service provision by EPs for teachers was flourishing. This generally lies outside the present discussion, but in 1982 Cox reported on a week-long in-service course for the entire staff of a Sheffield comprehensive school. A subsequent survey showed an increase in formal and informal contacts between many of the staff. As this involved the whole staff and was process-, rather than content-based, this was an intervention geared towards organisational matters within one particular establishment and hence may be construed more as a form of process consultation than was typical of Inset provision at that time. In 1985, Topping provided a broad and selectively detailed review of consultative practice with individual pupils, parents, teachers, and schools as organisations, all in respect of 'disruptive' pupils and with a fairly large proportion of the quoted evidence for effectiveness deriving from the behavioural literature.

Aubrey (1987), in a very thorough review of the literature on consultative practice, emphasises that '...however successful an in-service programme is in changing individual skills, the institution in which the teacher operates has its own norms, role expectations and relationships which form natural barriers to innovative efforts'. Hence the need for work that also addresses these mechanisms.

One way of making these mechanisms more explicit, including to the staff within the school, and therefore rendering them less obstructive to innovation, is by bringing together staff from different schools in order to work together on developing strategies for pupils whose names might otherwise have filled long referral lists. Although such approaches ostensibly focus upon the needs of particular individuals, they do so in a context where

teachers may, through contact with each other, be exposed to new norms and be encouraged to develop new expectations of their own and pupil's abilities to overcome difficulties.

Miller et al (1985) combined instructional techniques from precision teaching and direct instruction, with principles of staff training developed within the Education of the Developmentally Young project, and with the Portage system for managing and supporting geographically scattered individual interventions, into an area-wide system of teacher training, programme design and subsequent support. Similarly, Tempest et al (1987) brought together groups of teachers from eight to ten primary schools with an EP and advisory teacher in order to train them in the use of a 'problem clarification model' so that they were subsequently able to support each other in its implementation. Once again, the approach was widely disseminated within an LEA and 14 groups were eventually set up, involving 120 schools. Such approaches are characterised by the on-going nature of the support, whereby the culture of the externally-created reference group is allied with the innovation.

Further extensions to, and examples of consultative practice were provided by early practitioners throughout the decade. For example, Nichols and Burden (1988) developed the notion of 'spiral consultancy' in order to help EPs become 'reflective practitioners', and this practice of EPs using an external consultant to help them in their own work is illustrated by an example of a project concerned with a secondary school's discipline policy (Burden and Brown (1988). Continuing the Exeter tradition of incorporating such work into the training of EPs, Phillips (1990) gives an account of work undertaken with six trainees that concerned one school's present and possible future responses to the 20% or so of children identified by the Warnock Report as having special educational needs. Finally, Stratford (1990) gave examples of interventions carried out within infant, junior, secondary and special schools that were all aimed at improving school 'ethos'.

Current examples may be found that contrast a pragmatic approach to working with a primary school by means of data gathering, feedback to staff and support for interventions (Leadbetter & Tee 1990), with the combination of a mental health consultation approach and one deriving from the Milan school of family therapy for use with whole school or self-selecting groups of staff (Stringer et al 1992). Stoker (1992) has proposed a set of alternative models to help a service respond to the fact that once schools have construed a particular EP as being involved in work with individual pupils, then it becomes extremely difficult for that EP to offer a substitute consultative service. Labram (1992), while calling for the profession of educational psychology to develop in the direction of a greater emphasis on process consultation, acknowledged that the current organisation of the profession within LEAs led to the problem of casework and consultancy 'polluting' each other. Instead of this generic model in which one practitioner attempts to fulfil both roles, Stoker (1992) offered the alternatives of having either a specialist organisational psychologist within a team or a system of reciprocal work whereby pairs of EPs offer both roles but in a complimentary fashion to pairs of schools.

Empirical studies of consultation

Whereas the British literature on consultation to schools in respect of pupils displaying difficult behaviour tends to favour case study reports, there are a number of American studies that have undertaken empirical investigations of various aspects of the process and outcomes of consultation. Before summarising these studies, it is necessary to outline the nature of the three most prominent theoretical perspectives on consultation to schools (and other organisations).

Prominent theoretical perspectives

Conoley and Conoley (1990 delineate three major theoretical perspectives in consultation; Mental Health, Behavioural, and Process Consultation.

a) Mental health consultation, developed by Caplan (1970) is the longest standing approach and was born in mental health rather than educational settings. Caplan conceptualised caregivers' difficulties as growing from either a lack of skills, knowledge, self-esteem, or professional objectivity, with the latter seen as most important. He used the term 'theme interference' to describe the mechanism whereby a consultee's unconscious links with a particular case was capable of causing unusual ineffectiveness. The main purpose of mental health consultation is to reduce theme interference, to help consultees break loose from constricting thoughts or feelings about a particular child. Although these are intrapsychic events, the consultation proceeds through case discussion and problem solving, thus concentrating upon on the relationships between people rather than internal processes per se.

b) Behavioural consultation focuses on consultees only in an instrumental way. It is seen as a more 'straightforward' approach rather than one that attempts to diagnose subtle consultee

dynamics. An advantage of this approach is said to be that it provides more specific information about likely time scales involved and about how resistant to intervention specific problems may be. There can be 'entry problems' however because of the fact that behaviour modification has a bad name in many quarters.

c) Process consultation, often associated most prominently with Schein (1988), aims to make people more aware of events or processes in their environments and how these affect their work. It recognises that overt and covert events at work group level affect outcomes and attempts to improve the staff member's interpersonal skills rather than concern itself with the unconscious dynamics between them. The theoretical origins of process consultation lie in research on small groups, organisational effectiveness and social psychology and the ultimate goal of the approach is to facilitate ongoing organisational review.

The major characteristics of these three orientations have been summarised by Conoley and Conoley (1990) in tabular form:-

Model: Mental Health

Entry	Strategies	Targets	Evaluation
Difficult, ambiguous to administrators	Theme interference, build skills, knowledge, increase self awareness	Primarily consultees	Consultee satisfaction

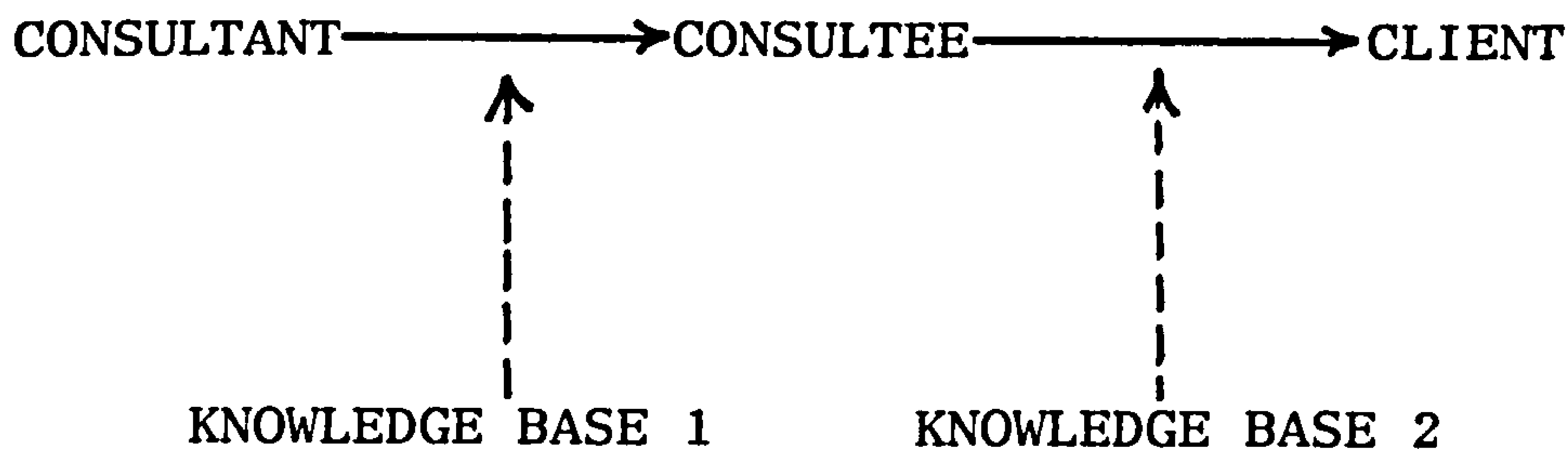
Model: Behavioural

Entry	Strategies	Targets	Evaluation
Clear processes and goals,	Entire range of social learning theory techniques	Primarily clients	Client change

Model: Process

Entry	Strategies	Targets	Evaluation
Increasingly easy due to recent developments in schools	Data collection, feedback, simulation, process analysis, administrator coaching	Interactions among consultees	Climate, morale, productivity

Another model of the various theoretical contributions to the practice of consultation in educational settings has been provided by West and Idol (1987). They have attempted to separate out the knowledge base that informs the interaction between the consultant and the consultee from that which provides the techniques and insights used by the consultee with the client. Examples of the latter, deriving from 'Knowledge Base 2' obviously include the various curriculum and social learning interventions. West and Idol have detected ten different domains that have been proposed within the consultation literature as governing the interactions between consultants and consultees (Knowledge Base 1):-



The various contributions to Knowledge Base 1

1. Mental Health (Caplan)
2. Behavioural
3. Organisational - Human Relations
4. Organisational - Thinking
5. Organisational - Advocacy
6. Process
7. Clinical
8. Program
9. Education/Training
10. Collaborative

Research paradigms and consultation

The Functionalist and Social Constructionist paradigms in social science research will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5. In order to discuss research in relation to consultation, however, they will be briefly introduced here.

The Functionalist paradigm treats organisations as objects that can be subjected to analysis using the concepts and methods of variable-analytic social science. In this view, organisational behaviour consists of objectively observable activities that can be classified, labelled, measured, and related to other phenomena.

Although much of the research into consultation is conducted within this paradigm, Fuchs and Fuchs (1992) have complained that much of what has actually been written about the nature of consultation has tended to concern the consultant/consultee interaction and they quote Gresham and Kendall (1987) who could find no studies in which researchers systematically assessed and monitored the implementation of consultation plans by consultees. Fuchs and Fuchs (1992) argued that this issue of treatment

integrity did not 'get its due' because it 'went against the grain' with consultants who mainly saw themselves as constructionists.

The Social Constructionist paradigm argues that when consultants intervene in an organisation or institutional system, they intervene not so much in the concrete phenomena of power, leadership, decision-making, and structure, but in a system of language constructs, that is, in a system of symbols used by organisation members to order and make sense of their experiences. Constructs generally taken by consultants as the target phenomena for intervention are embedded in the socially constructed realities of organisational life. Systems of meaning and interpretation, and, hence, the very frameworks for organisational action, are not imposed upon anyone, but are created and sustained in the joint activity of symbolic transaction (Daniels and Dewine 1991).

Intervention therefore depends on the knowledge and systems of meaning from which organisational members act rather than enforced ideologies or techniques imposed upon the client. Strategic change efforts must create definitions, meanings, and interpretations that can be shared widely by organisation members. Instead of delivering packaged training programmes the consultant collaborates with the client in developing a shared meaning of what kind of behaviours will help the organisation succeed in its mission and goals.

All the solutions generated are created and maintained with language codes and discourse between the consultant and the consultee. The *consultant and client interaction* itself therefore also becomes the model for interaction within the organisation, rather than the consultant providing a model for the consultee to imitate and a set of new skills to employ.

As a result of the growing popularity of constructionist perspectives in consultation, Fuchs and Fuchs (1992) have argued that studies have tended to take an adult focus, in West and Idol's

(1987) terms, looking far more at 'Knowledge Base 1' rather than focussing on such possible aspects of 'Knowledge Base 2' as 'classroom observation, curriculum-based measurement, applied behaviour analysis, cooperative learning strategies, materials modification, cognitive instruction, and effective teaching' (Fuchs and Fuchs 1992).

The earlier review of 'consultative practice' by British EPs shows a clear preference for interventions that are located far more within a constructionist paradigm. The literature from this field concentrates mainly upon interventions that are concerned with such matters as understanding '....how the explicit and implicit organisation of a school affects the perceptions and behaviour of its pupils in a way that leads them to be seen as problematical...'(Burden 1981b). Even when some studies appear to derive more from a functionalist perspective by being focused, for example, upon particular instructional techniques for use with children (eg Miller et al 1985), issues such as creating a mutually supportive culture among participating teachers are also usually considered central to the endeavour.

Despite the influence of the social constructionist paradigm upon the practice of many consultants in the USA (and Britain), the bulk of the methodologically rigorous research has been carried out within the functionalist paradigm. Fuchs et al (1992) reviewed 119 articles/chapters and 59 dissertation abstracts published over a 29 year period on consultation effectiveness. As a result of the methods used to track down these studies, the authors felt confident that major pertinent references had not been neglected. The main conclusions from this review were that

- two thirds of the investigations used group designs as opposed to single case designs (only 'a small handful' of group designs, however, were experimental in nature)

- behavioural consultation was four times more likely to be investigated than mental health models (50% vs 13%). Organisation development (process) models were reported in only 8%, mixed approaches in 7% with the rest being categorised as 'other'.

- in nearly two thirds of the studies, teacher or pupil behaviour was used alone or in combination with another criterion to judge effectiveness, whereas pupil achievement was a criterion in only one quarter of the studies

- 65% of studies took place in kindergarten to 8th grade classes, only 8% in grades 9 to 12, 8% were in special educational settings and the remaining 20% were mixed.

As a result of these findings Fuchs et al (1991) argued that, to increase knowledge about consultation effectiveness.....'researchers must generate new knowledge about which type of situation calls for what type of consultation, and how consultation may be made more effective, efficient, and attractive to teachers'

The communication process

Bergan and his colleagues (see Safran 1991) have conducted extensive research into behavioural consultation in schools. They have looked in particular at the four sequenced steps from applied behavioural analysis with their three associated interviews:-

1 Problem identification. The problem (target) behaviour(s) are specified through the Problem Identification Interview (PII)

2 Problem analysis. The problem is validated and an intervention plan is developed through the Problem Analysis Interview (PAI)

3 Intervention. The consultee implements the plan.

4 Problem evaluation. Data is analysed to determine whether the desired level of performance has been met through the Problem Evaluation Interview (PEI).

Safran (1991) has reviewed Bergan's work and drawn out the following as the most significant findings:-

- The most important stage of the problem solving process is problem identification. From a study of 11 psychologists engaged in 806 consultations over individually referred pupils, it was demonstrated that if problem identification occurred, then the likelihood of the intervention being successful increased dramatically (Bergan and Tombari 1976). This finding is, according to Safran (1991) frequently cited as the basis for placing primacy on the PII over subsequent interviews (PAI and PEI) in the behavioural consultation process. (It is also probable that this is being recognised, perhaps implicitly, by many of the respondents in Section 1 of this study, who report spending up to a maximum of 90 minutes on negotiating a description of problem behaviour in behavioural terms).

- From an analysis of the transcripts of 50 Problem Analysis Interviews it was found that elicitative rather than information giving verbalisations on the part of consultants strongly influenced consultees identifying resources for a strategy, but not the constraints (Bergan and Neuman 1980). By 'elicitative' in this context was meant consultant questions aimed at encouraging the consultees to specify what procedures were to be used to implement plans.

- Sixty teachers were given either behavioural information on a child ('elicitors' to verbalise the necessary antecedent and consequent conditions to instruct a pupil), or this plus task analysis, or a medical model condition (information on possible but remote enviromental causes and IQ scores) (Bergan et al 1979). When subsequently observed during a simulated maths lesson those

who had received the behavioural information plus task analysis, followed by the behavioural condition alone, resulted in the most successful teaching. It was also concluded that the medical model information might be detrimental to learning.

The construct validity of the stages of consultation

Tindal et al (1992) have argued that an assumption is often made in the consultation literature that the various stages, especially in behavioural consultation, are discrete events which occur in the prescribed order. In order to examine the construct validity of stages and activities in the consultation process, they trained consultants to use a self monitoring system and then analysed 10 individual cases in 2 schools. Tindal et al found the cases 'all to be more different than similar, in the stages they reflected or did not reflect, and in the activities they required'. Problem identification activities appeared sporadically throughout each case: programme planning and development was simply not confined to the middle phases of the process; and evaluation activities often occured concurrent with data collection (ie collecting and using data to ascertain outcomes could not be divided).

Dyadic agreement in consultation and its relationship to outcome

Another new perspective on the conceptualisation of, and hence a possibly profitable directions for consultation research has been provided by Erchul et al (1992). They argued that much of the research into the consultation process, even into the interaction, was obtained from studying one or the other party, the consultant or consultee, rather than both. Erchul et al studied 61 consultant/consultee dyads, using a methodology that examined the extent of agreement and disagreement. Most dyads met on 3 to 6 separate occasions (slightly more frequently than reported by the sample of EPs in Section 1 of this study - see Figure 2) and, although the rate of progress through the process varied for each dyad, all passed through recognised stages of collaborative problem

solving. This study showed that the more consultants and consultees agreed upon:

a) their respective roles

b) the content of the consultation processes (eg the extent of teamwork, seeking of clarification, control of the direction of the consultation, consultee resistance to this and objection to specific recommendations), and

c) the goals for consultation

then the more positive are consultee's evaluations of:

x) consultation outcomes, and

y) consultant's effectiveness

Implications for the present study

These empirical investigations represent a far more rigorous examination of the processes and outcomes of consultation to schools than are to be found in the British literature. Despite this, however, a number of findings suggest that crucial questions highly relevant to the present study remain unanswered. In particular, the doubt cast by Tindal et al (1992) on the construct validity of the stages and activities of the consultation process suggests that the logically tidy set of stages presented and investigated by Bergan and colleagues does not fully represent its complexity. Although Bergan's stages were present in the

consultations, they were far more sporadic and unpredictable than would be implied by a linear model. This suggests that either practitioners pay casual regard to Bergan's model or that the demands of the consultations themselves generate the variability in the different consultations. Given that Bergan's stages are discernible, that is they are not being completely neglected by unsystematic consultants, it seems more probable that features of the consultations themselves are likely to be responsible for this additional complexity.

These findings suggest that a need still remains for the nature of the consultation process to be more fully explored and mapped. Although structures such as Bergan's model help initially in this, they may also serve the function of advancing study to the point where their simplicity and plausibility are no longer sufficient to account for the levels of complexity they have helped to uncover.

Further study of the consultation process is likely to be enhanced by more open methods of investigation that seek to describe the range of variability within the phenomenon under study rather than attempt to fit the complexity of practice into a predetermined structure. If consultants to schools in both Britain and the USA are mainly operating, either explicitly or implicitly, from a constructionist perspective it makes sense to incorporate both the conceptual and methodological procedures of this paradigm into the next phase of this study.

Behavioural approaches can be seen as an exemplar of the functionalist approach, with conceptual tools such as target behaviours, frequencies and reinforcers, locating deviance very much within the external world of concrete phenomena. Constructionist perspectives, by contrast, see deviance as being located within the systems of meaning employed by significant actors surrounding the phenomena designated as deviant. Before turning to a more detailed discussion of methodological issues, it is

necessary, therefore, to consider briefly the concept of deviance within schools from this alternative perspective.

The social construction of deviance in schools

The social constructionist approach to the issue of deviance in schools (and elsewhere) views this deviance as an interactional phenomenon and has been summed up by Hargreaves et al (1975) as possessing two over-riding characteristics:

> 'First, deviance is seen as a question of social definition. Deviance does not arise when a person commits certain kinds of act. Rather, deviance arises when some other person(s) defines that act as deviant. Second, deviance is seen as a relative phenomenon. If a deviant act is an act that breaks some rule, then since rules vary between different cultures, subcultures and groups, acts which are deviant (ie break rules) in one culture, subculture or group may not be deviant in another culture, subculture or group' (P.3)

Straight away, the magnitude of the difference between this paradigm and that implicit in many discussions of behavioural approaches becomes apparent. The issues of interest to the social constructionist are the processes whereby various social groups create and communicate rules and norms and make and communicate decisions about which acts are to be construed as deviations from these.

In general, behavioural approaches assume that the definition of deviant acts, - in the context of this study, behaviour that is disruptive to the 'normal' functioning of classrooms and schools, - is not particularly problematic and has already been at least partly achieved. It is because the EP appears to Quicke (1982) to accept this 'negative labelling' as her or his 'point of entry' when adopting a behavioural approach, that he sees the approach as restricting the EP in terms of investigating the 'problem' in its 'interactional setting'.

Academic studies within the fields of social psychology and sociology have variously placed the focus of explanation for the factors that influence the social construction of rules and their violations. (These broader theoretical perspectives are considered in more detail in Chapter 5 in terms of their influence upon methodological issues in investigations within the social sciences). However, two opposing perspectives - Marxist sociological and labelling theory - will be presented here briefly in order to illustrate the range of perspectives within the constructionist paradigm and to provide an introduction to later discussions.

Sharp and Green (1975), for instance, carried out an ethnomethodological study in a 'progressive' primary school and, from their observations, built a theory of teacher behaviour which acknowledged that this was in part constrained and directed by the nature of a wider, stratified society. They argued that, despite the teachers' use of a child-centered vocabulary as an 'accounting system', much of the practice of the teachers they observed could be seen as deriving from the institutionalisation of a social consciousness that included the notion that there is a structured differentiation between people in terms of such constructs as intelligence and needs. They also developed their Marxist critique of how a complex, industrial society penetrates into the classroom, by examining how teachers are involved in making decisions about how to distribute scarce resources (such as their time) among a large number of children.

Sharp and Green argued that the teachers they studied did not usually construe their actions in these terms but that such an account could interpret their observed behaviour more consistently than their child-centred vocabulary which was shown to serve more of a rhetorical function on many occasions. The relevance of Sharp and Green's study to this particular discussion is that it suggests an origin for rules and their construction. This macro-sociological explanation identifies the stratified levels of control over resource availability within a capitalist society as

being the context which determines, albeit often unconsciously, the formation of social rules and the creation of definitions of deviance within schools and classrooms.

They thus see more of a sense of social determinism within the construction of definitions of norms and their subsequent violation. At a more social psychological level, Hargreaves (1975) has drawn together and developed an alternative account that is far more interactionist in character. He points to interpersonal processes, such as implicit personality theories and the attribution of dispositional properties, as the mechanisms whereby deviant acts are labelled as such and deviant identities are created and maintained in institutions such as schools.

These particular processes are examined in more detail in later chapters. At this stage it is sufficient to note that some commentators have observed that the practice of EPs and the study of that practice could be far more usefully enhanced by considerations of the process of the labelling of deviants and deviancy than has often been the case. For example, in 1978, Hargreaves expounded upon what he saw as the 'proper study of educational psychology'. After criticising a model of EP practice which some (Burden 1979) saw as untypical and outmoded, he went on to assert that 'the proper study of educational psychology is education, and that means at the heart of the enterprise is a thorough understanding of what goes on in schools and classrooms'. Quicke (1982) has extended this argument and provided a more detailed prescription: '....concepts like self, identity, labelling, culture, rules, typifications, stigma, negotiation and power all necessitate an approach to practice which must be based on an analysis of the 'fine grain' of social processes......(the EP) cannot ignore conflicts of perspective, the hidden curriculum, pupil culture or individual consciousness because these are at the very heart of an interactionist analysis' (p.129).

The behavioural approach obviously derives from a theoretical paradigm in which such concepts have little or no place. However, it has already been show in Section I that some overlaps with other theoretical frameworks, notably ecological and cognitive psychology, have been developing.

What better avenue of study could there be for beginning to explore a link, at a theoretical level, between the very disparate fields of the interactionist view of deviance with behavioural approaches than through the investigation of instances where a pupil originally labelled as deviant ceases to be so following an intervention that is derived from within the behavioural repertoire?

This is part of the rationale for Section II of this study but before turning directly to this, it is necessary to provide a justification for the adopted methodology and to locate this within a wider discussion of the epistemological traditions that have informed more general developments within the social sciences

CHAPTER 5

Methodological considerations

Introduction

The previous chapter has indicated that the study of processes such as consultation and concepts such as difficult pupil behaviour or deviance may be conducted within highly different paradigms or theoretical frameworks. Reference has already been made to social constructionism and functionalism in this regard and the present chapter sets out in more detail the historical roots of these perspectives within differing philosophies of knowledge. In addition, the justification and details of a particular method of inquiry appropriate for the particular subject area of investigation are presented.

The Intellectual Traditions of Realism and Idealism

Realism, as espoused in the thinking of Locke, Hume, and the logical empiricists of the twentieth century, has traced the source of knowledge (as mental representation) to events in the real world. It is an exogenic perspective, in that 'knowledge copies the contours of the world'(Gergen 1985). Realists adopt empirical approaches and see science as giving a true and literal account of the world. Within this account, facts may be verified or falsified, the thrust of the natural sciences today thus deriving from the Realist tradition.

The major alternative philosophical approach is that of the Idealists, or the anti-Realists, who see knowledge as dependent on processes endemic to the organism. This approach contends that there is no real account of the external world but only one that depends on processes endemic to the organism. 'Humans harbour inherent tendencies, it is said, to think, categorise or process information, and it is these tendencies (rather than features of the world itself) that are of paramount importance in fashioning knowledge' (Gergen 1985). There is a range of positions within Idealism 'from the belief that social and human reality are created

(ontological idealism) to the milder conviction that this reality is shaped by our minds (conceptual idealism)' (Smith 1983). This endogenic perspective was developed by philosophers such as Spinoza, Kant and Nietzsche as a theory of knowledge, an epistemology, and lies at the root of developments in the social sciences such as social phenomenology.

The nature of theory

One of the major purposes of all academic study, including, but also ranging well beyond scientific endeavour, is to develop theory. A theory may be said to strive to possess the following qualities;-

- to symbolise the world,
- to map general principles onto logical rules,
- to organise and describe constructs

and, to permit the prediction (explanation) of data

Hypotheses are small scale representations of theory that are amenable to empirical test. However, Popper (1963) has criticised the view that theory and knowledge will flow purely and simply as a result of the patient gathering of facts, what he termed the 'bucket theory of science', and has proposed the principle of falsification, whereby to be considered scientific, conjectures must be stated in such a way that they can, if incorrect, be falsified by observation.

Other qualities of a good theory include;-

- correspondence to reality or what is taken for reality
- parsimony, they should possess a sense of simplicity and togetherness
- precision
- ability to be testable

In the context of sociology, Turner (1992) has cited Burgess as having detected 17 uses of the term 'theory'. Basically these can be ranged along a continuum in terms of the type of questions they attempt to answer, viz;

Which certain events tend to occur together, when all other things are equal?	<------------->	What makes a set of experiences meaningful to members of a social group?

Although all theories should describe the phenomena to which they relate, not all of them may be developed to the extent that they are able to predict and explain. Similarly, it is also possible for there to be a theory that is precise but untestable. Yet again, a theory might be able to predict but provide only an impoverished view of the relationship between constructs.

Smith (1983) states, as a fairly extreme position, that the intention of a theory deriving from a Realist perspective, is to search for laws and one from an Idealist stance, to seek to understand. Or, to put it in question form, should the purpose of the social sciences be to apply a positivist approach to social phenomena that is characterised by a concern with objectivity, operational definitions, replicability, and causality? Or, should the purpose be to get as close as possible to the subjects of the research using a more flexible and less predetermined approach, in order to be able to see the world as fully as possible from the subject's perspective.

The scientific method

Science seeks to establish general laws through a process of systematic observation in order to understand the factors responsible for stable relationships between events, empirical enquiry thus being the essential characteristic of the scientific method.

There are three perspectives in empirical enquiry: descriptive research, relational research and experimental research. The term descriptive research refers to an approach that tends to have as its goal the careful mapping out of a situation or set of events in order to describe what is happening behaviourally (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Relational research focuses on at least two sets of variables at once, making two sets of observations, in an attempt to discover whether the variables are related to each other in some way. This type of research is able to determine whether two variables are significantly related to each other, the form of the relationship (linear or nonlinear, positive or negative) and the strength of the relationship, or 'effect size'. The third type of enquiry, experimental research, is able to move beyond establishing correlation and demonstrate causation. This is achieved by manipulating the conditions thought to be responsible for the effect and recording the outcome.

Realist influences on the development of psychology and sociology

True experiments in psychology (or in any of the social sciences) rely on the subjects in the experiment being randomly allocated to experimental and control groups. It is not, however, always possible to allocate subjects at random in this way, for instance it would be unethical to withhold an intervention from someone deemed to be very much in need of it. In such cases, it may be possible to use techniques, such as interrupted time series designs or cohort designs, known generally as quasi-experimental designs, in order to explore causality. In other circumstances, especially where there are very few subjects, the ability to demonstrate causality is severely strained, but may be attempted using such techniques as random sampling, if every member of the population has an equal chance of being in the sample (for example, by using random number tables), or autocorrelation, if it is possible to make a very high number of observations.

Experimental approaches, and their extensions into quasi-experiments and 'Small N' designs, may thus be seen as powerful methodologies especially in many of the traditional areas subsumed within the study of psychology. In those situations where complex contextual factors may be inter-related, such as in the study of behaviour within institutions, the experimental approach may not prove such a useful methodology, although a continuing ingenuity in the development of design and analysis would suggest that new generations of techniques may still be expected from these sources.

Within sociology Comte is generally seen as the 19th century's most forceful proponent of the application of the Realist perspective (Smith 1983), with his positivist philosophy reflected clearly in his call for a 'science of society'. Sharp & Green (1975) have criticised this approach within sociology for having engaged in 'a series of 'fact finding' and 'head counting' missions, producing a great deal of statistical information.... but offering little by way of explicit or conceptual breakthroughs for interpreting such data'. Particularly within sociology, it could be argued, the 'bucket theory of science' had failed to lead to the generation of theory.

Idealist influences on the development of psychology and sociology

In the physical sciences entities such as velocity are taken to be fixed, so that a rock falls today at the same speed it fell 10,000 years and will fall 10.000 years hence. Social phenomena, however, do not share this temporal stability nor are they fixed across cultures. Gergen (1985) cites studies that have demonstrated how categories such as 'the child', 'romantic love', mother's love' and 'the self' have undergone significant changes over time and how conceptions of psychological processes such as 'emotion', 'identity', 'knowledge' and 'the self' differ markedly from one culture to another. He argues therefore for a social constructionist approach within psychology, inviting enquiry 'into the historical and cultural bases of various forms of world construction'.

Clearly, the Realist tradition and the scientific method in particular, have made a major contribution to the development of the discipline of psychology, with George Miller subtitling his famous book on the discipline, 'the science of mental life'. Although 'mentalistic' approaches in psychology were replaced by experimental methods early within the discipline's lifespan, a social constructionist perspective can be seen as pertinent even in relation to the psychological experiment itself. Studies of the social psychology of the experiment (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991), for example, have highlighted such artifacts as the Hawthorne effect, demand characteristics and the 'good subject' effect, thus demonstrating that the experiment is a form of social reality that is negotiated and constructed between the experimenter and subject.

Therefore, the phenomenological argument runs, empiricist methodologies are inappropriate for the social sciences because the constructs within this field of study are of a fundamentally different order to those within the physical world. Social psychology, in particular, should not be expected to demonstrate stable relationships between social events in the same way as they may be determined by the hard sciences in the physical world. For example, attempts to replicate Ashe's (1934) work on social conformity in Sheffield in the 1970s were unsuccessful, the cultural value placed upon an entity such as social conformity presumably having changed over time and possibly across cultures.

A social constructionist stance is much less acceptable within the discipline of psychology than in sociology at present, Gergen (1985) warns, but she suggests that, if the explanatory locus within the subject could shift from 'the interior region of the mind to the processes and structure of human interaction' then 'the contemporary views of the profession on matters of cognition, motivation, perception, information processing and the like (would) become candidates for historical and cross-cultural comparison'.

Although such a change in the more experimental and cognitive domains may be hard to envisage at present, more strenuous attempts have been made to alter the 'conceptual basis' of social psychology and with some effect. The Realist and Idealist traditions have been at the root of a long running disagreement about the paradigm that should constitute the most legitimate study of social psychology. The scientific tradition, in the words of Harre (1993), has sought to establish laws through the 'experimental investigation of individual automated 'behaviour' whereas, the newer approach advanced by Harre & Secord (1973), the anthropomorphic approach, demanded that people were seen to have 'intentions, plans, and projects and the skills to carry out these projects jointly with others, according to the local conventions of propriety' (Harre 1993).

Within the discipline of sociology, the Idealist tradition has had a much stronger influence with Mead, Weber and Shutz being seen as central to this development. Weber, who is often seen as one of the intellectual forerunners of the social phenomenology movement (Sharp and Green, 1975), asserted that the focus of a social science was the 'meaning the participants assigned to social action' (Smith 1983). King (1978) has described social phenomenology as emphasising 'the interpretation of the assumptions and rules which make everyday life possible', and as eschewing 'explanations of social situations which involve external elements'. In contrast to earlier sociological endeavours, he continues, 'social phenomenology stresses the way these members create society by their own actions'. Berger and Luckman (1967) presented what is considered a seminal synthesis of the way in which reality is socially defined and continually co-constructed.

Realist and Idealist influences in educational research

Psychology and sociology have been treated as two of the root disciplines in the study of education so it is not surprising that the paradigm shifts in these two subjects are also reflected within

educational research. In fact, there are no clear lines of distinction between these discipline boundaries and there are grounds for seeing educational research as comprising of subcategories of various forms of enquiry in the social sciences rather than as a distinct discipline in itself.

Positive empiricist approaches were reflected in the systematic observation style of research in classrooms which, by the 1960s, had become the dominant method of research on classrooms in Britain (Hammersley 1986). The most widely used of these has been the Flanders Interaction Analysis Categories (Flanders 1970), a coding system which requires the checking off of activities taking place during, or at set times.

Approaches deriving from Idealist roots have also developed in educational research as a reaction against the tendency of positivist methods to fail to acknowledge or investigate the meanings that much classroom behaviour holds for teachers and pupils. Systematic observation techniques in particular were also criticised for neglecting the patterning of behaviour as a result of employing procedures such as time sampling and fixed observation categories, and for failing to attempt to understand the context of the behaviour that was observed and recorded (Hammersley 1986). The most prominent of Idealist approaches is probably that of ethnomethodology. This was originally proposed by Garfinkel who urged students of the social world to study how people make sense of their everyday world, in particular the mechanisms by which they achieve and sustain interaction in a social encounter - the assumptions they make, the conventions they utilise, and the practices they adopt (Cohen and Manion 1980).

The contemporary dominant paradigms in the social sciences?

In his study of the development of scientific thinking, Kuhn (1970) demonstrated the existence of paradigm shifts, or 'scientific revolutions', - the phenomenon whereby the conceptual base for

science shifts over time. Within the social sciences in general it might be argued that there is a graded sequence in the degree to which a paradigm shift from an empiricist to a social constructionist approach has taken place, with experimental psychology being the least affected, followed by social psychology, sociology in general and the sociology of education representing the most advanced form of this transition. It is possible to see these developments as occurring as a result of epistemological considerations, - concerns about what constitutes legitimate knowledge and methods of knowing in relation to social phenomena, - but it can also be seen that the research methods and techniques themselves that have been used within these developments have had an iterative effect in terms of defining and promoting the legitimacy of certain areas of study.

Qualitative and quantitative research methods

The contrasting epistemological bases discussed above are seen as having led not only to differing philosophical starting points for the study of social phenomena, but also to have spawned different research methods and techniques.

For example, within sociology, the social survey is often taken to represent the major technical contribution from the positivist perspective and the method of participant observation that of the constructionist school. This in turn has led to a debate about the relative merits of qualitative and quantitative methods in general. This has been characterised as a contrast between the acquisition of data that is either 'hard' or 'real and deep'. Zelditch (1978) has pointedly demonstrated the unhelpful and diversionary nature of this apparent dichotomy:- '....if you prefer 'hard' data you are for quantification and if you prefer 'real deep' data you are for qualitative participant observation. What to do if you prefer data that are real, deep *and* hard is not immediately apparent'.

Rosenthal & Rosnow (1989) have advocated the need for a methodological pluralism, arguing that a variety of paradigms are required in order to provide converging evidence on a phenomenon. They have also recommend guarding against an 'empirical snobbishness'. Trow (1957) recommended that decisions about methodology should follow from the subject matter of the study rather than predetermine its form and course. But as Bryman (1984) argues 'this is a highly seductive solution in that it would appear that whoever argues against it is likely to be implying the absolute superiority of one particular technique, a position that requires a good deal of confidence in one's choice'.

Bryman argues that much of this debate suffers from a tendency for writers to oscillate when discussing the qualitative/quantitative issue between considerations of epistemology and those of technique or method. In other words, for some theoreticians developing and establishing the epistemological stance, usually the constructionist position, is the prime purpose for carrying out the research, or is at least as important as the actual 'findings'. For others, the aim is to discover the relationship between social phenomena, and attention is then directed, as suggested by Trow, towards the most appropriate method or technique for the particular purpose.

There are various ways in which the contributions of qualitative and quantitative approaches are conceptualised. Whereas a positivist orientation will seek to establish relatively permanent links between distinct entities, a constructionist approach will claim to be more sensitive to the complexities of social phenomena and will often see quantitative approaches as tending to ride roughshod over finer levels of interpretation.

Another more conciliatory view sees one approach as being preparatory for the other. This is usually expressed in the form of a qualitative approach, with its more exploratory nature, being well suited to unearthing leads and hunches that can then be more

methodically and rigorously followed up via a subsequent experimental study. The argument can also be made, although is less often done so, for the reverse order being taken, whereby, for example, findings deriving from a survey are followed up by means of a more detailed interview. The problem with the qualitative-quantitative sequence, argues Brymer, is that it places qualitative approaches on 'a lower rung of the epistemological ladder' serving only to provide 'fodder for quantitative researchers'.

It is Brymer's contention that, at the technical level, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches may be a rather artificial one as researchers from one particular school tend to incorporate at least some aspects of the other into their research work. However, at the epistemological level, these approaches represent diverging standpoints rooted in opposing intellectual traditions with a long history of proving resistant to reconciliation.

Just as it is can be helpful to contextualise the methodology debate within the older epistemological divide, it can also help to progress the discussion by examining the more specific reasons why research is conducted, in particular, the relationship between research and theory. Turner (1992 has related the qualitative-quantitative issue to the nature of theory, characterising quantitative approaches as concerned with testing hypotheses and qualitative methods as often being involved in the building of theory. These parallel very closely the difference between deductive and inductive reasoning; in the former theory guides observation whilst in the latter observations lead to theory.

A number of researchers have guarded against what they see as the danger that qualitative approaches could be quoted as legitimisation for poor quality educational research. For example, Stainback and Stainback (1984), referring to their epistemological base warned against '....the infusion of near-mystical introspection that has occurred in the past under the guise of the phenomenological philosophy on which qualitative research

methodology is based.' Rist (1980) made the same point in respect of researchers whose methods run counter to the aim of increasing scholarship through the open scrutiny of methods and results. He said that there were those who '....when such work is criticised, ... turn to terminology for defence: and in the end say that .... it is inappropriate for an outsider to challenge what was a phenomenological and very personal experience. The logic of the method becomes inverted. Rather than make the uncommon comprehendible, the defence becomes one of privatizing what ought to have been open to scrutiny.'

Research within open and closed systems

Manicas and Secord (1983) have criticised the social sciences and, psychology in particular, not for attaching themselves to science per se, but for drawing upon a philosophy of science that is in itself outmoded and mistaken. From a consideration of the newer realist view of science (not to be confused with the epistemology of realism) they apply to psychology the principle of the world and science being stratified and nonreductive. They take the example of salt, sodium chloride, and argue that this possess the property of being soluble in water whereas neither of its elemental constituents is. The two elements themselves, of course, are composites of atomic particles, which again are composed of sub-atomic entities. Properties of matter are nonreductive in the sense that solubility is only applicable to sodium chloride and not to other stratifications. Continuing to use the example of common salt, the property of solubility is only made manifest in the presence of water.

In this view of science the salt and water system is a closed system and is tightly defined in terms of the conditions under which the causal property of salt to dissolve will be revealed and thus predictable. Social sciences, on the other hand, operate in an open system and therefore one cannot talk about cause as such but rather must work within a probabilistic framework. In an open

system, Manicas and Secord argue, to be complete, explanations would need to range across a range of theories from the physiological to the socioeconomic. Similarly, Scarr (1985) has argued that hierarchical models of nested theories are required to understand fully behavioural phenomena - 'Different levels of analysis do not compete. Each lower level is a constituent of the next higher, and in no sense can one account for the other. Yet they are all interrelated with implications for the others'. She goes on to argue that theoretical development is likely to be enhanced through research that deliberately crosses layers of stratification - 'pitting proximal and distal variables against each other in competing models can enrich our theoretical lives.'

Manicas and Secord (1983) conclude that the realist theory 'provides a means of distinguishing the task of the scientist and the task of the clinician or technician. The former practices science by creating at least partially closed systems, the latter uses the discoveries of science, but in order to bring about changes in the everyday world, also employs a great deal of knowledge that extends beyond science. This principle defines their respective roles more clearly, and certainly has no unfavourable connotations for either side.'

This present study is specifically concerned with the application in the open system of the school consultation a set of procedures originally devised within the relatively closed system of the experimental laboratory. To do so it must both adopt a methodology appropriate to open systems and it must suggest the appropriate breadth of the nested hierarchy of theories within which it will seek to build an explanation.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a methodology developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) which focuses upon theory generation, rather than theory verification. It was developed out of a dissatisfaction with existing sociological theories and research which tended to generate large scale theories that yielded little in the way of testable propositions. Glaser and Strauss believed that it would be more useful to develop middle range or substantive theories that explained a specific area of empirical enquiry. In their early writings, for example, they directed their attentions towards research that generated theories about various medical settings such as the nature and organisation of work on a particular hospital ward (Strauss 1987).

The term 'grounded theory' has been criticised as misleading and Turner (1991) has suggested as an alternative the term 'developing local theory'. Generating substantive theory, if the analysis is carried out thoroughly, Turner argues, is likely to result in local variations of larger sociological or psychological theories rather than provide classic examples of these. It is Glasser and Strauss' contention that these larger theories often do not offer a deep understanding of a range of phenomena but rather deny the complexity in data by forcing the data to fit within already established patterns of constructs. They believe that local theory should be grounded in the complexity of the data and that from local theories will emerge more all embracing systems of understanding.

So, in the present study, the main intention is not to trace behaviourism as a 'model of man' through into a theory to explain and predict the relationship between the behaviour of teachers and pupils, and then on into an examination of crucial aspects of behavioural interventions in terms of their acceptability to teachers and their efficacy in terms of improving pupil behaviour. Instead,

the major portion of the study will concentrate on the complexity of the interactions between EPs, teachers and pupils when they are drawn together in circumstances where the pupil's behaviour is perceived as deviating severely from the norms of the school. In particular, the study will concentrate on instances of positive outcomes because this is seen to be of the most interest from a practitioner's point of view and because it represents an interesting phenomena in itself when pessimistic and despondent public pronouncements so readily attach to the prospects of successful work in this area.

By taking this approach, the intention is to build local theory pertaining to situations where teachers and EPs work successfully together using an approach seen by the EP as deriving from behavioural psychology. The aim is that this local theory will be seen as a variation upon a larger scale psychological theory.

The steps of a grounded theory approach

A quality grounded theory is one in which the researcher has been able to discover a core variable (Glaser 1978). The process of analysis, which combines constant reference to the data with rigorous analytical thinking, will, it is claimed, eventually yield such a variable. Glaser defines the core variable as having three essential characteristics: it recurs frequently in the data,; it links the data together; and it explains much of the variation in the data. Basic Social Psychological Processes (BSPs) are a type of core variable that illustrate social processes as they are repeated over time and their detection and explication is an ultimate goal in the writing of grounded theory.

Turner (1991) has characterised the process of carrying out a grounded theory approach as moving through three stages;

Order 1 (information in the form of field notes, interview transcripts etc.)

"Chaos" (deriving from chopping up field notes or transcripts and then rearranging these, with the danger of becoming adrift in so much data)

Order 2 (data recombined and re-labelled)

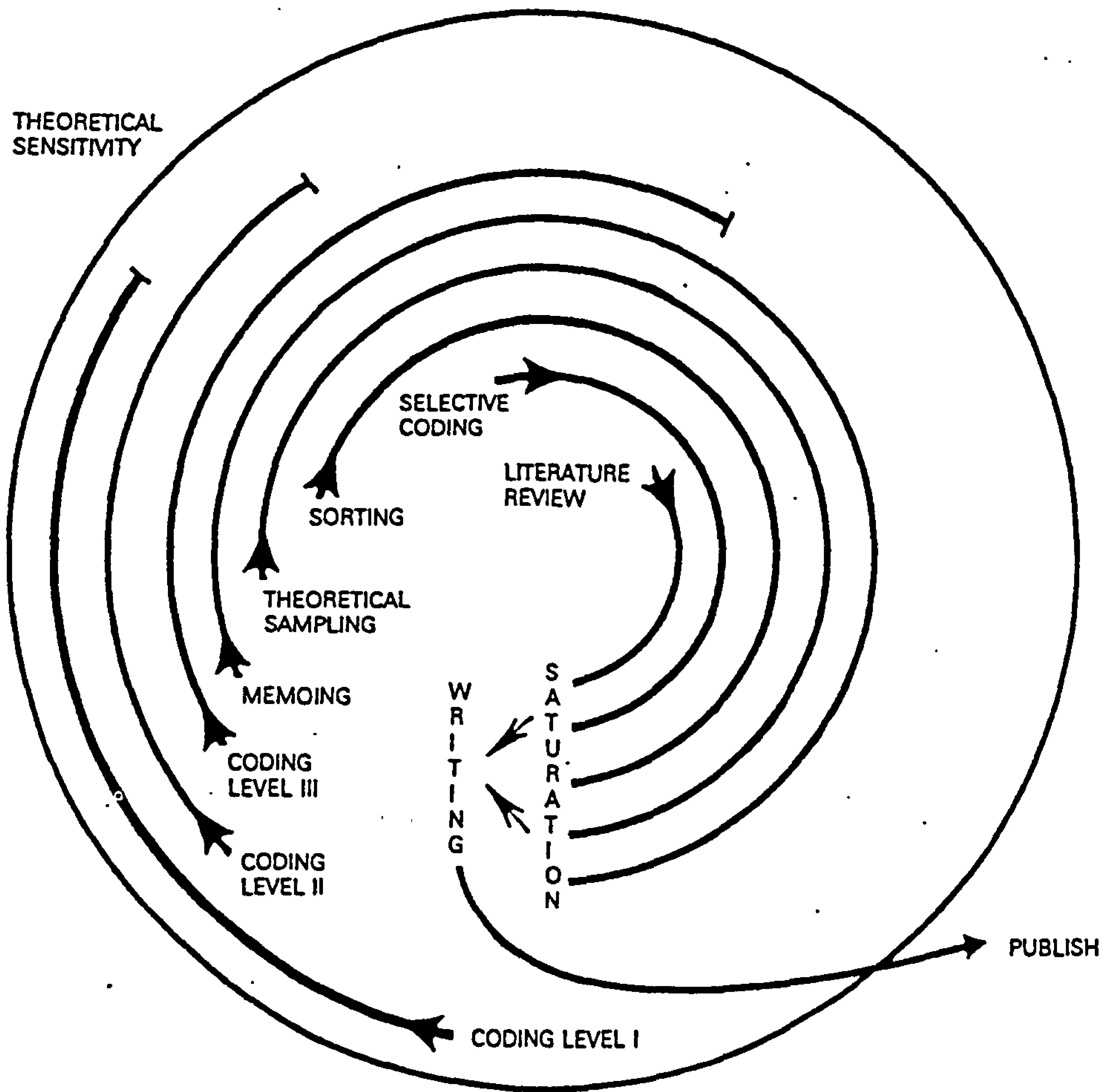
A visual analogue showing the approach at the next level of complexity has been devised by Hutchinson (1988) and illustates well the cumulative rather than sequential nature of the process (see page 145).

a) Open coding (coding level I)

The first stage in the process of moving from Order 1 to 'Chaos' is that of open coding, defined by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as 'breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising, and categorising data.' He warns that theory will not emerge by chance, quoting Pasteur's famous statement that '...chance only favours the prepared mind', and points to the methodological rigour necessary to achieve this state of preparedness: 'In order for the emerging theory to be grounded, as well as valid and reliable, the procedures (for coding) must be followed just as carefully as those that govern good quantitative studies.'

Open coding is achieved by what is known as 'the constant comparative method'. This involves a line by line, or even word by word analysis of the data during which the researcher gives each discrete incident, idea or event a name, aiming for the name, -the code, -to be at a higher conceptual level than the word or words in the text. Proceeding through the text the researcher generates new codes and finds other examples of already existing codes. Strauss (1988) has detailed the methods whereby codes can be

Figure 5 A visual analogue of the grounded theory process (from Hutchinson 1988)



developed in terms of their properties and dimensions by asking questions about their frequency, extent, intensity and duration.

Turner (1991) sees this stage as akin to botanising in which the first stage is the naming of plants, with the counting stage only proceeding once naming has taken place. (An example of the open coding procedure is shown in the transcript from the first interview in Appendix 2). However, he also suggests that although naming makes it easier for the researcher to identify again, remember and think about the particular item, it is frequently the case that after naming an item the researcher can come to see this code as obvious and not very important.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) postulate three sources for the names of codes;- the researcher's own conceptual framework, the technical literature, and the words and phrases of the informants themselves. By asking questions of the data such as 'What is this and what phenomena does it relate to?' - codes can be linked to each other or developed to a higher level of abstraction. Names can also be borrowed from the technical literature but in such circumstances it is essential that they are used unambiguously and with commonly held meanings. *In vivo codes* can also derive from the vocabulary of the informants themselves, especially where a shared vernacular has created a particularly 'catchy' and apposite term. Turner (1990) calls this interaction between conceptualising and fracturing the data an abductive process whereby each develops the sensitivity and depth of the other.

This open coding procedure and the constant comparative method have been described by Glaser and Strauss as the sine qua non of grounded theory methodology and may thus be contrasted with other qualitative methods within which the coding procedure is claimed to be more predetermined, or at least is seen as a 'grid' constructed partly through interaction with the data but also partly from the researcher's original 'set of ideas, prejudices, and mini-theories' (Fleet and Cambourne 1989).

b) Theoretical sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity is the name given by Glasser and Strauss to a personal quality of the researcher in terms of his or her awareness of the subtleties of meaning of data. One can come to the research situation with varying degrees of sensitivity depending upon previous reading and experience with, or relevant to an area. It may also be developed further during the period of research. Strauss and Corbin (1990) define it as

> '...the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't. All this is done in conceptual terms rather than concrete terms. It is theoretical sensitivity that allows one to develop a theory that is grounded, conceptually dense, and well integrated - and to do this more quickly than if the sensitivity were lacking.'

Theoretical sensitivity is seen to derive from similar sources to open coding; the literature, professional experience, personal experience, and the analytic process of interacting with the data. In the latter instance, Strauss and Corbin suggest this comes '... from collecting and asking questions about the data, making comparisons, thinking about what you see, making hypotheses, developing small theoretical frameworks (miniframeworks) about concepts and their relationships. In turn, the researcher uses these to look again at the data' - Turner's abductive process again.

A number of strategies for developing theoretical sensitivity are suggested. Glaser (1978) pointed to wide reading in the literature of one's field and related disciplines, not so much for specific ideas or for a scholarly knowledge, but for author's perspectives and ways of looking at social phenomena. More specifically, Strauss and Corbin (1990 list a number of techniques for questioning the data and the researcher's own assumptions and biases, in an attempt to ensure that the final theory becomes as grounded in the data and

as free from the constrictions of a predetermined construing process as possible.

c) Coding Level II & III

Level II codes, also known as categories, derive from condensing level I codes. Decisions about categories are made by asking certain questions of the data, such as 'What does this incident indicate? and then comparing the incident with all others in the field notes. The researcher asks what categories other similar incidents would fall into and compares each emerging category with all others to ensure that they are mutually exclusive and cover all behavioural variation.

Academic and professional knowledge then supply theoretical constructs, which may or may not be BSP, that form level III codes, so that they give meaning to the relationship between themselves and the Level I and II codes, 'weaving the fractured data back together again' (Glaser 1978). The comprehensive pattern between these codes is the substantive grounded theory, the theoretical constructs having been grounded in categorical codes rather than being the product of abstract theorising.

d) Memoing

During the generation of open, categorical and theoretical codes, the researcher, using the constant comparative method, asks many questions about the codes themselves, their relationship with the data, and their inter-relationship. As connections are perceived these are quickly written as memos in order to capture these insights before they are obliterated by the next ones. By recording the thinking process in this way the researcher accumulates a large number of memos, from which the written account of the grounded theory can eventually be constructed.

e) Theoretical sampling

As categories evolve, the researcher looks for relevant data to fill the them. This is the process of theoretical sampling which should be taking place while coding proceeds, ensuring that the abductive process continues at a number of levels.

f) Sorting

Once the BSP has emerged sorting takes place with this as its focus. The purpose is to discover the relationship of the different levels of codes to the BSP, usually by ordering and sorting the memos. During this phase it is recommended that schematic diagrams are drawn as an aid to clarifying the developing theory.

g) Saturation

Saturation refers to the stage when the system of codes accounts for all the variation in the data and no new codes are required. More data may allow for a greater range of examples and descriptions, but by the stage of saturation the pattern of codes that form the grounded theory will have emerged.

h) Review of the literature

There is a marked difference between a grounded theory approach and conventional verificational research in the function of the literature review. In the latter it is necessary to present a review of the literature before narrowing down the study to the research hypothesis, in order to demonstrate how the literature has led to the research and how the findings may be linked back into the relevant literature. In contrast, a grounded theory derives from the field data, coded under conditions of theoretical sensitivity, and then, as the grounded theory emerges, the research literature is turned to in order to provide support for it.

Judging the quality of a grounded theory study

Strauss and Corbin (1990) make an addition to the discussion of the legitimacy of qualitative and quantitative methods by stating that when judging the quality of a grounded theory study the usual canons of 'good science' should be observed, that is: significance, theory-observation compatability, generalizability, consistency, reproducibility, precision, and verification. However, they acknowledge that these 'require redefinition in order to fit the realities of qualitative research, and the complexities of social phenomena'.

After presenting these redefinitions, Strauss and Corbin present a list of questions that should be asked of a grounded theory, the answers to which should allow the assessment of quality of the study:

1. How was the original sample selected? What grounds?

2. What major categories emerged?

3. What were some of the events, incidents, actions and so on (as indicators) that pointed to some of these major categories?

4. On the basis of what categories did theoretical sampling proceed? That is, how did theoretical formulations guide some of the data collection? After the theoretical sampling was done, how representative did these categories prove to be?

5. What were some of the hypotheses pertaining to conceptual relations (that is, among categories) and on what grounds were they formulated and tested?

6. Were there instances when hypotheses did not hold up against what was actually seen? How were these discrepancies accounted for? How did they affect the hypothesis?

7 How and why was the core category selected? Was this collection sudden or gradual, difficult or easy? On what grounds were the final analytic decisions made?

It is the intention to ask these questions of the present study as an attempt to evaluate its legitimacy as a grounded theory.

CHAPTER 6

The interview study and preliminary results

Rationale for interview study

Ideally, a study attempting to understand the ways in which an EP and teacher together plan a strategy and the subsequent significant changes that take place would be conducted in the form of observations of each stage of the negotiation and implementation process. This would probably be backed up by interviews with the major participants and perhaps enhanced by the use of measures that attempt to guage the extent and influence of various 'concrete phenomena' independent of the participants' individual constructions. However, this would impose a very complex and protracted schedule upon the collection of data. In the study actually carried out the sample was obtained from a geographical area, the extremities of which were two hundred miles apart. Tracking interventions across this distance and being present for the significant steps in each would have been logistically impossible.

Instead, it was decided to focus upon teachers who had been the recipients of recommended strategies that had proved at least partially successful. It was hypothesised that had the sample also included teachers with unsuccessful strategies, then these teachers might have been much more inclined to attribute such failures to causes external to themselves and hence the study might have been restricted in its explanatory potential. It was felt that interviewees would be much more amenable to detailed questioning and probing if this was directed towards a subject that was unlikely to provoke a sense of defensiveness. Also there was the probability that successful outcomes might be more likely to cause a revision of a deviant identity and therefore might lead to results that were also more interesting from a theoretical point of view.

Identification of sample

Twenty four primary teachers were interviewed using a structured interview. They were identified by contacting EPs in a number of local education authorities (LEAs) and asking whether they could supply the name and address of any primary range teachers with whom they had devised an intervention deriving to a greater or lesser degree from a behavioural perspective. The problem behaviour had to be of an unsettled or anti-social nature and the intervention needed to have been judged by the teacher within the last two months as having been at least partially successful.

The interview

The interviewing style was such as to encourage teachers to reflect and expand upon the points they made and interviews, which were conducted in undisturbed settings after school such as classrooms, the teachers' homes and the researcher's office, were of between 40 minutes and an hour in duration. In the main the prepared interview comprised open rather than closed questions in order to elicit the maximum amount of data. The interviewing style incorporated the specific behaviours identified by Cannel and Kahn (1968) as being likely to 'create and maintain an atmosphere in which the respondent feels that he (sic) is fully understood and in which it is safe to communicate fully without fear of being judged, criticised or subsequently identified and disadvantaged'.

The interviewer behaviours shown to facilitate this consist of; brief expressions of understanding and interest, brief expectant pauses, neutral requests for additional information, echo or near repetition of interviewee's words, summarising or reflecting, requests for specific kinds of additional information, and repetition of a primary question. In addition to creating a particular atmosphere, Cannel and Kahn also suggest that such a style focuses attention on the content of the communication,

encouraging the respondent to consider each topic as deeply, fully and frankly as the interview objectives require.

The interview schedule

Q1. Can you tell me about this boy/girl's problems before you called in the EP? Can you give me a bit of the history of the problem?

How had you tried to deal with the problems?

And had that worked?

Why do you think that did/didn't work?

What did you see as the cause of his problems at that time?

Q2. Why did you call in the EP?

What were you expecting from him/her?

PROMPT Removal? Extra resources?

Q3 Can you tell me about the things the EP suggested?

PROMPT Rules, Ignoring, Praise?

Q4 When the EP was actually making these suggestions, did you think you would be able to follow them effectively?

At the time, how did you feel the EP was seeing the problem?

And what did you think about that? Why do you think s/he saw it like that?

Q5 Do you think you actually did what the EP asked you to do in the first place?

If no, what did you change? Why did you end up doing it that way?

Did this have any implications for the work set for the child or the class? Or the classroom organisation?

If you made any changes did you tell the EP? How did the conversation go?

How did you explain to the child what you were going to do? Can you remember exactly what you said? How did s/he respond?

Q6 Did it work? Did the EP help you to do it? How?

Q7 What do you think caused the improvement?

Q8 What sort of response did you get from the other children?

What do you think they made of what was going on? Did they know?

Q9 Did the rest of the staff know what you were doing? What did they think about it?

PROMPT the need for the referral? the suggestions? having a role? social support? the outcomes?

Q10 Do you think you understand X's problems better after doing this than before you did before?

Q11 If you had another child with a similar problem, would you do the same thing again? Would you want to involve the EP or not? Why?

In what way was the input from the psychologist different than if it had come from a colleague on the staff? What seemed 'psychological' about it?

Is there anything about X and his/her problems and what you did that I've not asked about and you think is really important?

The sample

The teachers

The 24 teachers identified were drawn from 8 LEAs spanning an area between the Midlands and the Scottish border:

Walsall
Staffordshire
Leicestershire

Derbyshire
Nottinghamshire
Doncaster
Wakefield
Northumberland

They were nominated for the study by 20 different EPs (2 EPs nominated 3 teachers each) and all but 2 taught in different schools. They had been working with primary age children for a mean of 11.6 years, the range being between 2 and 25 years.

The schools

The schools in which these teachers worked ranged in size from 71 to 484 pupils (excluding any nursery places) with a mean of 218.

The percentage of the school population eligible for free school meals in these schools was between 3 and 67 with a mean of 21%.

National figures for a similar period (DES 1991) indicated average primary school sizes of 193 pupils and a take-up rate for free school meals of 13%, suggesting that the schools in the sample were not untypical of the average in terms of pupil numbers but were probably slightly higher in terms of social disadvantage.

All the teachers interviewed except 1 were women whereas they were identified by 13 female and 7 male EPs. There was one teaching head, one deputy and three special needs coordinators in the sample.

The mean length of teaching experience was 11.6 years, the range being between 2 and 25 years.

The pupils

The pupils were drawn from the full primary age range with a bias towards the younger group, the mean age being 7.1 years. Of the 24 children only 1 was a girl.

In terms of the perceived severity of the problem behaviour the majority of the 24 teachers gave vivid accounts of the type that are to be frequently found in popular discussions of discipline and behaviour in schools;

> I've been teaching twelve years and I've never met such destructive, such wanton - .....under tables - attacking other children under tables (Boy aged 5 - Interview 1)

> ..... aggressive and disruptive and he didn't cooperate in a group, anti-social with his peers (Boy aged 10 - Teaching head, Interview 2))

> He's very destructive, very aggressive, spitting, bad language and so on....... I just felt well it's not doing them (the children) any good and it's not doing me any good and it's not doing my family any good. I came home at night and I was so wound up..... (Boy aged 6 - Deputy head, Interview 3)

> Quite aggressive to teachers as well as children..... if you refused a request of his...... he'd be throwing chairs and leave the classroom, leave the school quite frequently as well (Boy aged 10 - Interview 22)

> A lot of physical abuse on teachers and people that were supporting him....... an incident of arson and various other things outside school (Boy aged 6 - Interview 23)

> He was causing a lot of problems for her (his mother) at home in that he was having tantrums, refusing to do whatever she told him, throwing things, swearing, kicking, generally uncontrollable for her (Boy aged 5 - Interview 24)

10 teachers said the pupil was the most difficult they had ever encountered and 8 said he or she was among the most difficult half dozen.

General outcomes of the interventions

The sample consisted of teachers who judged these interventions to have had positive outcomes. A selection of comments, again form the first and last 3 interviews, as above, give a flavour of these responses;

> Quite honestly I can say I was knocked for six because it had worked and it has worked ever since (Interview 1)
>
> I think it's now that he's found that it's easier for him if he cooperates in school (Interview 2)
>
> I can honestly say he's not like the same child (Interview 3)
>
> I think he was finally motivated to do something about it (behaviour) and it was quite evident he was very involved in this (Interview 22)
>
> Towards the end of last of last term I felt very positive about what had been achieved...... but this term the last couple of weeks for some reason have been awful...... I'm hoping it was just Christmas..... and yesterday was a very good day (Interview 23)
>
> It was one of those wonderful 'Ahh, this is great' - one of those wonderful success stories (Interview 24)

In total, 6 interviewees expressed the view that the intervention had been successful but had some reservations, such as that there might be a deterioration again in the future, 11 saw a definite improvement with no qualifications and 7 saw such a degree of success that it made a strong emotional impact on them.

The coding of the transcripts

Open coding began with the transcript from Interview and proceeded according to the methods advanced by Glaser and Strauss in their various publications and summarised by Hutchinson (1988) and Turner (1991). Appendix 2 shows the example of the transcript from Interview 1 and the different open codes, more than 80 in total,

that were elicited over a period of many hours of analysis. Strauss (1987) points out that

> '...the initial data collected may seem confusing, the researcher flooded by their richness and their often challenging and puzzling nature. It should not remain that confusing (only challenging) for very long because the analysis of these data begins (in our style of research) with the very first, second or third interview...'(p.26)

The abductive process (Turner 1991), the interaction between conceptualisation and fracturing the data, led to the early identification, after about the first 8 interviews, of items relating to and involving other staff members as comprising a frequently occurring and elaborated set of codes.

Theoretical sensitivity was then developed by returning to a range of literature covering schools as organisations and colleague relationships and these areas became ones, along with others emerging through analysis, that were pursued by a greater emphasis on more probing and open questions in respect of these topics in the remaining interviews. The purpose of this was to encourage respondents to think as deeply as possible about these particular facets until the interviews were eliciting no new information. As a result, the later interviews tended to be longer and more complex in the degree of detail devoted to particular pertinent aspects.

The impact of interventions on other staff

In total, 24 open codes relating to other staff were found to occur and recur within the transcripts and these are listed in Table 27.

Table 27 Total set of open codes relating to other staff

pupil impinging on other staff
role of head
staff agreement with the need for referral
consultation within school
school policy on managing the day
other staff's knowledge of pupil
previous teachers' strategy with pupil
school culture re problem solving
support as the opportunity to talk
teacher alone/not alone with problem
staff's/head's support strategy
reluctance/lack of reluctance to seek support
valuing/not valuing colleagues' expertise
staff consensus over presenting problems
other staff's role in strategy
consistency of strategy across staff
individual staff's consistency within strategy
other staff's knowledge of strategy
staff's general agreement with strategy
staff's reluctance re time factors
staff's reluctance re equitability
staff's original perception of likelihood of progress
staff's ongoing perception of progress
staff's enthusiasm for/interest in strategy

This set of open codes is returned to again for further analysis in Chapter 8 but for the remainder of this chapter a number of common and striking themes to have emerged early from the interviews will be presented.

Despite positive outcomes many of the teachers were very reluctant to tell their colleagues about the details of the EP' suggestions;

> I was a little unsure and I didn't want to say anything - stick my neck out if you like and say 'Look we're doing this and it could prove wonderful'. I wanted to go very tentatively and then when I could see some sort of hope I turned to the staff and said 'This what we're doing, will

you please bear this in mind.' (Interview 18)

This reticence is being expressed in a school where the general atmosphere is perceived by the teacher as positive - 'a very happy school (where the) staff are are very nice and...all quite happy to help'. The tension between her optimism ('it could prove wonderful') and caution ('I didn't want to say anything - stick my neck out'), a tension present in a dramatic form in many of the interviews, is partly explained by her subsequent comments that reveal something of the texture of stateroom culture;

> I didn't want to offend Margaret (pupil's previous teacher) in any way by saying 'I shall keep him in the class no matter what'. So it was only very gradually that I explained to her what was happening - that's the deputy head...very, very delicate.

Whereas it may be relatively easy to understand this restraint, it is harder to believe that a school staff could perceive positive changes in a pupil with a previously notorious school-wide reputation, be aware that some form of intervention has taken place and yet express little interest in the nature of this intervention. And yet this phenomenon occurs clearly in more than a third of the 24 interviews. The point is perhaps best illustrated by considering sets of three quotes from a number of interviewees, the first in each set being about the previous reputation of the pupil, the second the classteachers' and the other staff's perceptions of change, and the third the staff's curiosity concerning the nature of the intervention responsibile for this change;

> Interview 13
>
> i) The other staff were very aware of Brian...they'd all met him in the playground and in the dining hall....He would get into trouble with all the other teachers on playground duty and the dinner ladies as well....He would get very cross and throw himself on the floor and bang his fists on the ground and scream his head off, and he actually did that to the head once, which amazed me. You don't very often do that to the headmaster.
>
> ii) Brian is a changed character. I think everybody's noticed...I'm absolutely astounded in the change in Brian

iii) No-one's really questioned it as such. They obviously think it's just happened. You tend to take things for granted I suppose if you're not directly involved. No-one's actually said to me 'how did you do it?' or whatever

Interview 20

i) The parents have had meetings with class teachers, special needs teachers....throughout the child's stay in school....She was infamous throughout the school for the things she did....She had chopped up the duvet cover and the curtains (at home)....We had the Bishop in....and she went up to his table and sort of 'Oh my name's Chloe!' Most of the other children were quite deferential.

ii) Her behaviour showed, over the last six weeks roughly, a dramatic improvement. Her standard of work did as well and her reading came on in leaps and bounds....(Staff) who knew I was doing it they'd say 'Ooh she's behaving herself, I didn't have to tell her off in the yard'.

iii) One or two of them did ask me what recommendations she had made, one infant teacher who had her before especially. I didn't make a big issue of it....If anybody asked I did, but quite honestly at the end of the term it was quite chaotic.

Interview 15

i) Oh, he had a tremendous reputation, yes...the chief education officer was at school that day and he cried...screamed all day....he was really quite a handful

ii) He was the topic of conversation in the staffroom but now he's rarely mentioned....They've remarked how different he's got

iii) *Did they ask what you'd been doing with the ed psych?*
No
Did you tell them?
No, I didn't

In fact, amongst other staff, some or all were aware of definite improvements in 17 cases, only 1 teacher felt that others were unaware of changes, and 6 did not comment on this aspect

Although this pattern of a high profile pupil, a recognition of considerable improvements and a lack of interest in the possible reasons for this is explicit in 9 of the 24 interviews, in many of the remaining cases there is still a clear schism between the teacher's enthusiasm and achievements and the general staff response. Although the staff are more aware of the nature of the recommended interventions, this does not mean they are encouraging or positive in their attitude towards them;

> Generally the feeling was why should this child have this sort of treatment....why should he be seen to be getting special treatment just because he's naughty....I think it went against the grain as teachers....(Interview 1)

> A lot of people felt that you've got to treat everybody the same....We had quite a few discussions....Basically it was 'Well that's alright but are these things fair on the other children (Interview 17)

> I think we all felt the same. We all felt that maybe ed psychs should come in here and have the class on their own (Interview 21)

In only 3 of the 24 interviews did the teachers feel that the suggested intervention received a positive and encouraging response from their colleagues and then 1 of these was hedged with a fairly high degree of reservation;

> My colleagues were saying 'Yes it probably will work for a few weeks at least.' I think mostly we were reasonably positive that it might hopefully, - yes, it would make a difference, but 'what are we going to do after and what's going to happen when it stops working?' (Interview 22)

The combination of having difficulty managing a difficult pupil and having colleagues who, although supportive in a general sense were not positive about particular strategies, led to a number of emotional reactions on the part of the teachers interviewed. For some, such as the deputy head from Interview 3, quoted above, the stresses before the EP's intervention were transferring to their own home lives. Another said:

> Quite honestly, never having met a child like this in twelve years of teaching, I would go home some days and say

'I don't know what to do next' (Interview 1)

Additionally, these stresses provoked doubt among some of the teachers about their professional competence in general:

> I really was upset because I felt that I was failing, and I mean I've taught for a long time and I can honestly say I've never felt like that before. I just felt that I couldn't cope (Interview 3)

> You sometimes think will they (colleagues) think it's me, that I'm inadequate?' (Interview 21)

A third emotional component, experienced by most of the teachers, was a sense of feeling alone and solely responsible for the pupil's behaviour, even in schools where colleagues were seen as generally friendly and supportive. This feeling was conveyed strongly in 10 instances and in a more mixed fashion in another 9:

> It's a fairly strong feeling, you know, you keep your problems in your classroom (Interview 10)

> I don't think anyone else was that interested to be honest....he's my problem, Lee. And I don't think anyone thought that much about it (Interview 14)

> There was a lot of feeling from other (staff) that he shouldn't be (in our school)....When he was naughty in assembly I was the one who always had to fetch him out.... I always had to have him. Nobody ever said to me 'Look I'll take him for you while you get on with what you're supposed to be doing' (Interview 17)

> I was very aware that the rest of the staff....would blame Darren for anything because they always have done....I was having a lot - no, a fair amount of opposition from the head....any kind of misdemeanour on Darren's part was just jumped on....you can feel quite isolated in a school. (Interview 18)

In summary then, in only 2 of the 24 cases did the teachers not feel either that their colleagues were uninterested in their actions, negative about the EP's recommendations or doubtful about the likelihood of their success. However in working with the EP a totally contrasting sense of supportive attention is relayed in many of the interviews:

> I think he was seeing it as I was. I think he was seeing that I just couldn't take anymore....I suppose he had the authority to make suggestions and he also in a way was taking some of the responsibility I suppose and it was nothing to do with the rest of the staff really. They just breathed a sigh a relief that it wasn't their problem (Interview 3)

> She didn't quiz me. She was lovely, she would just sit there and I could ask her questions, like 'I am trying this particular thing, is that alright?'....She would sort of say 'You're doing well, yes you are doing the right thing'. So yes, I appreciated that part of her as....as the professional....(The other teachers) would have said....'Oh go on he'll be alright'....but it meant more coming from her....She was trying hard to get Brian out of this negative situation (Interview 15)

Within the 24 interventions investigated, 18 resulted in teachers and parents working in some form of partnership. In many of these the EP's contribution to the formation and/or direction of this working relationship is readily apparent. In some the EP's effect, in terms of teachers feeling legitimised to operate in a different way, is very much present even the person himself or herself is not actually physically present, as the following excerpt illustrates:

> Theresa (EP) also suggested talking to the parents as well
>
> *Had you not done that before?*
>
> Yes, I'd spoken to them in an informal way but not actually had them in and talked to them formally. She recommends that a lot.
>
> *Did she suggest any particular things to say to Gary's parents?*
>
> Yes, to try to stress the positive side of Gary, and the head and I had a very interesting chat....
>
> (later)
> *Do you think you would have got to know the parents anyway like that or do you think it was because Theresa suggested these things that it helped you to get to know the parents better?*
>
> I think maybe it was a little bit of both. We see the parents at the beginning of the day for five minutes, five

> minutes at the end, but when we had that formal interview with the head, myself and the parents, I think we got a lot more into the background, that maybe she wouldn't have said as much - they wouldn't have said as much just picking the child up. So we got to know a little bit more of what it was like at home and that was one of Theresa's suggestions.

In the usual sense of the word, procedures that are *formal* could be invoked by a school if, for example, suspension of a pupil was being considered or an assessment of special educational needs under the 1981 Education Act. However, there is no reference in the interview to any procedures of this nature. Instead, the term here is used as a frequent reminder that the head and teacher are behaving untypically, 'delving into home backgrounds', and that this has apparently been recommended by the EP. Presumably, they are quite capable of asking such questions of their volition and of giving advice concerning praise and encouragement. There is nothing particularly 'expert' about either. Similarly, if the parents were to take great exception to this, it seems highly unlikely that justifying themselves by saying they were acting on the EP's suggestions would save them from the immediacy of the parent's anger.

The EP's influence appears to remain in an almost reified form to govern the interactions taking place, which are clearly perceived as a departure from the normal form of interactions that take place between parents and teachers when there is a difficulty associated with a pupil's behaviour. Just as some of the teachers experienced a sense of supportive attention from their EP that contrasted so sharply with their colleagues response to the negotiated strategy, so too were they aware of construing some parents anew in a manner that departed from normal school procedures:

> Mrs Roberts (mother) had caused so many problems here. She's a very bristly lady, very much on the ball, but in her own way she really did care for Barry. Maybe not the way that you and I would care for our children but she did....she really was a caring mum (Interview 15)

The involvement of the EP is in some way allowing the generally accepted view amongst the staff, that Mrs Roberts is very 'bristly' and causes so many problems, to be departed from but continue to coexist with a more positive, if perhaps patronising view of her as a 'caring mum'. This temporary escape from the dominant view is also sometimes expressed in terms of privacy and ownership;

> I think a lot of the time when teachers are working with a psychologist they keep it very much to - it's their property almost. It's strange....teachers are very possessive of the children in their class and they don't want to share things (Interview 24)

This phenomenological experience of 'possessiveness' and secrecy, of not 'sticking one's neck out', may be understandable in the example from Interview 18 in which the teacher initially found the prospect of success after the relative 'failure' of the deputy head in the previous year 'very, very delicate.' The likelihood of major changes in certain pupil's behaviour is not a feature within the discourse of the majority of (or any of the other) staff. Even after successful completion when the results are visible to the others in the school, the notions of teacher-effected change will not fit easily into staff discussions;

> I mean I've come back to teaching after 15 years break and they've been super, they've been really helpful....I can't come in (to the staffroom) and say 'Aren't I good?....It's very big-headed isn't it? (Interview 15)

> We're a very close school....we do talk in the staffroom and say, you know, 'What do you think? How can you help?'....(when) I found that it was working then I thought that as I felt so good about it everybody had to know....I think they all got fed up of me keep saying 'Richard, Richard, Richard!' (Interview 21)

The analysis so far has identified and explored to some extent the discouraging reactions of colleagues to a teacher's successful interventions. It has contrasted this with very different working relationships with EPs and identified a changed style of interacting with parents.

In order to pursue the analysis of these phenomena at a more detailed theoretical level it is necessary in the next chapter to return to the literature, to engage in a greater level of theoretical sensitivity in the areas of organisational dynamics, relations between personnel internal and external to organisations, the nature of attributions between parents and teachers and the ways in which these may or may not change as a result of interactions that surround particular tasks. From this position the present level I data on colleagues can be coded at levels II and III and the data then questioned further in order to discover the relationship between these emerging categories and significant others.

CHAPTER 7

Cultures, systems, colleagues and joint consultations with teachers and parents in respect of difficult pupil behaviour.

A literature review

The preliminary analysis of the interview transcripts reported in Chapter 6 identified two major strands for further investigation: one, the apparent paradox of teacher colleagues who are experienced as generally supportive but also display a seemingly determined disinterest in the nature of successful teacher strategies, and second, the processes whereby EPs bring teachers and parents into a working relationship that proves far more productive than previous attempts not involving a consultant. Whilst further coding of transcripts and more probing questioning in later interviews took place, additional theoretical sensitivity was pursued by means of a literature search that concentrated upon deepening the researcher's appreciation of probably related topics.

In particular, these consisted of

a) Organisations and cultures
b) Individual teachers and schools as organisations and cultures
c) Systems and their boundaries
d) Teacher and parent identification of problem behaviour
e) Causal attributions surrounding problem behaviour
f) 'Ecosystemic' approaches to joint teacher-parent consultation
g) Behavioural approaches to joint teacher-parent consultation

This chapter consists of brief reviews of these areas in preparation for a more detailed and more theoretically sensitive analysis of the transcripts in Chapter 8, which in turn will lead

to the final formally stated grounded theory and its evaluation in Chapter 9.

a) Organisations and cultures

Henning-Stout and Conoley (1988) have argued that the success of a consultant working with a school depends equally upon the characteristics of the consultant and those of the organisation. They identified three aspects of an organisation that are implicated in the outcomes of consultative practice:- the organisation's history with previous consultants, organisational stresses, and the prevailing ideology of the organisation. These are factors usually found in discussions about the properties of systems and the interactions across their boundaries (eg Glatter 1989), with the literature on organisational cultures (Morgan 1986) and with teacher cultures specifically (Woods 1984; Hammersley 1984).

The culture of an organisation has been described by Deal and Kennedy (1982) as the '....system of informal rules that spells out how people are to behave most of the time.' This may obviously be compared and possibly contrasted to the various public pronouncements or policies that purport to describe how an organisation is structured and functions. Argyris and Schon (1978) have referred to these two phenomena as 'theory in use' and 'espoused theory' respectively, and have claimed that one of the most important steps in understanding an organisation is the detection of the possible gaps between its espoused theory and its theory-in-use. Argyris and Schon point out that organisations are extremely well practised and effective in 'defensive routines' when there is any possibility of a gap between their espoused theory and their theory-in-use being revealed

Although ethnographic research in schools has mainly been concerned with classroom practice and therefore focussed on observation and interview methods in respect of these, a few researchers have

looked particularly at staffrooms. Woods (1984) examined the nature and function of staffroom humour and Hammersley (1984) looked at the subject of staffroom 'news'.

In the latter study, Hammersley found that staffroom news served both a referential and a rhetorical function. Because this work was carried out in a secondary school, in which pupils move from teacher to teacher, staffroom conversations gave teachers the opportunity to know what to expect from particular pupils. Hammersley found that the conversation focussed predominantly on the difficult behaviour of pupils and consisted of the trading of summary typifications. Because teachers employ typifications of pupils to guide their actions in the immediacy of the classrooms, Hammersley argued that teachers supplement, through the exchange of classroom news, their own information with that of colleagues in the construction of these typifications.

However, also detected were aspects of teacher conversations that served a dismissive rather than a descriptive function. In this rhetorical form, conversations were concerned with hypothesised characteristics of particular pupils rather than descriptions of their behaviour in detail. Hammersley found that in all the examples of conversation he collected the context of any pupil behaviour, - that is, the setting, the teacher's expectations and actions etc, - was taken for granted and did not need explanation or discussion in terms of their possible contribution to pupil behaviour. The recurrent topic for comment and discussion in the staffroom was the 'failure' of pupils in various contexts, a failure seen as due to the typifications given to pupils by the teachers. These typifications, consisting of psychological characteristics, were such that they could be seen to produce typical behaviour in diverse contexts, irrespective of the contexts themselves.

b) Individual teachers and schools as organisations and cultures

A number of commentators have drawn attention to the sense of isolation that characterises the professional role of the teacher. For example Lieberman & Miller (1990) writing about the American scene have stated that

> ....loneliness and isolation are high prices to pay but teachers willingly pay them when the alternatives are seen as exposure and censure....By following the privacy rule teachers forfeit the opportunity to display their successes; but they also gain. They gain the security of not having to face their failures publicly and losing face.

Similarly Little (1990) reviewing studies of teachers working in a 'collegial' manner also sees 'a devastating picture of professional isolation among experienced teachers and trial and error survival of beginning teachers.' She does find examples of genuine peer support and joint effort but concludes that it is 'a remarkable accomplishment: not the rule, but the rare, often fragile exception.'

It is not that teachers do not necessarily enjoy the company of their colleagues but rather that colleagues do not serve the function of being stimuli and agents for each other's professional development. 'Many teachers are satisfied with their peer relationships, but few claim that those relationships make their way into the classroom. Many schools offer congenial work environments, but few offer a professional environment that makes schools as educative for teachers as for students (Little 1990).

This point was developed by Lortie (1975) in his sociological study of teaching. He referred to the ambivalence for the teacher in respect of colleagues, between what he called 'the wish for boundedness and the search for assistance'. Lortie discovered that the major reward for teachers in his study was in the form of interactions with *their* pupils, in a satisfaction with their learning and development. Although various administrative duties, -

lunchtime supervision, etc. - were seen as requiring collaborative efforts between teachers from the point of view of equitability, these 'costs' were balanced by the 'profits of psychic benefits' from working alone with pupils. Lortie describes teachers as 'entrepreneurs of psychic profit' working to maximise positive interactions and feedback from their pupils, whilst attempting reduce the organisation's influence on them and ensure that they have no more bosses that already exist.

However, these teachers also reported that they saw their colleagues as a powerful source of ideas and, sometimes, as mirrors in which to assess their own performance. Lortie's analysis, much more than the previous two papers, sees teachers as more positively involved in maintaining the boundedness to some important arenas of their work despite the cost of professional isolation.

These three papers identify a number of factors that contribute to this phenomenon;

i) the ecology of most schools, with their separated classrooms

ii) the major reward for teachers, the development and responses of pupils being something most easily earned away from colleagues

iii) the lack of a technical language with which teachers might discuss their work with each other

iv) the lack of commonly agreed standards by which teachers may measure their competence leading to a lack of confidence through an inability to judge their own worth

v) the high value placed upon being able to keep a class under control leading both to a wariness of being observed and a desire to keep a class within a more bounded space where it might be more easily managed

Sharp and Green (1975) in their ethnographic study of a 'progressive' primary school argued that teachers utilised a 'child centred vocabulary' to account for their classroom actions to significant others but that these actions themselves were far more guided by the principle of 'ad-hocing' and following tried and tested routines to cope with the immediacy, frequency and changing nature of classroom demands. In such circumstances, even if teachers possessed a shared technical language in the form of the child centred vocabulary, the fact that it did not link to their actions can be seen to cause a situation whereby conversations with colleagues about purposes and methods grounded in practice could become extremely difficult.

Despite these barriers to a shared professional culture, teachers need reference groups from which to derive norms and values for their practice. Nias (1985) examined the function of reference groups by interviewing 99 teachers from various parts of England who had been teaching between 2 and 9 years. In particular she was concerned with the role of reference groups in the defence of the self, both through a normative function, in which individuals identify a group against whose norms and values they wish to evaluate themselves, and through a perceptual function, whereby the group's norms are used as anchoring points in structuring the perceptual field. 'Thus once one has internalised the particular outlook of a reference group, it becomes a 'frame of reference' which is brought to bear on all new situations.'

Many of the teachers appeared to need the referential support from only one other, either a colleague, headteacher or a visiting professional. Nias comments that the amount of support provided by such a person was out of all proportion to either the size of the group or the time spent in communication. Also, the majority of teachers interviewed found themselves at some stage working in schools where they had no adult reference group and then they often sought it in outside courses or from 'like-minded' friends. Interestingly, especially in respect of Lortie's findings

concerning the primary rewards for teachers, the most frequently invoked reference group in Nias' study was pupils. In other words, they were the group whose positive reactions the teachers claimed to be most concerned to meet. '....as long as classroom processes remain largely hidden from all other participants, pupils may be invoked as a reference group to justify many different decisions and types of behaviour'.

Nias extends Lortie's argument concerning the lack of a common technical culture and language among teachers. She considers that teachers construct their views of reality within schools and of their selves via conversations with their own reference groups. Outside these groups they do not share a language with which to attach meanings to their common experience. Attempting to create such a language with others outside the reference group would actually be destructive of the processes which create and sustain their substantial selves. Hence, teachers actively do not enter into conversation about fundamental aspects of their work with many of their colleagues.

However, again it is recognised that teachers also have certain affiliative and affective needs in respect of their colleagues 'especially in circumstances where they feel themselves to be under threat from pupils'. Consequently, open conflict is often avoided by arriving at a 'false consensus' in the staffroom while the teacher continues to follow a course of action in the classroom more consistent with the norms of a reference group

Drawing together a range of perspectives, including rational-emotive therapy and cognitive behaviour therapy, Wagner (1987) has developed the model of the 'knot' in teacher thinking. This is the situation when the dominance of 'self-imperated cognitions' - beliefs and messages to oneself couched in the form of 'should's, must's and ought's - prevent a form of thinking that leads to problem solving. As part of a six year study in Germany, Wagner showed how teachers' thinking was often characterised by going

'....round in circles, posing questions without resolving them, jumping from one issue to another and considering goals and strategies without ever putting them into practice'. Most importantly, and this was found to be a dominant feature of knots, there appeared to be no recognition of the many contradictions contained in these modes of thought. The other consequence was a strong emotional component, often involving anger, anxiety and attachment, and seen as the results of vain attempts to resolve these dilemmas or knots.

One section of the study most pertinent to this discussion concerned the in-depth analysis, using an original methodology, of the knots occurring in the transcripts from interviews with seven teachers about their school life. There were 62 issues that teachers talked about at least 12 times or more and four that contained significantly more knots than the other. Surprisingly, these were 'fellow teachers' (83%), the principal (81%), giving permission vs. forbidding students to do certain things (70%), students paying attention rather than being absent-minded or distracted (65%). The issue that produced the least knots was the actual content or subject matter of the teaching.

In other words, issues relating to immediate teacher colleagues produced more inconsequential and contradictory thinking, with high levels of emotional components, than did either curriculum or even pupil management aspects of work.

c) Systems and their boundaries

There has been considerable interest in systems theory approaches amongst those who have studied schools as organisations. Hoy & Miskel(1989), for example, described schools as open systems interacting with their environments, and discussed the ways in which uncertainty in the environment affects the internal structures and processes of organisations. Similarly, Rice (1976), describing open or 'socio-technical' systems, described how systems

seek to define, or validate, and then maintain this definition of their boundary during transactions across it with the environment.

The purpose of the boundary is to distinguish those tasks and responsibilities belonging to the system from those that do not. Within a system's boundary, norms and procedures are then arrived at to guide such activities as interacting with others inside the system, dealing with internally disruptive events, carrying out joint tasks, presenting the system's stated aims and objectives to the environment, and the methods for communicating across the boundary.

In addition to boundary validation and maintenance, another important aspect of systems is their orientation towards homeostasis, a tendency to maintain internal stability. Systemic family therapy (Palazzoli et al 1978) has drawn upon similar theoretical roots, with the nature of the boundary, its maintenance and the interactions that take place across it, again yielding important conceptual tools to inform the practice of therapists. A particularly significant notion deriving from systemic family therapy is that of 'the rules about the rules' , the principles, often informally defined and communicated, concerning who is permitted, by what means to generate, challenge, change and make exceptions to the norms and procedures of the system.

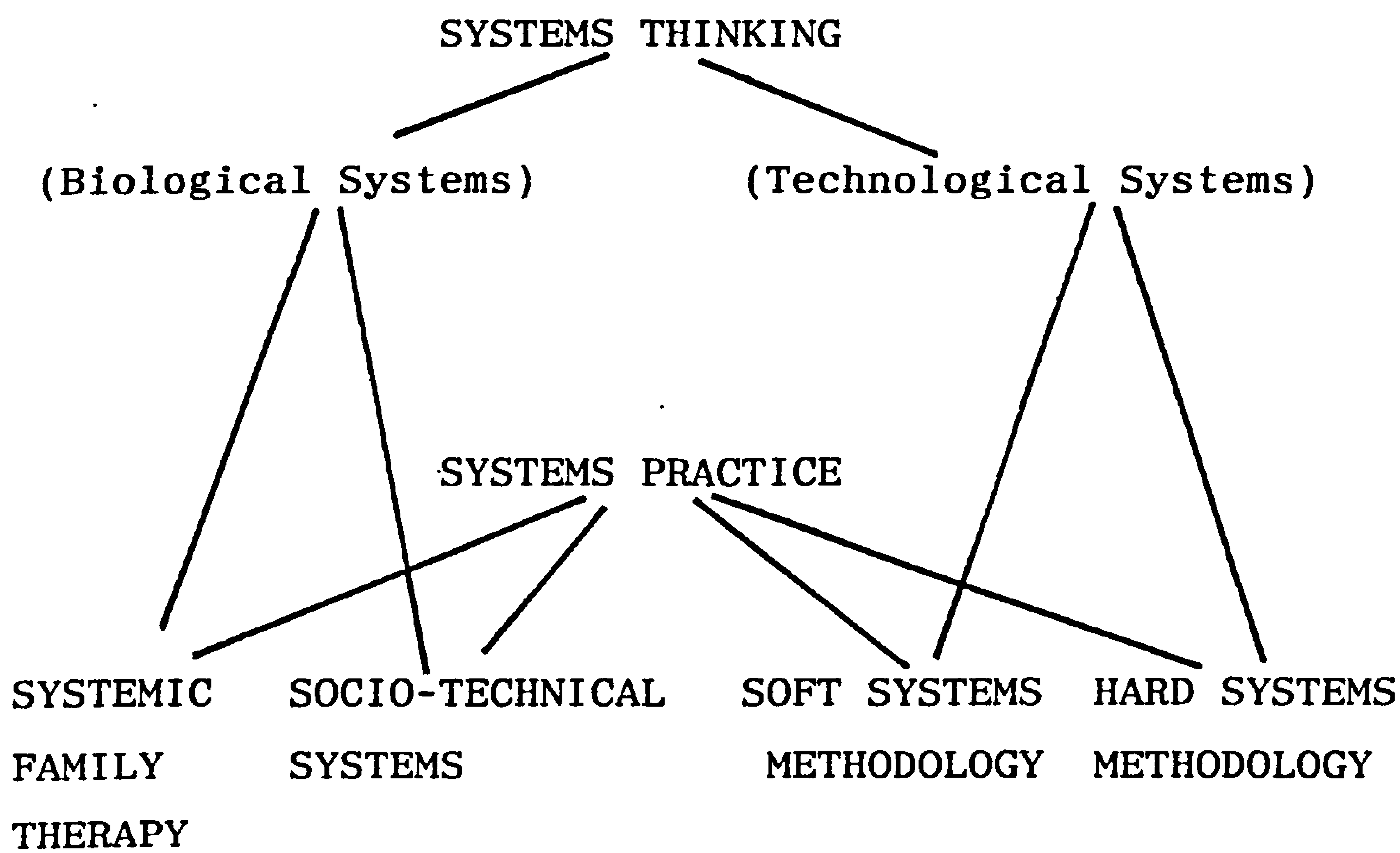
In the context of family therapy, De Shazer (1982) has argued that 'when the system under consideration is defined as the open system of the therapy situation, then the boundary is drawn around the therapist and the family subsystems of the therapeutic suprasystems'. This new system develops its own norms and values but is temporary in the sense that its existence depends on the continuance of the therapist's involvement.

Quicke (1982) was critical of early systems approaches within the profession of educational psychology despite welcoming them as an alternative to what he saw as the limited nature of the

professional casework that preceded them. He challenges Burden's early systems work for paying scant attention to the 'hidden curriculum' of schools and the procedures whereby cultural norms are established by preferring to concentrate instead on formal and explicitly stated structures. Ball (1987) has also criticised systems approaches and accused their adherents of bypassing and obscuring the realities of organisational life in schools in favour of 'the abstract tidiness of conceptual debate'. Instead he advocated that schools as organisations would be better understood through the study of 'the micro-politics of school life'.

Frederickson (1990) has helped clarify this discussion by pointing to the confusingly broad range of professional practice that has often been uncritically included under the rubric of 'systems approaches'. Particularly helpful here is her distinction between systems theories which derive by analogy from a biological perspective, such as those employed in systemic family therapy and the socio-technical approach, and those having their origins in a technological perspective, for example, soft systems, and hard systems methodology.

Figure 6 Systems applications in EP practice (from Frederickson 1990)



Hard systems methodology is the area concerned with work addressing the formal structure of organisations, as developed within professional educational psychology by Burden. It is the biological tradition which gives rise to concepts such as boundary maintenance and homeostasis, concepts which, as Frederickson points out, can elucidate by analogy processes within organisations but which should not be developed too literally.

So far, this chapter has identified a number of processes relating to schools as organisations and cultures which may be implicated in ambiguous and problematic relationships between teacher colleagues in the context of difficult pupil behaviour. Similarly, systems theory derived from a biological perspective may also offer conceptual tools with which to elucidate those factors influencing the interactions that take place between teachers and parents in

such circumstances. It is now necessary in the next, relatively brief section to step aside from these more discursive accounts and look at a number of empirical studies that have addressed the extent to which parents and teachers identify similar and differing forms of children's behaviour as problematic.

d) Teachers' and parents' identification of problem behaviour

A number of carefully conducted surveys have asked teachers to identify the intensity and frequency of different types of difficult and/or disturbed behaviour among their pupils. These have normally required teachers to complete schedules or checklists specifically devised for this purpose. Some of the studies have also asked parents to complete similar instruments designed to detect problems in the home context. The same finding occurs in each study, that the majority of children identified as problems in one setting are not seen as such in the other.

For example, in the Isle of Wight survey of over 2,000 children, - one of the most thorough studies of childhood problems ever carried out, - standardised questionnaires completed by teachers and parents both proved extremely effective in being able to screen out children with psychiatric disorders (Rutter, Tizard and Whitmore, 1970). However, there was surprisingly little overlap between the two sources with only one child in every six or seven in the deviant group being identified by both parties.

This lack of a close correspondence between teachers' and parents' perceptions of behaviour problems was also demonstrated in Tizard et al's (1988) longitudinal study of 343 London children. At the end of the top infant year, teachers saw 34% of the children as having a mild or a definite behaviour problem and parents identified 22% However, only 30% of those seen by teachers as a problem at school were also seen as problems at home and only 34%

of those identified by parents were similarly perceived as difficult by teachers.

This is not just a phenomenon confined to British society, similar results have also been obtained from a study conducted in New Zealand (McGee, Silva & Williams, 1983). This recurring finding suggests that either some forms of behaviour are context-specific in that they are more likely to occur either at home or at school but not both, or that some forms of behaviour have far more salience for teachers and others for parents. For example, Tizard et al (1988) suggested that some types of behaviour, such as a lack of concentration, may be more of a problem in the school setting than at home and that other types, such as fooling around or nervousness and withdrawal, may just be more likely to occur at school.

These studies have enormous implications for the types of initial discussions that parents and teachers may have when a school is concerned about a pupil's behaviour. Parents may be seen as being 'unwilling to accept that there is a problem', whereas it may be that they genuinely are not experiencing the same difficulties in the home setting. Similarly, parents who mention difficulties with their children at home, when these children are models of conformity at school, may become inaccurately construed as 'fussing unnecessarily', 'neurotic' or 'incompetent' as parents.

The relatively high probability of such judgements being made as a result of differing problem identification on the part of teachers and parents, makes the area of attributing causes for difficult pupil behaviour a potentially confusing and mutually antagonistic one. Empirical studies of this attribution process will be examined in the next section.

e) **Causal attributions surrounding problem behaviour**

Inevitably, those involved in attempting to work with pupils who are construed as displaying difficult behaviour, make causal attributions concerning the origins of this behaviour. A number of recent studies have attempted to explore the nature of such attributions.

Wiener (1980) identified three major dimensions along which attributions varied; - locus (internal or external), stability (transient or stable) and controllability (controllable or uncontrollable). He suggested that affective and behavioural reactions to another's behaviour, as well as expectations for their future behaviour, were influenced by attributions formed on the basis of these three dimensions. His studies showed that whether individuals' felt sympathy or disgust for the problems experienced by others and whether they offered help, depended upon whether they saw the behaviour as internal and controllable (eg behaviour resulting from drunkenness) or internal and uncontrollable (eg behaviour resulting from a disability).

A recent Canadian study by Johnston et al (1992) has examined the causal attributions made by adults for hyperactive and aggressive child behaviours. Young adults were asked to rate various written descriptions of these types of behaviour displayed by five-, and eleven year old boys Although they were able to quote previous studies showing that adults often attribute problem child behaviours to causes within the child's control, their study set out to tackle the unanswered question of whether the same result would occur for both hyperactive and aggressive behaviours. Johnston et al summarised their findings as follows

> ....these results suggest that, although adults perceive hyperactive and aggressive behaviours as equally likely to originate within the child and equally likely to be stable over time, aggressive behaviours are seen as more within the child's control and elicit more negative evaluative reactions. In contrast, adults appear to hold children less

responsible for hyperactive behaviours and seem more likely to 'excuse' these behaviours.

Although these studies obtained data from 186 young adults, these subjects were drawn from a student population and there has been relatively little by way of empirical investigation of teacher's causal attributions. There have, however, been a number of recent investigations involving parents and Johnston et al quote research linking parents' attributions for children's behaviour to their affective and behavioural responses to the behaviour (eg Dix and Grusec, 1985; Dix et al. 1989). Using written vignettes of children's difficult behaviour, Dix and his colleagues found that the misbehaviour of older children was more likely to be attributed to personality factors and to be seen as intentional, than was that of younger children. In addition, if the child was judged to be responsible for, or in control of the behaviour, then parents were much more likely to choose 'power-assertive' methods of discipline. Similarly, Grace et al (1993), in a study involving 115 mothers and 122 adolescents, showed that self-reports of conflict were positively correlated with mothers' and teenagers' attributions of the others' behaviour as being intentional, selfishly motivated and blameworthy.

Fiske and Taylor (1984) have presented an attributional model that includes judgements about responsibility for both the cause of a problem and its solution. (The teachers in the interview study were asked explicit questions about both these aspects.) This model is demonstrated in Table 28

Table 28 Fiske and Taylor's model of combinations of attributions for the cause and solution of problems.

		Responsibility for solution ?	
		Yes	No
Responsibility for cause?	Yes	Moral Model	Enlightenment Model
	No	Compensatory Model	Medical Model

Although some of the labels for the quadrants seem somewhat divergent form their common usage (at least to this author), the categorisation system itself seems particularly pertinent to aspects of the present study. Fiske and Taylor present examples of each combination but not specifically in relation to educational contexts. Examples relevant to this study might be:

a) Moral model 'This pupil has decided to misbehave and needs to realise that the solution lies in his own hands'.

b) Compensatory model 'This pupil's behaviour is obviously due to his home background but that is no excuse for him not making the effort to conform to classroom rules'.

c) Enlightenment model 'This pupil is refusing to carry out his teacher's requests and we need to find ways to encourage him to want to conform.'

d) Medical model 'This pupil's behaviour could be a consequence of food additives and we need to keep a very careful eye on his diet'.

Related to the study of attribution for difficult pupil behaviour is the area of literature concerned with labelling theory. In British accounts this is usually approached more from an ethnographic perspective and tends to yield more descriptive accounts. For example, Hargreaves (1975) approached the subject of attribution via the concept of implicit theories. He argued that individuals form implicit theories about what personality traits occur together, deriving these partly from common elements within the culture and partly from various forms of social learning peculiar to the individual. He went on, however, to argue that the attribution of motives or intentions was of greater importance than just personality traits and described how this might take place.

> It is through the attribution of dispositional properties such as personality traits or intentions that Person is able to perceive Other's behaviour as consistent. When Person ascribes an enduring and persistent personality characteristic to Other he is drawing together and unifying a wide variety of past incidents in Other's behaviour. And once person has created a consistent picture of Other by attributing certain dispositional properties to him, then he will tend to acquire expectations of how other will behave in new situations in the future. Other's behaviour becomes, within limits, predictable. It is in this way that the attribution process can structure and facilitate future interaction between Person and Other....Once Person has developed a fairly consistent picture of Other he will tend to resist new information which threatens this consistency. (p25)

Although the studies reported above have concerned themselves with adults' attributions for children's behaviour, it is, of course, also highly pertinent to this study to consider teachers'

attributions for parents. In their ethnographic study of a primary school which drew upon data collected by interview and participant observation, Sharp and Green (1975) set out the processes which such a study would need to examine:

> From our observations and analyses we suggested that the child's educational identity and career is as much a function of the way in which he is differentially categorised and treated within the school itself as of any pre-school identity he originally possessed. Applying such an insight to the study of parents and their educational relevance it would appear that parents should not be studied atomistically but in relationship to other facets of the interactional nexus within the school itself. Second, it seems important to adopt a dynamic perspective to see how teachers' and parents' typification of each other are generated over time as each attempts to negotiate a meaningful symbolic reality and further their ends in response to the situation they confront. Thus categories of good and bad parents, or good and bad teachers, have to be seen in relationship to the past and present biography of the actors concerned in the ongoing process of their mutual encounters. Similarly, there is a need not merely to look at attitudes but also actions as teachers and parents develop strategies which both derive from and serve to stabilise the complex systems of meaning generated in specific situations. (p197)

Not only will teachers make attributions of parents as a result of their interactions, the process will also operate in the absence of any such contacts.

'It's the ones who never turn up that you really want to see.' This common complaint in many staff rooms is also the title of a chapter by Bridges (1987) that describes the results of a series of interviews in Cambridgeshire with parents who were regular non-attenders at parents' evenings and social events at schools. Rather than mere indifference and apathy, the interviews identified a range of reasons from practical difficulties such as transport, family ties and shift work, through to a concern about not being as confident as some other parents in discussing educational matters. But the most recurring theme in the interviews was one of a dread of school, often associated with their own childhood experiences.

This was most prevalent among those parents who had minimal or no contact. It is not hard to imagine such a parent avoiding contacts with school, however welcoming the invitation. If the situation should arise when the school wishes to discuss any matter, but especially behaviour, it is also not hard to imagine this parent's manner, fuelled by adrenalin and defensiveness, coming across as 'aggressive' or 'belligerent' or, at the very least, 'uncooperative'.

The problem of antagonistic relationships between teachers and parents when pupils are experienced as difficult to manage, has also been graphically described within the context of research studies and accounts of practice not specifically addressing this particular issue. For example, a complex and ambitious British research project carried out by Kolvin et al (1981) provided, amongst its findings, some empirical data concerning the relative effectiveness of certain types of home - school collaboration. Three forms of intervention with 'maladjusted' children attending mainstream schools were contrasted with each other and with a 'no contact' control group. Children from 12 schools were screened using several instruments to identify those with 'neurotic, antisocial, academic and/or peer relationship' difficulties and a group of 270 juniors (aged 7 to 8) and 322 seniors (aged 11 and 12), who became the sample for study, were identified as definitely 'maldjusted'.

One treatment approach was psychodynamic in orientation whilst a second derived from a behavioural perspective. Of particular interest to this discussion is the third group which was described as representing the parent counselling - teacher consultation approach. In this approach specially trained social workers provided a service both to parents, in the form of short term casework aimed at various social, financial and management issues, and to teachers, in the form of consultations over particular pupils. From work with this latter group, the project was made 'dramatically aware' of the 'extreme sensitivities' that can

surround attempts to bring together school and home when a pupil is displaying difficult behaviour

> 'Attempts were made to lessen mutual distrust and prejudice and ways sought to increase parental interest in the child's education and progress or, more generally, in school activities. Initially, the work consisted of carrying the teachers' ideas to the parents. Occasionally, it was necessary to reassure teachers that parents were concerned and interested....There was also the far more difficult operation of helping certain teachers to appreciate their personal impact on parents. This was perhaps the most sensitive area the school social workers had to deal with; when it constituted an important issue, it had to be broached with great diplomacy and caution.... Sometimes, before meeting, parents or teachers proposed angry confrontations with each other....Sometimes the teacher thought the school social worker was siding with the parents, while the parents thought the opposite.' (p194)

Similar points are also made in one of the most comprehensive British accounts of a consultative service to schools in respect of pupils exhibiting difficult behaviour. Coulby and Harper (1985) describe their work in, and evaluation of the ILEA Division 5 Schools Support Unit - a group of support team teachers, an educational psychologist and a senior educational welfare officer - who provided a service to some 80 primary and 15 secondary schools. A major contention of these authors is that outbreaks of classroom disruption in primary and secondary schools can be reduced without excluding particular children from school.

Although there was a recognition that home and family factors would play a part in a pupil's school behaviour, Coulby and Harper are anxious not to minimise the findings from both the school effectiveness, and the behavioural psychology literature - '....the thinking and rationale behind the team and its way of working indicate a preference to locate difficulties of classroom disruption within the school rather than ascribe it to the family of the pupil concerned.' On the other hand where families were also deemed to require some form of intervention because of additional

factors, then the team was able to suggest or arrange for the involvement of another agency.

Coulby and Harper again offer a particularly graphic description of the potential for antagonism between home and school that many researchers and practitioners have noted in these circumstances.

> There is still a tendency in many schools, after a particularly stormy episode, to summon parents to the head's office, in the hope that giving them a tongue-lashing will prove more effective than administering the same to their offspring. In such parental 'interviews' the values of the school and the home can be brought into sharp opposition. The results can range from sullen resentment to mutual blame. Even if the parents are prepared to wave a stick for the school, this can sometimes lead to absenteeism rather than reformation on the part of the pupil. Relationships with parents are too often a consequence of those deficit models of working-class and black families....still prevalent in many staffrooms.(p14)

Dowling and Taylor (1989) describe outreach work from a clinic in a small number of primary schools. The outreach team consisted of a clinical and an educational psychologist and a teacher from a clinic. The purpose of the project was to attempt to reduce referrals to outside agencies by being available to address difficulties in school early. They provided a drop-in service for both parents and teachers as separate groups as well as setting up timetabled meetings for consultations with head teachers and other external support staff.

Once again the delicacy of working between parents and teacher was addressed:

> 'Often a joint meeting with parents and teachers would seem the logical step to follow the drop-in session. However, careful and skilful handling is required in bringing the two parties together, as the situation can be so polarized that such an attempt could be perceived by the parent as a potential confrontation. The seemingly humble goal of reopening communication between parents and teachers must not be underestimated as it can lead to significant changes in perception of the difficulties and might release the child from the 'go-between' position (p26).

Explicit accounts by members of mainstream schools of approaches to involving parents in respect of difficult behaviour are not easy to detect in the published literature. There are likely to be a number of reasons for this. It may be that schools do not see their practice as exceptional or effective enough to merit wider dissemination through publication. It may also be because either parental involvement does not take place except in the negative and unproductive ways outlined by various commentators or it may be because effective work of this sort, initiated by the school itself is very rare.

Wolfendale (1987) argues that there are plenty of exemplars of home-school collaboration, particularly in respect to reading, but that involvement in 'children's behavioural and emotional problems is uncharted territory.' She then goes on to argue that schools could take a four level approach by considering

1) current provision - to appraise existing provision in relation to disruptive behaviour at school or at home, for example, the curriculum, pastoral arrangements, the discipline and sanctions system, internal communications, current policy for involving parents

2) the school system - review the school system with a view to incorporating parents. This may include open evenings, parent governors, liaison teachers, involving parents in critical incidents such as suspensions, information sent to parents

3) school focussed Inset - identify skills required for working with parents and to provide Inset

4) direct work with parents and children - the previous three levels could be extended to involve parents and children in intervention approaches to disruptive behaviour.

Laudable though these suggestions are, the repeated accounts of mutual blame and hostility between schools and parents over difficult behaviour suggest that this area may be qualitatively different from such activities as encouraging reading development where perhaps the degree of attribution is nowhere near so great or so recriminative. This process of attribution by teachers, whether of pupils or parents, is clearly associated with other aspects of the organisational context within which they are created. Quicke has argued that

> '....concepts like self, identity, labelling, culture, rules, typifications, stigma, negotiation and power all necessitate an approach to (EP) practice which must be based on an analysis of the 'fine grain' of social processes....(the EP) cannot ignore conflicts of perspective, the hidden curriculum, pupil culture or individual consciousness because these are at the very heart of an interactionist analysis' (p129)

The further analysis of this study's transcripts will be particularly attentive to this fine grain of social processes, especially as this study has the potential to comment on these in the unique context of examples of effective teacher interventions with pupils previously construed as deviant.

Before that, however, the next section of this chapter examines an area of literature that argues the need for an external and neutral observer in cases of the breakdown in communication between home and school following from the experience of difficult pupil behaviour in school.

f) 'Ecosystemic' approaches to joint teacher-parent consultation

Various terms, such as eco-structural (Aponte,1976), joint systems (Dowling and Taylor,(1985) and ecosystemic (Cooper and Upton, 1990), are used to refer to consultative approaches that consider the interactional aspects of family and, or school functioning. As such, publications in this area tend to be in the form of theoretical formulations or model building, sometimes backed up by one or two case studies.

Although also concerned with how a consultant works with teachers and parents to effect changes in a child's behaviour, these publications differ considerably from the behavioural studies in their focus and their style. For instance, there is very little attempt to collect quantitative data and outcomes are judged in a very impressionistic fashion. Secondly, the role of, and the interaction patterns involving the consultant are usually seen as highly pertinent whereas these are barely mentioned in the behavioural literature. Not only are they seen as important, it is often the case that the relationship between home and school has deteriorated so badly that its repair is seen as the major task in itself.

The earliest reference in the literature to dealing with specific joint actions on the part of schools and families in instances when children are showing unsettled or disturbing behaviour is to be found in Tucker & Dyson (1973), who were, respectively, a family therapist and educational consultant with a family psychiatry department and a senior administrator for a school district. They described a pilot project involving two elementary schools in Pennsylvania. The purpose of the project was to test the feasibility of utilising the processes of family therapy in order to reverse the maladaptive school behaviour of children and to facilitate constructive interactions both between the school and

home and among school personnel. They were concerned that parents and teachers seldom met outside formalised contact times unless there was a severe problem and that under such circumstances these meetings became a confrontation between adversaries in an atmosphere of 'alienation, scapegoating and blame'.

A major intention was to diminish this mutual scapegoating by helping parents and teachers understand each other's motives and actions. One major method used was a series of weekly meetings involving three or four teachers who shared some of the same children, the principal, the school psychologist, and the family therapist. It was reported that, in these discussions, teachers frequently gained greater insights into the ways in which they might be encouraging some of their pupils' provocative behaviour. Tucker and Dyson commented that as the group proceeded it became apparent that it was functioning in ways frequently observed in families, with the teachers often acting as a group of siblings.

In a later stage of the project families of children who were having difficulties in school were invited to meet with the principal, the psychologist, a member of the teaching team and the family consultant. By using principles deriving from family therapy practice, - the definition and observation of boundaries, clarifying roles, creating a non-critical atmosphere - the authors claimed to be able to provide the security that permitted and encouraged individuals to share relevant material within agreed-upon parameters. Some of these meetings were held with the expectation that a family would accept a referral for family therapy but many were intended to serve solely the purpose of exchanging information, modifying perceptions, and sharing ideas and suggestions. The project was claimed to have produced substantial benefits for the schools, the families and the body of professional knowledge.

Following this work, Aponte (1976), also working in Pennsylvania, laid down some of the theoretical basis for what he called 'the ecosystemic or structural approach'

> One must conceptualise the child, the family, the school, and the community organisation involved in the child's problem as systems - interrelated in an ecological complex over a common issue. Their relationships make up the underpinnings of the context, namely its structure. The transactional patterns that characterise the relationship among the component systems of this complex incorporate the laws by which the parts of these systems function with respect to one another.'

Aponte illustrated the approach in action with an example of a case study of a ten year old who was frequently involved in fights with other boys at school. In this the therapist, for the intervention was being carried out from a Child Guidance Centre base brought together for an initial meeting in school two therapists, the three teachers who taught the pupil, the principal, mother, father and child (they had wanted to include the five siblings as well!). Important role implications for the therapist, consultant or whoever is responsible for the intervention are pointed out

> 'The teachers....do not expect to be treated as clients. The prospect of being interviewed with the child and his parents brings into question the school staff's status in relation to their pupil. And yet the therapists are being called upon to accomplish something neither the family nor the school could do and thus (they) must lead the three-way effort .. to solve the problem.'

Taylor (1982) discussed family consultation carried out in school settings by an educational psychologist. She saw a significant difference between this 'school-based family consultation' and the regular practice of family therapy in that the educational psychologist would be working within a particular school with both the staff and the pupil population for a number of years. Thus '....he can therefore use a different time-scale and especially he can influence the school system to support his interventions once he has seen the family.' Taylor described the responsibility placed upon a pupil to act as 'go-between' when the two systems of family

and school fail to mesh, '....as the lynch-pin between them he is the focus of the greatest stress and any indications of a bad fit are going to manifest themselves in him.'

Using two case studies, Taylor outlined a method of working which involves an initial family interview in school followed by continuing consultations with school staff. In one case study she described involving two of the school staff for the first half an hour of the family consultation '....to voice the complaints of the school and to have an initial response from the parents and (the pupil).' This understandably generated strong feelings in the parents and these then became the focus for much of the rest of the meeting. In this way Taylor was working to some degree along the lines described by Aponte but had pulled back from a full application of his ecosystemic approach. Aponte acknowledged the difficulties as well as the benefits posed by working with members of the two systems always physically together and Taylor opted for some separation between the two although this was much less than the traditional pattern for educational psychologists and child guidance personnel.

Taylor saw the theoretical roots of this type of practice as lying within a number of fields.

> 'The would-be consultant....owes a debt to many approaches in the field of mental health......a psychodynamic understanding of the life cycle; systems theory, learning theory and crisis theory; techniques of brief therapy, family therapy and consultation and, for work in schools, at least a nodding acquaintance with the literature of organizational development. Trying to determine which is the major influence in this or that tactic can lead to the proverbial problem of the centipede.'

In other words, interventions are not chosen by a strict application of a particular body of theory, rather 'parameters and techniques' that derive from these backgrounds are employed. These include taking the presenting problem seriously, defining it in

practical terms and sometimes 'reframing' it. An emphasis is placed upon tasks

> ....it is imperative to find early in the interview an explicit focus to work on which is accepted by the family and has meaning for them....Tasks which involve the school and the family can help to change the dysfunctional interaction between the two systems and can be regularly monitored by the consultant on his regular visits to school.

In 1983, Fine and Holt again reviewed the approach advanced by Tucker and Dyson and Aponte, and illustrated a well written article with further case studies. They suggested that although such an approach might lead to interventions similar to those deriving from other perspectives, the systemic approach involved participants in a broader form of analysis and planning

> The teacher may end up using some reinforcement or encouragement strategy or some restructuring of academic tasks. These 'traditional' techniques emerge, however, from a broader, systemic view of the child.

In concluding the article Fine and Holt drew on their experience of this type of work and cautioned other practitioners against unrealistic expectations by highlighting five important considerations

'1 A basic competency issue

Just because a systems orientation makes sense and a person chooses to approach a case from a systems viewpoint does not mean that it will happen. The techniques are sophisticated and quite dynamic. With all due respect to a behavioural approach, there is a considerable lockstep, rote set of procedures to follow. This is less the case with a systems orientation.

2 Systems have a homeostatic quality

If a consultant has been typecast, for example as a child counsellor or a tester, or even a teacher consultant, and now

attempts to take on a broader role, there may be resistance to this from within the work setting..... When a professional person within a work setting, which is a system, attempts to change roles, someone is likely to get concerned.'

3 There is an absence of data-based research supporting the efficacy of a systems approach within the schools

4 The identification of the client system

Within a more traditional mental health consultation position (Caplan 1970), '....the client, that is, the child with a problem, is seen as the responsibility of the consultee, the teacher.... When the consultant views the client system as the child in interaction with the teacher and the classroom enviroment, then the consultative relationship is likely to change.'

5 (Systems) interventions are much less routinised than (applications deriving) from other theoretical approaches....Not every professional person is prepared by temperament or their personal/professional guidelines to utilise this orientation to intervention' .

In 1985, Dowling and Osborne's book 'The Family and the School' brought together a collection of papers by practitioners associated with the Tavistock Clinic. In the opening chapter Dowling set out the theoretical framework for the 'joint systems' approach, adding to earlier formulations which drew mainly upon concepts from family therapy by drawing parallels with the systems thinking that was developing in relation to educational institutions. In particular, she points to notions such as decision-making executive subsystems within both family and school systems and to the prominence and nature of rules both in the form of ground rules and meta rules, the former referring to the specifics of the way a system functions and the latter to the meaning of the ground rules.

Returning to the American context, Power and Bartholomew (1985) present in some detail a case study aimed at intervening between a school and family system, 'getting uncaught in the middle' as they term it. These workers, a psychologist and a consultant, drew upon Minuchin's and Haley's family systems approach to provide a model for their intervention planning with a ten year old boy whose school were concerned about his poor academic performance and his facial tics. This paper went further than the earlier examples of ecosystemic approaches by providing a more detailed assessment of the problem in terms of symmetrical relationships and hierarchical problems, and joint meetings with staff and parents were planned and conducted in the same way as family therapy sessions.

In this particular case the home-school conflict was seen as providing an issue on which the parents could collaborate and thus afford a partial solution to their own relationship problems.

> To become 'uncaught' the team needed to understand how the family-school pattern mirrored the family pattern, establish a clear boundary between the home and school domains, validate the authority of each party in their own domain, and provide a new way for the parents to unite their energies'.

In addition to recognising the need to work with this dynamic, Power and Bartholomew also acknowledged 'a dilemma common to school consultants';

> 'since the team was contracted by school personnel, in effect they were mandated to validate the school's position in the conflict. If the team had not sanctioned the school's position, any power they had as consultants would have been lost'.

Notions of the client and lines of accountability thus intervene directly to determine the types of strategy that are acceptable to some or all of the parties concerned, acceptability being the *sine qua non* for any successful action.

More recently Cooper & Upton (1991) have published a series of articles extolling the benefits of the ecosystemic approach as a new method for conceptualising behaviour problems and one which 'opens up exciting new avenues for intervention'. They argue that these approaches, using interventions such as 'reframing and positive connotation', are in many cases suitable for autonomous use by teachers without the need for expert supervision. Although they recognise the value of consultancy, Upton and Cooper (1990) believe that there are many situations in schools in which these techniques could be used independently by teachers or within the context of peer support groups. In view of the intensity of reactions between parents and teachers and the strength of the attributions often made when a pupil is perceived as experiencing behaviour difficulties, it is difficult to imagine teachers frequently reframing the problem entirely of their own volition and the need for consultant or possibly peer intervention may have been underestimated by Upton and Cooper.

Also in Britain, Campion (1984) has described her use of a family therapy approach as an educational psychologist. Clinic-based sessions were organised for families where children had been referred for various school-based problems that were deemed by the author to have their origins within the family background. She does not detail the form of work undertaken with the schools but states that for many of them a 'joint systems' approach with an intervention at school 'which would complement the intervention in the family system' was attempted. The account discusses the nature of the family problems and various features of the therapeutic interventions, the majority of which comprised five to eight sessions with some or all family members attending. Of the 72 children worked with, Campion's evaluation, based on reports from school, showed that 42 had made more satisfactory progress and the main reason for referral had disappeared, 27 had made a partial improvement and 3 had shown little or no improvement.

Not all children with behaviour difficulties remain in mainstream schools of course. The more severe the pupil's problems the more likely they are to find themselves placed in a special school or unit where, it is claimed, there will be the expertise, resources and class sizes to enable the pupil's needs to be met. In view of the centrality of the home-school relationship being propounded in this review, it is worth asking whether such placements aid or obstruct improvements in this area.

Upton et al.(1986) noted that there had been little published about parental involvement with residential schools for children with emotional and behavioural difficulties. A questionnaire sent to all 236 such schools in England and Wales elicited a 73% reply rate and revealed, among other things, that, only 14% of these schools identified family therapy as a dominant treatment approach and that only 8 of staff had appropriate training in this field. Even despite this orientation, it was found that family involvement in educational tasks in these particular schools was very low.

One of these residential schools that has published an account of its work with parents is Chelfham Mill (Burland 1986). With the intention of reintegrating pupils back home and into mainstream school, the school's social worker and principal visit the pupils' homes and parents come to stay at the school. During the first holiday parents are asked to write daily diaries describing their son's behaviour (both appropriate and inappropriate) and noting antecedents and consequences. (The school's practice has a reputation for being grounded in behavioural psychology). During the next holiday the parents undertake more detailed observations including recording frequencies of occurrence of certain behaviours. Six case studies illustrate the methods employed by Chelfham Mill, which even include a residential social worker actually going to live with the families at certain stages of programmes.

Another British example from the same year was provided by Dawson and McHugh (1986a) who described their work as teachers in an off-site Education Unit that developed an approach based on 'Family Systems' and worked particularly with pupils who had attendance problems. In this model children with problems were never seen as having sole or exclusive ownership of their problems and people with whom the child had relationships over significant periods of time were thought about as having 'shares' in the problem. '....before a referral is made teachers have invariably got to the stage of feeling that nothing they try will make any difference. This feeling is often exactly mirrored in the family.' Dawson and McHugh organised weekly family meetings both in the unit and back at the school. The saw the latter as important in ensuring that everybody got feedback about progress or the lack of it. '....because of their special position in relation to children and parents, teachers can, if they choose, have profound influence even by apparently small interventions.' The authors have produced a series of papers giving case examples of this form of work (see, for example, Dawson and McHugh, 1986b).

Cornwell (1988) describes a very different form of intervention, one that derives more from a socio-linguistic analysis. She describes setting up and running over an 18 month period of a Parents' Room in a day EBD school in which she, as a psychiatric social worker attached to the school, encouraged 'open' and 'reflective listening'. Open listening is defined as being directed towards enabling the speaker to speak as they feel and reflective listening is directed towards helping the other to reflect upon themselves and their situation, to structure their thinking and to recognise attitudes and assumptions. Cornwell claims that these forms of listening are in contrast to the form of listening that usually characterises professionals' interactions with parents. As a result of this style of interacting, it became possible for parents to retreat from a position of blaming school for all difficulties that arose there. She quotes one parent as saying

'What happens is that the kids pick up the blaming bit between the parent and the teacher - they're both blaming each other, you see. The kid begins to think 'it's not my fault'. That's the self-deception bit. And the parents react by being protective....the parent (and) the teacher, ...they both blame each other. I know now it's a two way thing. I don't now blame the teacher for him not learning like I used to'.

Cornwell suggests that a statement such as this reflects more that an increase in self awareness:

'On the one level it appears that this is an example of acquisition of insight. However, when insights about self are extended to insights about the context in which the self operates, a more sophisticated perception of how problems occur is possible.'

Just as Cornwell's example deviates from the ecosystemic approach by being only concerned with the parents, albeit in the context of trying to improve their perception of the home-school context and its effect upon children, so too Osborne (1983) and Hanko (1990) address the mirror image of this in their work with groups of teachers. Both describe sensitive accounts of group work, drawing on a background in the psychoanalytic therapies, in which, through the discussion of real life cases, it has been possible to acknowledge and legitimise the teachers' feelings surrounding particularly contentious interactions with pupils and/or their parents as a prelude to helping each other with possible ways forward.

g) Behavioural approaches to joint teacher-parent consultation

Traditional behaviour modification approaches in classrooms can take up a great deal of time and effort on the part of the teacher and the consultant. Often the teacher must alter his or her teaching style and tangible rewards are limited within, or alien to the classroom. On the other hand, parents often have access to a wide variety of privileges. In home-based reinforcement (H-BR) studies, the teacher is responsible for specifying the classroom rules, for determining rule violations and for communicating these to the parent. At home the parent is responsible for consistently dispensing rewards and sanctions to the child, based on the teacher's report.

Atkeson and Forehand (1979) reviewed 21 papers that contained the results of 29 experiments or case studies using HB-R to affect the conduct or academic behaviour of pupils across the statutory school range. This review also scrutinised the methodology of these studies in order to evaluate the validity of the results and concluded that 63% had 'adequate designs', predominantly ABA designs with one experimental-control group comparison. The general conclusion from the paper was that H-BR was consistently effective in improving both academic achievement and disruptive classroom behaviour across a wide range of ages, in both ordinary and special classrooms.

In the same year Barth also reviewed this subject and considered 18 of the studies included in Atkeson and Forehand's paper. However, by taking a different emphasis, the two papers serve a useful complimentary function. especially as Barth discusses a number of the more elusive 'implementation' issues. For example, he quotes a study by Karraker (1972) in which three methods for training parents in the use of H-BR were compared. One group was instructed in two one-hour sessions with the consultant, a second group had only one fifteen-minute session with the consultant while the third

group were mailed a one page instruction sheet. It was found that the method of instruction was not predictive of the amount of behaviour change. Whilst this study goes some way beyond the usual concerns of experimental approaches, it still gives no insights into the actual recruitment of the groups, their expectations and the 'micro-political' contexts within which the child's behaviour is being experienced.

Again in the area of implementation, Barth quotes from Hickey et al (1977) who examined whether or not home-school programmes actually increased parent-teacher communication. They concluded that such interventions definitely did; in a programme involving 5 children and their parents no instances of parent-initiated contact were recorded during the baseline period but 20 such contacts were observed during the parent involvement stage.

A third study quoted by Barth, that by MacDonald et al (1970) raises interesting questions related to the monitoring of such interventions. In a programme involving 35 adolescents who were school phobic, two groups were randomly assigned to either a 'contact counsellor' or a 'contingency counsellor'. The contact counsellors made three times the amount of parent contact as the contingency counsellors, but the latter utilised daily notes home, with the result of significantly improved attendance for this group.

In conclusion, Barth was as enthusiastic about H-BR as Atkeson and Forehand, and stated that '....the wide-scale application of this system need wait no longer.' Despite such reviews and recommendations, however, the approach has not generated widespread discussion in the British literature, although Section 1 of this study has found the inclusion of parents to be a common component within behavioural interventions devised by educational psychologists and primary school teachers.

Leach and Byre (1986) carried out a successful H-BR study in an Australian secondary school with four disruptive pupils and extended their design to see whether any 'spill over' effects in terms of improvement in the behaviour of non-targeted but equally disruptive pupils in the same class could be observed. Such effects were indeed observed in one class but not in the other and the authors speculate on the possible reasons for this. Leach and Ralph (1986) provided a case study in an Australian setting which was successful in decreasing the classroom rule violations of a 16 year old boy and Gupta et al (1990) have reported on what they consider to be '...the only study which has been carried out in the UK which has attempted to assess the effectiveness of H-BR.' From a study of 24 children selected from two 'bottom stream' year 9 classes, Gupta et al were able to claim that '... on the whole the implementation of H-BR improved these children's behaviour, attendance, motivation and the amount of work completed.' It should be noted, however, that this AB design would not fall within Atkeson and Forehand's criteria for acceptable methodology.

An account of a service application of home-based reinforcement in a British context has been provided by Long (1988). He described the work of educational psychologists and behaviour support teachers in West Norwich and the process of moving away from a system of off-site units for pupils with severe behaviour problems and towards supported home-school links. Interestingly, at a time when there had been a considerable drive towards working with schools in such a way that they retained a sense of primary responsibility for all their pupils, the focus in this work was placed upon the outside support professional taking responsibility for setting up and monitoring the home-school programme.

The approach used drew upon Topping's (1983) review of provision for disruptive adolescents and the effective elements of the system were seen as being the use of a '....behavioural, problem solving approach, an emphasis upon the primacy of home-school liaison and .....an effective home-pupil-school communication system.' Long

recognised, as have most writers on this subject since Aponte, that a person outside both the home and school system '....can offer support, advice and apply pressure when necessary' in interventions that may well involve both home and school significantly changing their perspectives on the nature of the 'problem' and their respective responsibilities.

The particular tasks for the outside professional in this system were

1) to set up the school-parent interview. Long considered it important that this meeting was held at school because the precipitating events had occurred there and it might therefore beeasier to air and clear up any early differences between home and school in the latter setting. The consultant also outlined the options available both in terms of the possible routes such as suspension, special education or home tuition, and the negative aspects of these, and in terms of the success rates of the recommended home-school report system. If the parents wished to be involved with the report system their suggestions regarding such aspects as possible home-based reinforcers were then used in the joint planning of the reporting system.

2) The second task for the support worker was to visit home and schoolto ensure that the report was being implemented and to back up parental management. In the initial stages these visits were made at least weekly.

3) The final phase for which the support worker took responsibility was the running down of the system. This was achieved by decreasing the frequency of reporting and visits when all agreed it to be necessary.

Long has evaluated the outcome for 44 cases treated in this way. These pupils were worked with during an academic year by 2 support workers covering a secondary school population of 4,700 and represent that 1% or so whose problems had previously proved chronic and intransigent. Using Topping's finding of a 66% 'spontaneous remission rate' as a comparison, the West Norfolk intervention achieved an 82% success or partial success rate, the

former (64%) being defined as immediate improvements in attendance and behaviour at school as ascertained by a post-intervention school questionnaire, and the latter as attendance with a barely tolerable (but improved) level of behaviour.

Within the behavoural paradigm, another small but relevant set of literature is concerned with the possible generalisation of the effects of a behavioural intervention carried out in a particular setting. This interest followed from the work of psychologists who had been achieved considerable success in teaching parents to use behavioural approaches in order to manage their children's difficult behaviour at home (O'Dell 1974). Two papers describe experimental approaches to determine whether a successful 'parent behavior training program', one which leads to a child's improved behaviour at home, will generalise so that positive changes also occur in the child's behaviour at school.

Forehand et al (1979) worked with eight mother and child pairs, the children being aged between 5 and 7 years. A control child of the same age and from the same class was also observed. Data were collected by independent observers before and after treatment in the home, for the experimental group, and in each child's school for both the experimental and control group. In the home of the treated children both parent and child behaviours changed in a positive direction but no significant change occured in the school behaviour of either group of children. Reviewing this study and others McMahon and Davies (1980) concluded that

> If the child is a behaviour problem in the classroom, then it appears that parent training is not the treatment of choice (except, of course, for the remediation of any concurrent home behaviour problems). Instead, appropriate classroom management strategies should be implemented

The small body of literature on 'reward preference' studies, although it does not report directly on interventions, has a very direct bearing upon this discussion in that it has the potential to

make a significant contribution especially to approaches deriving from a behavioural perspective. Caffyn (1987, 1989) surveyed 510 pupils and 99 teachers from four mixed comprehensive schools to gather their views about the effectiveness of commonly used rewards and punishments. This study asked questions about both school work and behaviour. In both categories, and for both pupils and teachers, involving parents was seen as of fundamental importance.

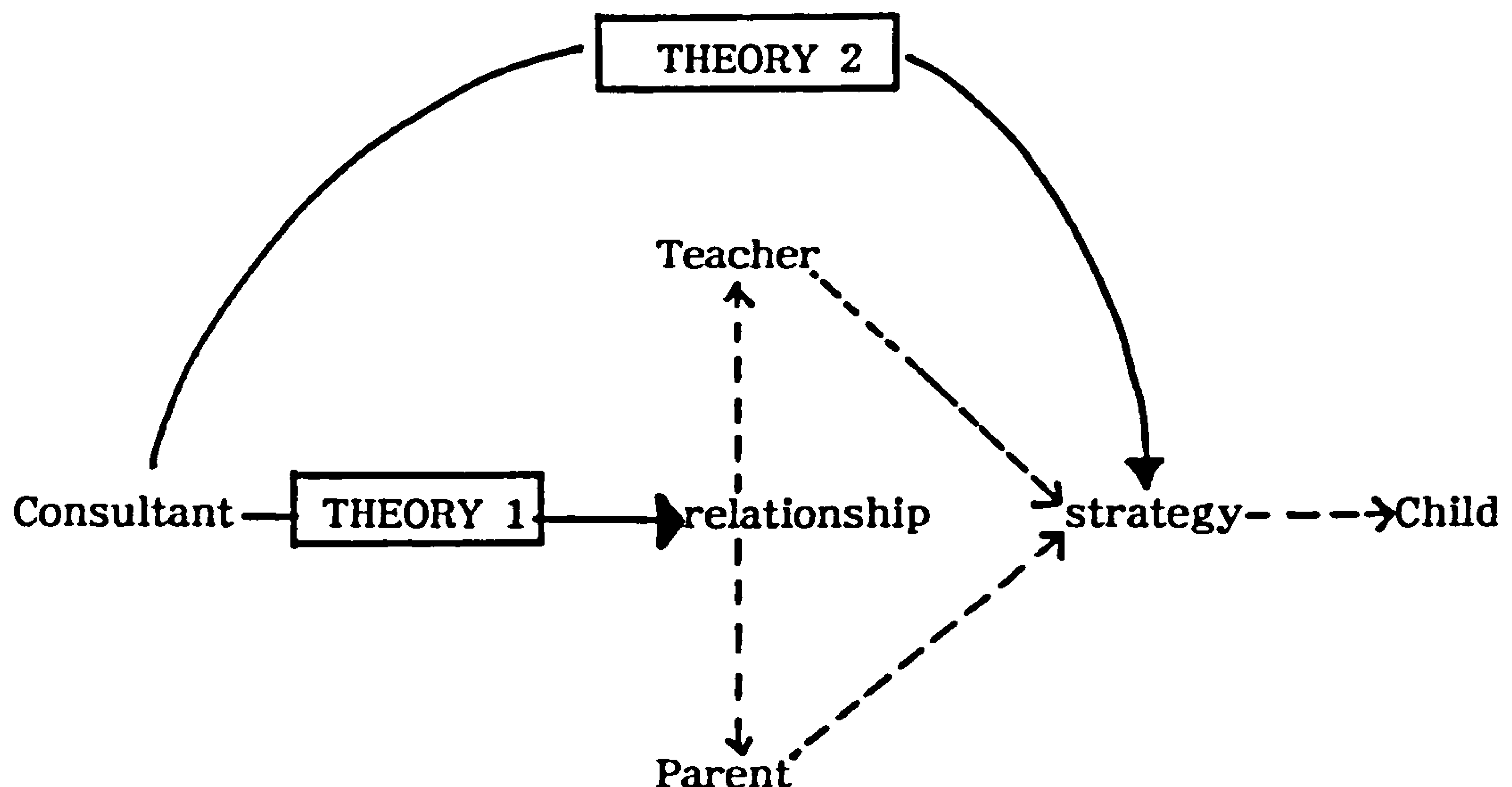
A similar study was carried out by Harrop and Wiliams (1992) with Junior aged pupils and their teachers. The pupils and teachers of years 5 and 6 in two primary schools (a total of 84 boys, 97 girls and 8 teachers) each ranked 10 rewards and punishments for effectiveness. The pupils were asked to rank these according to how much they would herlp them 'work better in school' and the teachers according to which was the 'most useful'. The pupils rated their parents being informed about their good and their naughty behaviour respectively as the most effective reward and punishment. Although informing parents about naughty behavior rated second in the teacher's punishments (after 'being told off in front of the class'), informing them about good behaviour came eighth on their list of rewards. Harrop and Williams describe this as a 'gross discrepancy' that 'suggests a rather negative attitude which requires examination'.Clearly, when pupils' views are solicited concerning the significance of contact with their parents over school work and behaviour, they consistently see this as highly important.

Combining ecosystemic and behavioural approaches

The areas of literature reviewed in this chapter under the headings of 'ecosystemic' and 'behavioural' approaches may be contrasted in many ways. For example, the former is more discursive whereas the latter attempts to remain firmly based upon quantifiable data. They also draw upon very different, and often antagonistic theoretical perspectives.

The potential contribution of both perspectives to the subject matter of this study can be clarified by extending the model of consultation put forward by West and Idol (1987) (see Chapter 4). Figure 7 shows this type of consultation as a two-stage process requiring two different explanatory frameworks. The consultant needs a model (THEORY 1) to guide the way he or she works with the teacher and parent relationship so that barriers are overcome and positive attributions are encouraged and another set of principles (THEORY 2) to inform any joint strategy that may be devised with them to help in the management of the child.

Figure 7 The two theroretical frameworks that guide teacher-parent behavioural consultation



Obviously, the literature on behavioural approaches has traditionally concerned itself with THEORY 2 and the strategies resulting from it. Although early British writers like Presland (1975), Ward (1976) and Leach (1981) talked about the need to also address the consultative aspects of working with schools, there was little in their writings or that of their contemporaries that reflected anything like a systematically developed body of theory

(THEORY 1), with which to describe, coordinate and possibly even predict aspects of this part of the work. Conoley and Conoley (1990) have pointed out that still '....in contrast to mental health consultation, there is limited literature concerning relationship issues between the consultant and consultee....' in behavioural approaches.

The studies described under the heading of ecosystemic approaches focus far more on this relationship and on the interactions between school staff, parents and the consultant and thus offer frameworks that might inform the development of THEORY 1 as the transcripts are coded further.

CHAPTER 8

Cultures, systems, colleagues and joint consultations with teachers and parents in respect of difficult pupil behaviour.

A further analysis of the interview transcripts

A further analysis of the level I codes relating to 'Other staff' (see Table 27, Chapter 6) enabled two major categories to be derived at a relatively early stage. These could be identified as the espoused theory and the theory-in-use as far as the responses of these schools to difficult pupil behaviour was concerned. The former was often manifest in the form of a written policy document whereas the latter was often referred to much in the manner of Deal and Kennedy's (1982) definition of staff culture, '....the system of informal rules that spells out how people are to behave most of the time'. The derivation of these categories, by a process of level II and III coding and sorting, is shown in diagrammatic form in Figure 9, later in this chapter.

Developing further the partial sense of isolation from colleagues experienced by the teachers in this study and described in Chapter 6, it is possible to detect in almost all the transcripts a conflict within the relationship between espoused theory (policy), theory-in-use (culture) and the teacher's preferred method of handling the pupil.

a) Policy-culture conflict

For the schools in this study, 14 were said to have a written policy concerning behaviour, 6 were in the process of developing one, and 4 were without such plans as far as the interviewee was aware. In this study, the term 'policy' is taken to include both written statements accessible to the staff and less clearly articulated procedures providing they are generally recognised as institutionally approved, usually by originating from the head or other policy maker.

Even in a number of the schools with explicit policies, teachers were still able to identify prevailing attitudes and assumptions of the staff, - the staff culture, - as being incompatible with the

formally expressed policy. For example, one of the special needs coordinators, in a school with a written behaviour policy, said

> we started a system of rewards......in the school generally, yet, at the same time, I felt guilty that these problems (a particular pupil's difficult behaviour) simply weren't being addressed and that it was down to me in my role and the class teacher (Interview 5)

A number of interviewees described the procedure whereby teachers with a difficult pupil would consult with either the head or the special needs teacher;

> I think if I had a real problem with a child I would see the head and then she would say 'Well try this, have you tried that?' Or she would say 'Right, we'll call in the ed psych.' (Interview 9)

> I normally go to Rachel (SEN Coordinator) for help and advice on problems like this one. I spoke to her originally and said 'Look I've got a real problem here and I need some help' and she tried to give me some help. (Interview 13)

However, despite the existence and recognition of such procedures, the staff culture, in these same cases, lies in marked contrast to this problem solving and advice giving approach

> I think that sometimes you just get in the staffroom and think, you know, you don't want to talk. I mean really you just want to moan about your children, you don't want anyone to tell you anything because you don't want to listen. You just want to get it out of your system. (Interview 9)

> I think a lot of the time when we talk to each other in the staffroom we can be a bit negative, you know, doomy about things. We don't always make each other feel 'Go on, you can do it!' (Interview 13)

In these examples the teachers have a positive attitude towards the formal policy but at the same time experience an unsupportive culture. In other examples the reverse is the case, the official way of dealing with difficult behaviour is not highly regarded but the informal support received from colleagues is positively experienced;

For example, one teacher describes her opposition to the headteacher's preferred method of dealing with a particular pupil

> I fought very strongly because the head........just wanted him removed (Interview 18)

Although the rest of the staff were described as having lost much of their patience with this boy, the culture is nevertheless perceived as positive

> This is a very happy school and the staff are very nice indeed and they were all quite happy to help. (Interview 18)

To summarise this section, for these particular teachers there was seen to be a tension between culture and school policy, whether it was in a written form or not, in 8 cases, no tension in 6, and an indeterminate relationship in 10. Any actions on the part of a teacher that were likely to point out this disparity between espoused theory and theory-in-use would be likely to be met by one of the organisation's 'well-practiced defensive routines' (Argyris and Schon 1978).

b) Policy-teacher conflicts

In other interviews it was possible to detect a strain between the school's formal procedures and the teacher's preferred method without there necessarily being such a clear or obvious clash between policy and culture. A deputy head who has taught for 25 years described her reaction to the strategy of placing a difficult pupil in her class because of her seniority and experience

> Well the head - I think she just thought 'Well I know you'll cope' you know. Well I didn't. In fact, I could cope but I just went in saying I'm not prepared to anymore....I really did feel that as long as I coped I could be left to do it....in fact people used to send him out from things, out of assembly or a story, and back to me. (Interview 3)

Another teacher who did not feel comfortable with the school's procedure for approaching difficult behaviour said

> Now the head communicates very, very well but she communicates only with the person she needs to communicate with. She doesn't communicate generally in the staffroom if there's a problem with the children and really we don't delve into backgrounds too much. If it's necessary we do....Maybe my one criticism would be that it (the school) is very, very secretive. (Interview 7)

Whilst this criticism is rather guarded and set within a generally positive approach towards the main policy maker, the head, other teachers expressed their disagreement in stronger terms

> The head....knew the best way to do it and he would have him in his office working at a little table but then all of a sudden he'd have to go to a meeting so he'd have to pile him onto someone else or he'd have the odd private phone call or show someone around the school so Darren was left by himself in the office....You don't discuss it with the head, he hasn't got a clue....In our school you don't send them to the head because it just causes more hassle for you. (Interview 16)

In the remaining interviews 6 teachers indicated weak strains in relation to policy (making 9 in total who experienced a negative reaction to the school policy), 8 (one of them a teaching head, and two special needs coordinators) described their policy in either a positive or non-judgemental fashion and the remaining 7 made no reference to standard procedures in relation to difficult behaviour.

Thus strains in the relationship between policy and the teacher may be seen to be a factor in 9 of the 24 cases, and a powerful one in 3 of these.

c) Culture-teacher conflicts

The general culture of a school may be positively perceived by a teacher, irrespective of any prevailing views specifically concerning difficult behaviour, and this was the case in 10 interviews. In these positive instances comments were usually very

general and to the effect that the school was 'very happy' or 'open' and that staff very 'supportive' or 'sympathetic'.

Negative views of the culture usually existed where the teacher felt that a rejecting or 'doomy' attitude prevailed in relation to difficult pupils (as in Interviews 9 and 13 above). The teachers in the study perceived this as clashing with the positive approach they were trying to adopt with the pupil in question.

However, these attitudes were expressed more intensely in some of the sample;

> (The staff) felt they (difficult children) shouldn't be here if they're going to behave like that....they should be somewhere else. (Interview 17)
>
> They thought that he was really a lost cause and they thought he was extremely obnoxious and aggressive and a very naughty boy....His previous teacher was still smarting quite badly from his behaviour. (Interview 18)

Whereas the culture is being created and maintained here by staff's verbal reactions, it is possible for it to be communicated in equally powerful but far less tangible ways

> I've gone in as an acting deputy in lots of different schools....and (in) several schools I've been in (it's) 'The children are in your class, your responsibility, you look after them, you deal with them, if there's a problem you handle it'.
>
> *Who's saying that?'*
>
> Oh no, it's <u>there</u> when you walk through the door
>
> *So nobody's actually saying it?*
>
> No, it's <u>there</u> (Interview 24)

Even though a negative general culture was only perceived in 6 cases, nonetheless, throughout many of the interviews a sense of feeling alone with the responsibility for a pupil's difficult behaviour was to be found. It was stated strongly in 10 instances,

and in a more mixed fashion in 9. The following examples all being from schools where the general culture is perceived as positive

> People need to know, really do need to know, that they're not bad teachers. I needed to know that after twelve years I wasn't being gotten the better of by a five year old child (Interview 1)
>
> You always do as a teacher tend to think it's your fault (Interview 3)
>
> They all thought I was fighting a losing battle (Interview 15)
>
> You sometimes think 'Will they (colleagues) think it's me, I'm inadequate?' (Interview 21)

In summary, the teacher perceived the *general* school culture to be negative in 6 cases, positive in 10, and a mixture of both in 3. In only 4 cases was no judgement conveyed. However, as far as the culture specifically in regard to difficult pupils is concerned, there was a widespread feeling among the teachers interviewed of being solely responsible for the solution, and sometimes for the causes of a pupil's problem behaviour.

The creation of a temporary overlapping system

In total, in only 3 of the 24 cases was there seen to be no initial strains in the relationship between policy, culture and the teacher's view in respect of a particular difficult pupil. It is important to emphasise that this does not mean that the schools were in a perpetual state of disharmony, what it does mean is that when the teachers in this study found themselves with a difficult pupil then, from their perspective, there was an internal strain within the system. If there had been no intervention then homeostasis could be restored either by changes in policy, in culture or in the teacher's attitude towards the pupil in question.

Change in policy requires the time and commitment of a large number of staff and is unlikely to result as a response to a single pupil.

Change in culture, by definition, is extremely difficult to arrange even if time and commitment is available. For a particular teacher, holding attitudes or acting contrary to policy and/or culture in the fraught area of extreme pupil behaviour, however, would normally lead inevitably to increasing alienation. Yet this does not occur in these interviews. So what processes are at work encouraging positive outcomes for the teacher and child whilst at the same time avoiding an increase in internal strains?

The interviews reveal a frequent teacher perception of a temporary and overlapping system deriving from the involvement of the EP. This system always includes the teacher, pupil, EP and mother and often also contains other family members and staff, particularly dinner ladies and non teaching assistants. It takes the form of the 'therapeutic suprasystem' described by De Shazer (1982) in the context of family therapy in which the boundary is drawn around both the family and the therapist to create a new system. This new system develops its own norms and values but is temporary in the sense that its existence depends on the continuance of the therapist's involvement.

In these interviews, the new system is seen as temporary (see Figure 8, p.223), it originates with the 'formal' involvement of the EP and it ceases with the ending of this involvement. Whilst the system is in place it allows the teachers to step outside the values and norms of behaviour imposed through membership of the school system. Looking again at two of the quotes used in Chapter 7 it is possible to illustrate some aspects of this new boundary, perceived by the teachers as a seemingly paradoxical combination of the fragile and intangible with the authoritative and reassuring

> I think he (EP) was seeing it as I was. I think he was seeing that I just couldn't take anymore....I suppose he had the authority to make suggestions and he also in a way was taking some of the responsibility I suppose and it was nothing to do with the rest of the staff really. They just breathed a sigh a relief that it wasn't their problem (Interview 3)

> She didn't quiz me. She was lovely, she would just sit there and I could ask her questions, like 'I am trying this particular thing, is that alright?'....She would sort of say 'You're doing well, yes you are doing the right thing'. So yes, I appreciated that part of her as....as the professional....(The other teachers) would have said....'Oh go on he'll be alright'....but it meant more coming from her....She was trying hard to get Brian out of this negative situation (Interview 15)

She didn't quiz me....she was lovely' is language more appropriate to a reference group (Nias 1985), and many of these teachers accounts' of working with the EP are couched in similar terms. Within this new system, the norms and support of a reference group allow the teachers to construe pupils and parents differently, to escape from the typifications identified by Hammersley in which difficult behaviour was seen only in terms of fixed personality characteristics.

Systems boundary maintenance

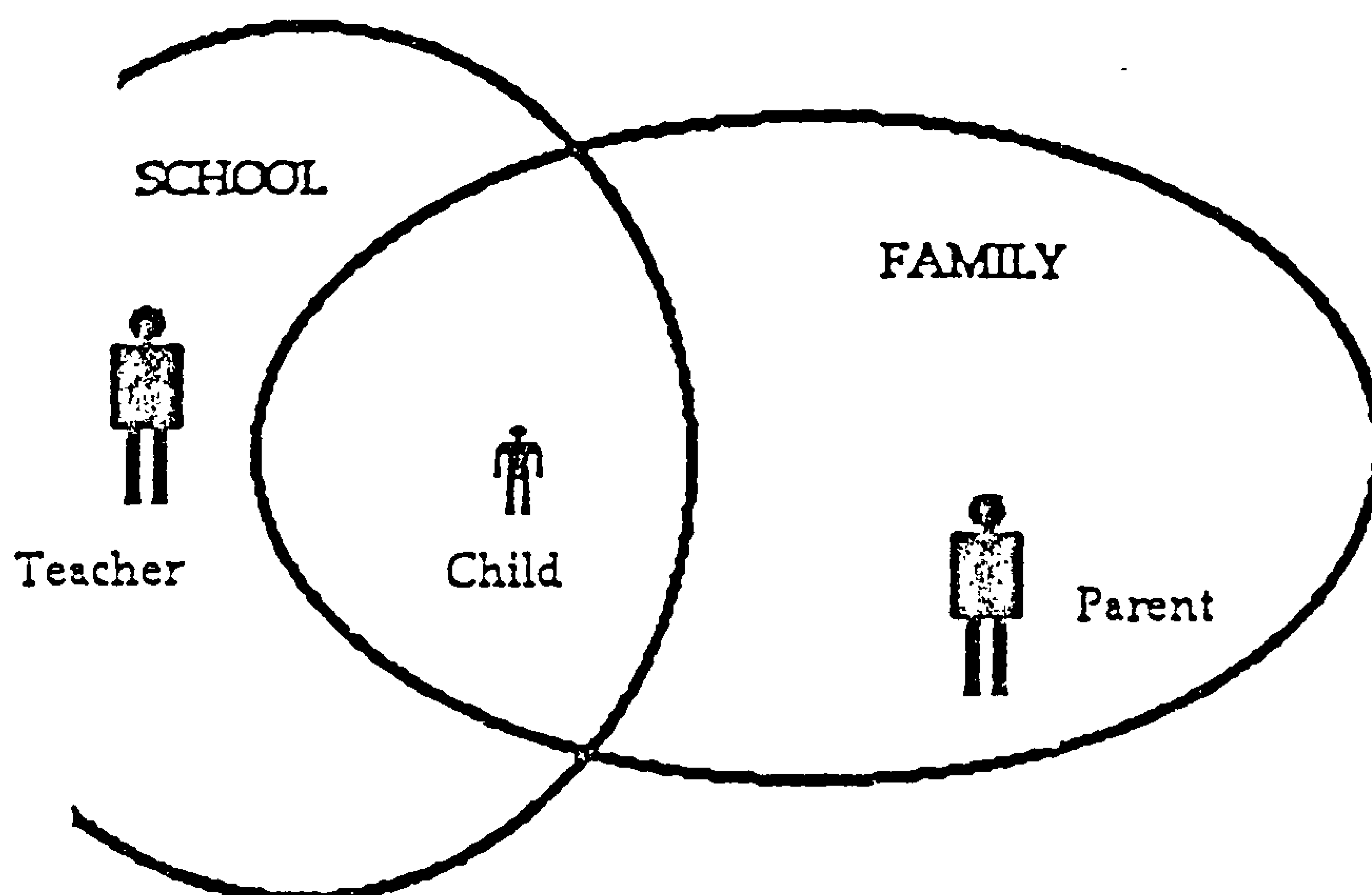
The new temporary boundary achieves two functions. Firstly, it defines a new system within which norms and expectations more typical of a reference group can be encouraged. Usually this new system includes at least the teacher, the mother and the EP. In a minority of cases the system is comprised of only the teacher and EP but the same degree of intersubjectivity can still be detected in these accounts. As a result of these new norms it becomes possible to reconstrue children and parents. In discussing family therpay procedures, Dallos (1991) comments that

> '....a dialectical approach....emphasises repeatedly that action and construing are inextricably connected....Change invovles a shift at both levels - action and construing.... we need to be wary when there is only evidence of movement in one area and not the other. It is easy enough to talk about things in a different way and to act in a different way, at least for a while. However, in order for change to be sustained, shifts in both areas are necessary'(p142)

Not only, then, does the new system create a partnership which will implement a joint strategy, it also creates a level of personal

Figure 8 The location and nature of the temporary overlapping boundary

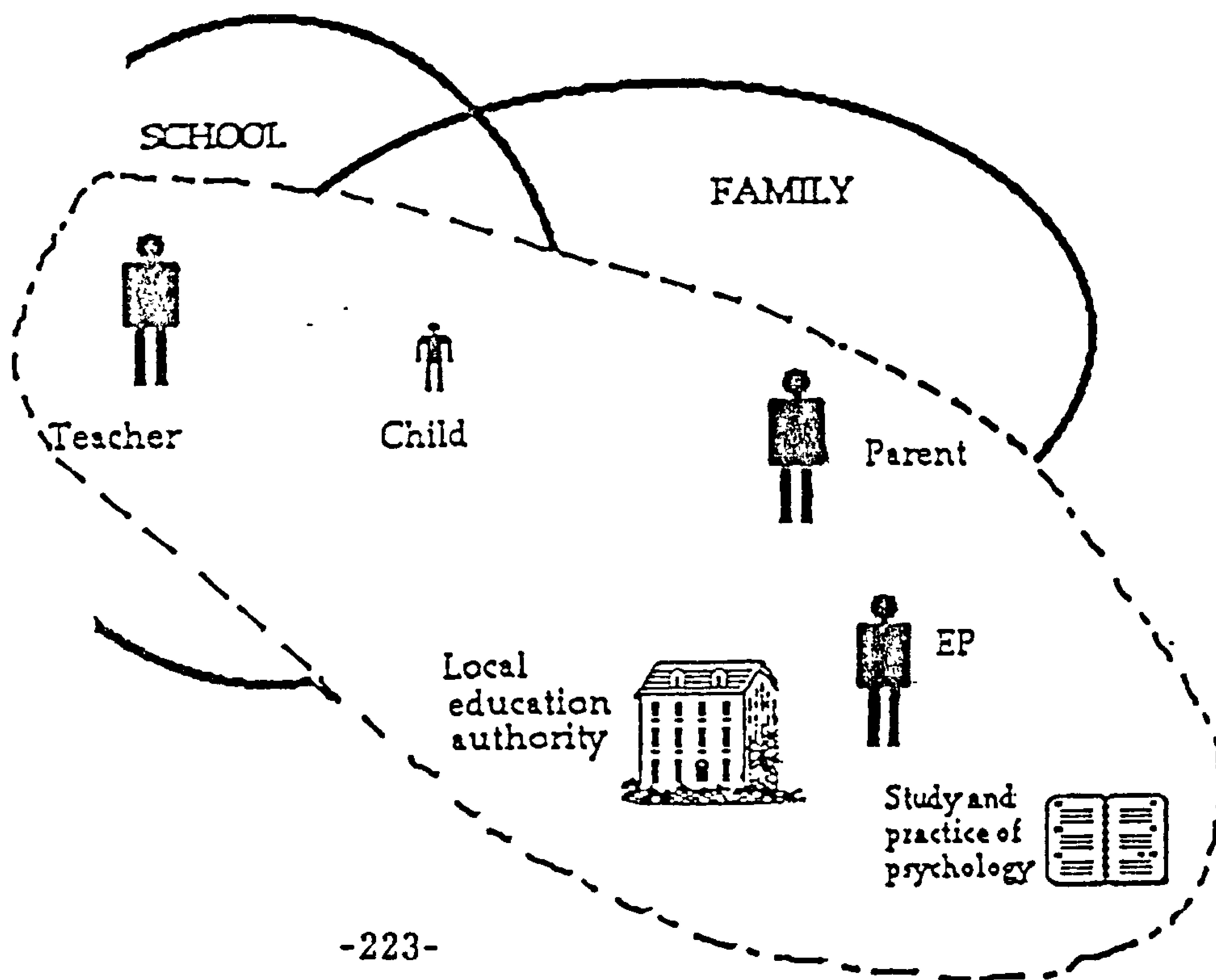
a) The child as a member of the family and school systems



Each boundary includes the norms and rules for:

- interacting with individuals within the system
- dealing with internally disruptive events
- carrying out joint tasks
- presenting a 'common front'
- communicating across the boundary

b) The introduction of the temporary overlapping system



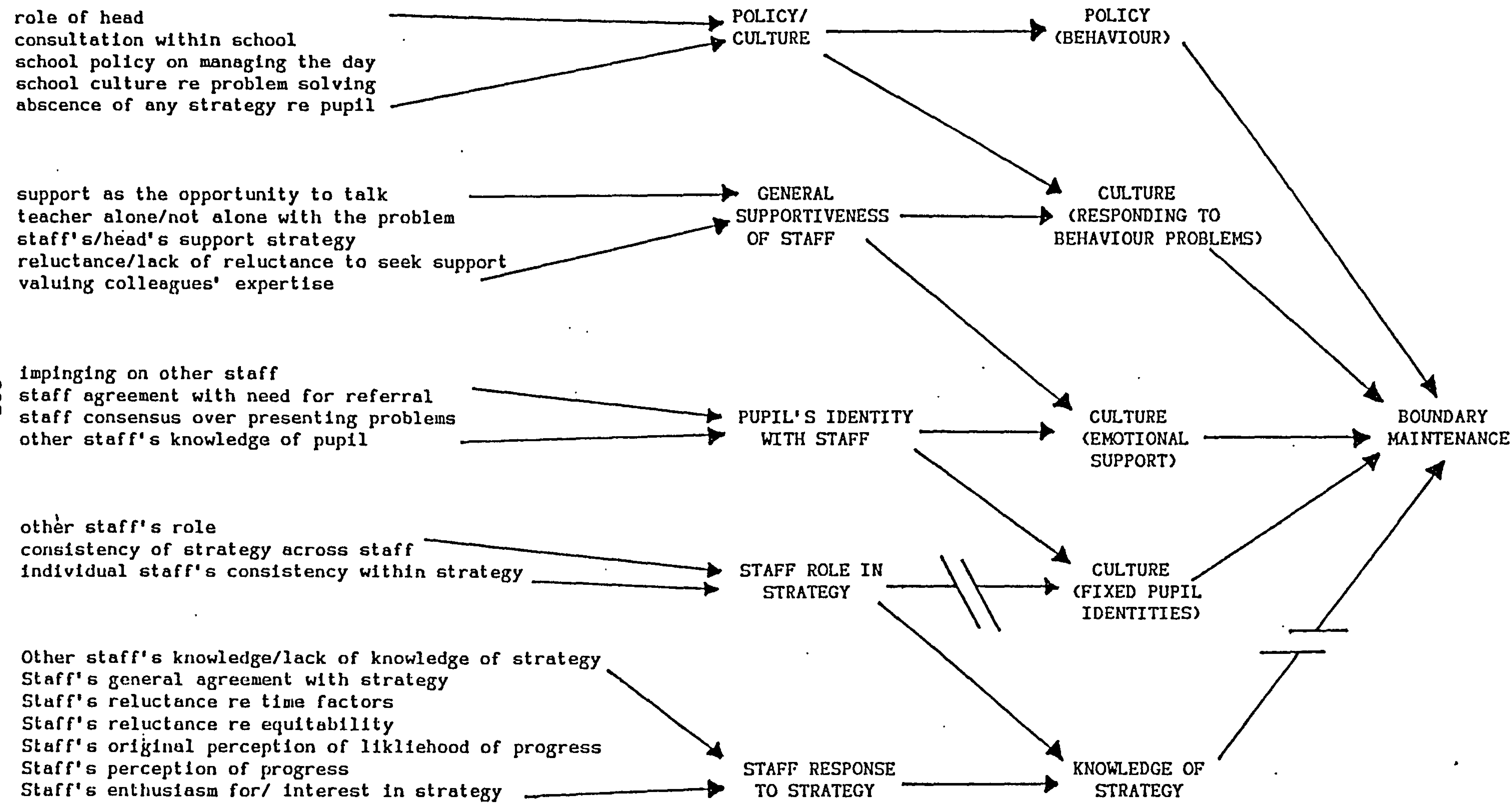
relationships within which it is possible for members to reconstrue each other, thus adding to the strategy itself in the manner Dallos sees as essential for sustained change within a system.

However, the temporary boundary also serves a function in respect of one of the major systems, the school. Normally, transgression of the rules and norms of the major system would lead to an increased internal strain, - a decrease in homeostasis, - within that system. But the new procedures are seen to exist only for the life of the temporary system. When it is removed, when the mechanism that brought it into being, the 'official' involvement of the EP, ceases to operate, the major boundary of the school system with its norms and procedures can be seen to have been preserved intact. Even when not physically present, the EP was still responsible for the temporarily new way of responding to pupils and parents.

The school system will preserve its set of norms concerning the extent of tolerable difficult behaviour and the procedures for relating with parents in circumstances where it seems as though dialogue has broken down. Although the experiences of the teachers in this study will have demonstrated that their own actions, aided and mediated by an outside consultant, can have a very positive effect even in extreme circumstances, the need to protect both policy and culture remains. As these reflect the boundary of a system's responsibilities in uncertain relations with its environment (Rice 1976), they serve to increase internal collegiate support in times of professional threat. The nature of future threats is unpredictable, therefore it is unlikely that the experience of one particular case will lead to the teacher involved making great efforts to disrupt the system's homeostasis by pushing for new school procedures, permanently altering the location of the boundary because of one particular event.

Consequently, the lack of interest on the part of the rest of the staff may not originate solely from them. For the teacher in question to bring into the staff room accounts of teacher-initiated

Figure 9 The relationship between Levels I, II and III codes relating to 'other staff'



change would threaten the organisation's homeostasis, hence the teachers in this study would be as likely to 'talk down' their achievements in order to preserve affiliative links with colleagues as the rest of the staff would be diffident in enquiring about them. The teacher also avoids being on the receiving end of the organisation's 'defensive routines' by not highlighting any mismatch between espoused theory and theory-in-use in relation to problem behaviour. The intervention can be accommodated precisely because it is separated and distinct from the activities of the major system. The school has maintained its boundary, changes in policy, culture or practice have not been required, nor have possible inconsistencies between them been illuminated.

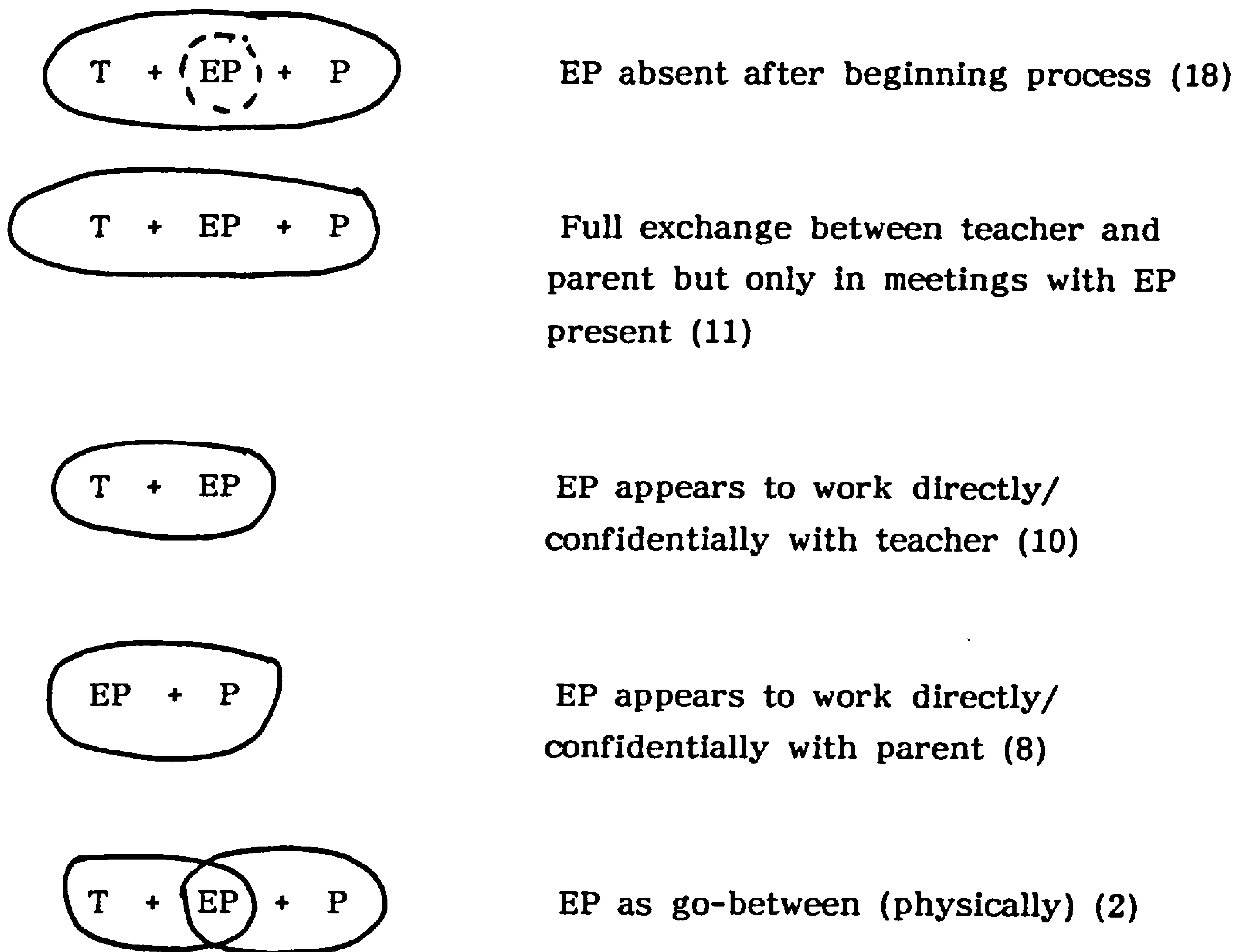
Figure 9 shows the higher level coding and categorisation of the level I codes relating to 'Other staff'. Developed in interaction with the theoretical literature, this process of categorisation and sorting leads to the emergence of 'Boundary maintenance' as a core variable, or, in Glaser's (1978) terminology, a Basic Social Psychological Process. This core variable appears to satisfy Glaser's three criteria of recurring frequently in the data (that is, the data concerning 'Other staff' rather than the full transcripts), linking the data together, and explaining much of the variation within the data. Figure 9 also illustrates that there are two areas that are likely to threaten the relationship between these codes, and hence the 'Boundary maintenance' variable itself, too great a role for other staff in the strategy, which would disrupt the process of shared typifications of deviant pupils, and too much knowledge of the strategy and its effectiveness on the part of other staff which could lead to a tension with the culture and policy in relation to managing difficult behaviour.

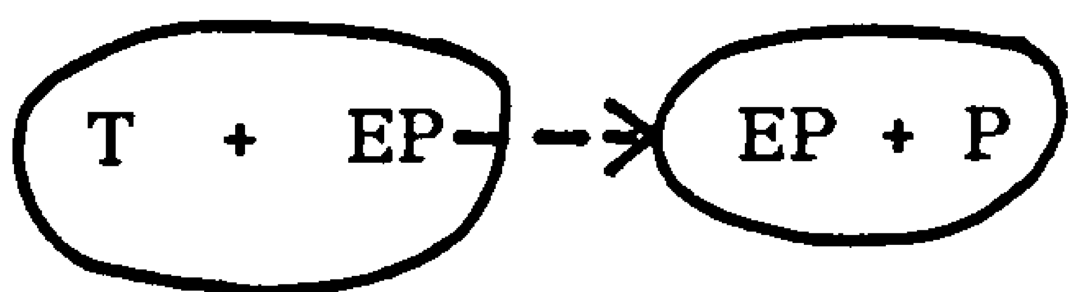
Much of the literature reviewed in Section I of this study has revealed quite clearly that many teachers have displayed considerable reservations about the approaches, both originally in the early 1970s and more recently, and both in this country and the United States. If the analysis so far in terms of organisational

dynamics has offered an explanation for this slow take-up despite numerous successful case examples, then the remainder of this study could be profitably turned towards a more detailed examination of the factors that encouraged and then sustained the participation of these particular teachers.

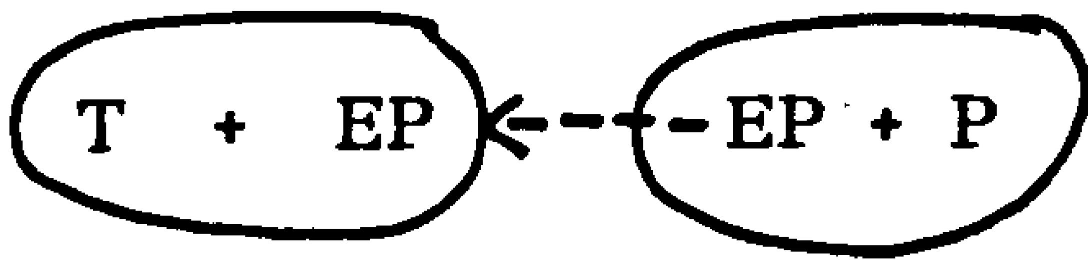
Stages in the creation of the temporary overlapping system

The temporary system can take many forms and its creation may move through a number of stages, which can vary between examples. These stages may be best described in diagrammatic form, the numbers in parenthesis representing the number of cases in which this stage featured:

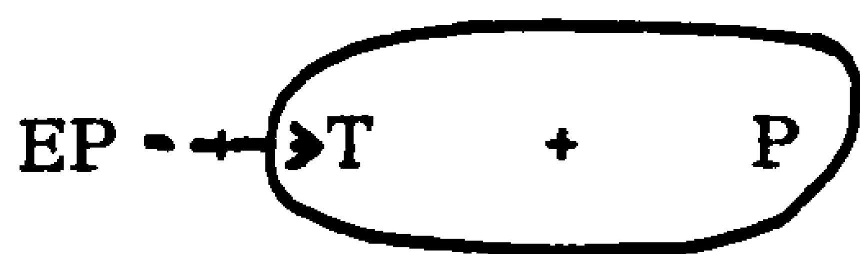




EP works with both parties separately and tells parent about teacher's perspective (1)



EP works with both parties separately and tells teacher about parent's perspective (1)



Teacher meets with parent but is advised before meetings by EP (1)

These various stages in the consultative process occur in different sequences within different cases. However, the majority (18) end with the teacher and parent meeting without the EP being present. Table 29 shows the starting and finishing stages in this process.

In table 29, the notion of 'Starting here' refers to the EP's initial meetings with the parents or teachers. In 10 cases the EP starts with a joint meeting with both parties and in all of these the teacher and parent are left to meet together on their own during the implementation of the strategy.

In a further 7 cases, the EP works initially with the teacher alone, leading eventually to the situation where the teacher and parent work together in 4 cases and remaining in the other 3 in a situation where there is no real parental involvement.

In 7 cases, the EP starts by working with the parent. Again 4 of these result in parent and teacher implementing the strategy together with the EP removed from the general monitoring procedure. However, for the remaining 3, the strategy is developed and

maintained by the teacher and EP working without the parent's involvement.

Table 29 The initial and final composition of the strategy implementation team

		STARTS HERE		
	T + EP + P (10)	T + EP (7)	EP + P (7)	ENDS HERE TOTAL
T + EP + P	0	0	0	0
ENDS HERE T + EP	0	3	3	6
ENDS HERE EP + P	0	0	0	0
T + P	10	4	4	18

To summarise, from varying starting points, the most common finishing state, accounting for 75% of instances, is one in which the parent and teacher persist with the strategy without the regular involvement of the EP. The temporary system persists but the EP's influence upon it is not maintained by a physical presence at each meeting. In the other 25%, the EP works directly with the teacher and the temporary system does not reach out to incorporate the parent as well. These cases fit more readily into the standard role of the EP as behavioural consultant, disseminating classroom management techniques, - the various barriers to home-school joint work not having been tackled or surmounted.

Consultant characteristics

In order to develop a greater understanding about the role and behaviour of the EP within the temporary overlapping system, the full set of transcripts were analysed again and every comment referring to the EP's manner, behaviour and suggestions was coded and categorised as before. Four broad categories in this area emerged from the analysis of the teacher interviews:

a) Knowledge base
b) Skills
c) Personal qualities
d) Aspects of role

The rest of this section will examine these categories in detail in order to focus down on the specific aspects of each that the teachers considered particularly pertinent.

a) The knowledge base

Many of the teachers felt that the psychologist had had ***experience of successful interventions with other pupils***:

> She gave some examples of how she'd tried it with other children and they had been very successful (Interview 11)

> She's seen it so many times in so many different places. I mean she's drawing on all her resources isn't she, from previous experiences? (Interview 7)

One also expressed the view that this experience would be much broader than could be gained by a teacher, even one working in a specialist capacity within a school:

> It was quite obvious that Carol had come across the situation, had lots of information at her fingertips and could actually cheer you up with the news that this child wasn't the worst behaved one in the world. Whereas a member

> of staff may not have come across the same situation, (even if) they were the special needs expert (Interview 20)

There was a more mixed view, however, amongst those who commented upon the exact nature of this *specialist knowledge*. A few felt critical that this knowledge did not seem to be any more technical than their own

> I thought perhaps she was looking at it a bit too simplisticly. I was expecting something - I don't know how to say it, perhaps a little bit more technical. I didn't expect it to be quite so simple. I think I expected a lot more hype - perhaps something that she would have from her research or whatever (Interview 18)

The majority, however, saw the knowledge that informed the strategy as characterised by a sense of timing and appropriateness

> He was a professional so he knew what to do.... he was very specific about exactly what I should be doing, the length of time I should be doing it, and so therefore I felt that must be the right thing to do (Interview 8)

An area of practical knowledge that many of the teachers appreciated seeing in their psychologists was a recognition of the *constraints* that were imposed upon their time by the realities of classroom teaching. This was a subject that sometimes elicited accounts of other much less successful encounters with psychologists, or stories about the experiences of other teachers they had known

> It was very simple what she did. Because there was no way I could keep reams and reams of notes (Interview 16)

> I think she was very realistic about the programme. I know I have dealt on several occasions with educational psychologists who have a rather rosy view sometimes of classroom existence.... I have been given tick sheets for how many times they do this or that - quite honestly it's impossible to do in a class of that size. There was no way I could note down the time they did something or how long they did it (Interview 20)

The main way in which these constraints could be appreciated was by the psychologist spending some ***time actually in the classroom***

> He'd been in, he'd watched them, he'd seen me working with them (Interivew 3)

> I was quite cross that she was talking about this child on a piece of paper, that she hadn't actually got to know Brian and come to work with him in the classroom. I can remember going home feeling quite angry about that. And that's when I actually asked her if she would come in and see him (Interview 15)

In general, although there are some indications that teachers perceive psychologists as having a theoretical knowledge base that may prove helpful, their comments are hedged in with enough qualifications and reservations to suggest that actual specialist knowledge *per se* is not seen as the main contributor to these very successful interventions. Actual examples of interventions that have been devised by the EP and have proved successful were accorded far more credibility. This corresponds with the finding from Section I (Table 9) that EPs were more than four times as likley to describe an example from their own experience as they were to quote more experimentally validated research if they met with reservations on the part of teachers.

b) The skills

Three main skill areas emerge from the interviews - listening, questioning and problem solving and all are commented upon in far more unequivocal and positive terms than aspects of the knowledge base. ***Listening*** was seen as an active process, sometimes akin to a counselling procedure, that aided problem solving

> The most valuable thing for us is for somebody to listen to our problems, like talking it through and trying to help us see one thing at a time (Interview 6)

> She listened. Teachers have an awful habit of chipping in, don't they?.... She listens and I'm sure she picks up lots of vibes (with parents) just by listening whereas we don't

because we're thinking of the answers to the next question (Interview 15)

Intimately linked up with an active listening approach is the use of *questioning*

She's had training in listening as well as talking and in the sort of questions she wanted to ask (Interview 4)

I think the way she questioned me, she got that information and the way she spoke to me, she encouraged me to talk.... I think I almost discovered something of what I was doing myself, and probably I didn't even know I was doing it (Interview 18)

Both of these skills feed into the *joint problem solving* that subsequently takes place

There was that kind of emphasis of looking and exploring ways of developing strategies..... there was sort of a tone of careful step-building.... it was more analytical I think than the way a teacher would handle it and perhaps more objective. Less waffly, perhaps (Interview 23)

Many of the teachers in the sample commented favourably on the fact that during this planning procedure, the psychologist had *avoided adopting a dogmatic stance.* This point was often made with a sense of relief, as if there had been an expectation of a different type of approach

She doesn't dictate, she doesn't say 'Do this' (Interview 7)

I'm delighted to say that I've never been in a situation where I've been told what to do, you know, just like child (Interview 6)

I don't think she was trying to teach me my job or whatever (Interview 13)

Another closely related aspect that emerged from the interviews was that many of the teachers appreciated the working relationship being one in which they could feel at *liberty to challenge* the psychologist's suggestions

> One thing she said that encouraged me was....'Some of the things that I'm going to suggest to you will really get up your nose as a teacher'. She said 'I will tell you that now' and she said 'I want you to say....'it won't work for me'. So that was really good because we had the relationship and I then felt the freedom to say to her 'No I can't do that' (Interview 1)

> On one occasion I think I just said to him 'It's alright you saying this, that and the other, but it's different when I'm in there and I've got the parents queuing up outside the door complaining....We just talked round it, we didn't - we always got on very well (Interview 17)

The issue of the lack of a dogmatic stance on the part of the EP merits further discussion. The relief surrounding this was fairly widespread and yet it was not based upon previous experience. Only a few of the teachers had had any previous contact with an EP and none of these had been characterised by a dogmatic manner. However, in order for the temporary system to exist in the first instance it needs the prescence of a figure, the EP, who has, or is credited with considerable technical expertise or authority deriving from a position of seniority within the LEA.

These attributions, necessary to legitimise participation within the temporary system, lead to a number of the thought processes described by Wagner (1987) as 'knots'. Technical experience is attributed to the EP, but then not valued in comparison to anecdotal examples. A superior and dictatorial person is expected, and then not experienced. In this way the temporary system is initially legitimised while sustained participation is encouraged by personal qualities and aspects of the role of the EP.

c) Personal qualities

The interviews revealed a complex interaction between what might be termed the personal qualities of the psychologist and the skills already considered above. Although no definite dividing line can be drawn between the two, it is possible to add some clarity to the

understanding of successful consultative behaviour by attempting to make finer distinctions.

The most frequently occuring and the most widely appreciated of these qualities was the psychologist's ***encouraging approach***

> The first thing she did for me, if nothing else, she made me feel that I was worthy and she made me feel that I was doing the right thing. She made me feel that all was not lost and she gave ne more confidence to go on and to persevere.... she was really sort of heartening and she sort of spurred you on to do more (Interview 18)

Another feature identified by a number of the teachers was the psychologist's ***empathy*** with the emotional reactions produced in the teacher by the pupil's behaviour

> He said he would have it all on to cope with these two. I mean he'd been in, he'd watched them, he'd seen me working with them and he said 'It's enough to drive anybody round the bend, you're doing well'....Obviously, as a psychologist he was boosting my morale but it's still nice to be told (Interview 3)

> The feeling that there's somebody else who knows....If you got so desperate, there's somebody else in the authority who knows what's going on (Interview 17)

A slighty different aspect was the ability to act as a ***facilitator of social interactions***, especially in meetings that also involved parents

> She smiled a lot..... she was just a very calm, collected person (Interview 16)

> She seemed calm and always positive..... she would never get cross. When we had the small group (of staff) she wouldn't get cross with people and everything she said brought the positive side out of them (Interview 19)

d) Aspects of Role

In addition to the various knowledge, skills and qualities that the teachers identified as being important, there was also a range of

comments alluding to aspects of the role of the psychologist. Some teachers referred to the psychologist as an ***'authority figure'*** although the nature of this authority was variously construed

> He had the authority to make suggestions and he also in a way was taking some of the responsibility (Interview 3)

> Because it was an outside agency perhaps one feels that you have to respond a little bit more positively to what they are going to be saying (Interview 22)

By being external to the everyday life of the school, the psychologists were also seen to be more ***detatched from the emotional effects*** of the difficult behaviour

> He was more detached, he didn't obviously have the same level of panic that I was getting into. (Interview 5)

> It's nice to meet and talk to someone who's not involved with the day to day turmoil, or can look at it in a detatched manner (Interview 21)

Another characterisitic of this more detatched position is that it ***allows basic information-seeking questions to be asked***. A special educational needs coordinator explained how it was far less easy for her to ask the same questions about a pupil of whom she will have at least a fleeting knowledge

> It takes somebody out of the situation. You see if I went in and said to a member of staff, who might be much more mature than me and have a lot more experience...... 'Now what do you mean by badly behaved?', if I said that, it could come over as me saying 'You don't know what badly behaved means' or taken another way. But because it's coming from an objective situation, not having seen the child, and trying to get a clear comprehensive picture, then it's taken in the manner in which it's intended (Interview 6)

The external position was also seen to contribute to the psychologist being able to act as an ***arbiter***, especially between school and parents

> Mum and dad sat over there, Sandra sat there, and I sat there and Miss Jones sat here.... It was an 'us and them'

situation. She was very quiet, she listened a lot.... (and) acted as a judge and jury in a way. (Interview 15)

Quite often if you've got an interview between a parent and a teacher, it starts off at an aggressive level....If an interview is set up with a psychologist, because they are obviously not to blame, there's no element of blame there. It's somebody removed from the situation....We still get a starting off by accusing the school to a certain extent but then it breaks down and you get to look more into the home side of things because the psychologist is there.... and delves into it. (Interview 24)

It has only been possible in this sectoin to give very brief and selected quotes from the transcripts, but the categories used do account for all the variation in the data concerning the manner, behaviour and suggestions of the EP. Table 30 is an attempt to both summarise and judge, on the basis of the whole set of transcripts, the features considered to be most implicated in these successful outcomes.

Table 30 Features of the EP's contribution as identified by interviewees

	***	Experience of other difficult pupils
A Knowledge Base	*	Specialist research-based knowledge
	***	Constraints on teacher
	**	Pupil in class
	***	Listening skills
	*	Questioning skils
B Skills	**	Problem solving
	**	Avoiding dogmatic stance
	**	Legitimising challenge
C Personal Qualities	*	Empathy with emotional reactions
	***	Approval/encouragement
	**	Facilitating social interaction

	*	Authority figure
D Aspects of	**	Detatched from emotional aspects
Role	*	Need for information about the obvious
	***	Arbitration

(Although somewhat impressionistic, the star rankings refer to the degree and intensity of importance that seemed to be accorded the various elements within the transcripts.)

The nature of the barrier between teacher and parent

Practitioners would argue that relationships with parents, which always have the potential to become confrontational, or at least discordant, are usually never more stretched than in the case of difficult pupil behaviour. Where does the responsibility for taking action begin and end for the school? How is the behaviour to be explained? Who decides on the terminology and the hypothetical mechanisms to be invoked in any attempted explanation, whether or not these are articulated?

Throughout the interviews the issue of an original 'lack of support' or 'back up' from home was cited. The teachers perceived it be impossible to feel a unity of purpose and action with parents over the difficult classroom behaviour of their children, a barrier was perceived and attributed to the parents

> What we lacked before was cooperation from the parents (Interview 20)

> We did try to get the parents involved. We got very little support from home at that time (Interview 22)

In open systems theory terms, these perceived barriers may be construed as 'boundary issues'. The interviews reveal four different aspects of these; - the system's internal functioning, the negotiation of shared meanings across the boundary with the environment, uncertainty over the predictability of aspects of the

environment, and uncertainty over the actual location of the boundary itself (Rice 1976).

a) Internal functioning

Maintenance functions within a system enable its members to contribute towards the primary task rather than having to divert their energies untowardly into preserving homeostasis. These maintenance functions take the form of administrative procedures and a common identification with a set of beliefs, values and norms.

In these interviews administrative procedures were not seen as a barrier to working with parents, except in one case where the teacher said

> To be honest, I didn't actually see a great deal of the parents, they usually went straight to the head (Interview 22).

More significant was the teacher's obligation to share the responsibility for the way the school had previously responded to the child or parent, either in terms of being unable to acknowledge the possible legitimacy of a parent's claim or by being the recipient for angry feelings originally engendered in respect of another member of staff

> (Mother) was very critical of how he'd been handled in the past.... You have to handle her very carefully in a certain manner. I think in previous years that hadn't been done (Interview 18)

> (Mother) was very anti Miss Roberts (Headteacher) (Interview 15)

b) The negotiation of shared meanings

In order to function an institution must arrive at shared definitions of problematic situations. Particularly in the case of difficult behaviour, where the sense of individual threat to

teachers' professional competence is so high, it becomes imperative to have an explanatory framework that will command collegiate acceptance. However, such definitions are often unacceptable to parents and apprehension or uncomfortable experiences in this area form a frequently cited barrier to working with parents

> His mother said he never misbehaved in the home and that was the biggest stumbling block because he was 'good at home' and she was blaming the school (Interview 2)

> She was very protective of Gary, in her eyes he can do no wrong (Interview 22)

> I didn't think the mum thought he was a problem (Interview 14)

Such definitions, - the evidence that is to be attended to and that which is to be deemed unessential, the actual descriptors used, and the explanatory mechanisms to be assumed, implied or elaborated, - are derived during a process of socialisation into an institution. To members of the institution they become part of the shared, taken-for-granted, common sense knowledge. However, parents, in addition to having different perspectives and interests, are also not party to this institutionalising process. It is little wonder therefore that attempts to include parents within the teacher's or school's definition by means of a few, or even one meeting, lead to such angry exchanges;

> Mother is very, very nervous and flares up at the slightest thing (Interview 18)

> (The parents) were very very touchy (Interview 23)

> Mother had caused so many problems here. She's a very bristly lady (Interview 15)

> The mother had come in and had a row with the supply teacher in front of the whole class....shouting and screaming at her (Interview 7)

In these examples the emotional interactions are all attributed to characteristics of the parents, usually 'the mother'. However, although less common, there was also some recognition that a

barrier to communicating effectively might also originate from the school's side, in the form of a lack of certain interaction skills. These are sometimes alluded to during answers to questions about the particular abilities that seem to be possessed by educational psychologist

> Maybe we didn't talk as straight as Tina (EP) would have wanted us to. I know she goes into the homes and seems to have a good rapport.... but I think perhaps we flannelled a bit (Interview 7)

> She's (EP) had training in listening as well as talking and in also the sort of questions she wanted to ask (Interview 4)

Interestingly, in these latter examples, the differences that the teachers see between themselves and the EPs are in terms of interactional skills whereas the parents were all construed in typifications concerning emotional instability. In considering the parents, the psychologists and themselves, no teachers construed the interactions as reflecting the various role positions of each party in respect to the other.

c) Uncertainty over the predictability of aspects of the environment

In systems theory, uncertainty in the environment, the inability to predict the nature of interactions across the boundary because of the possible range of behaviour that may be encountered in sections of the external world, is taken to be a major contributor to decreasing homeostasis of the system. Working with the parents of pupils exhibiting difficult behaviour provides ample scope for such uncertainty and examples have already been provided of this in the construction of parents as emotionally unstable.

Another major aspect is a teacher perception of parents having an alien lifestyle or set of mores. Although this aspect is often linked to a possible explanatory mechanism to account for a pupil's

behaviour, there is also a sense that it exists in some teachers' eyes as a barrier to working together

> He's got no dad but there's a man living there (Interview 14)

> She (mother) has a series of boyfriends.... she talks about different men being there (Interview 9))

> She watches adult films and has a lot of adult vocabulary on occasions (Interview 20)

The uncertain status of a parent's (always the mother's) sexual realtionships is often referred to as though it makes conversation or problem solving more contentious. Other teachers in the sample, however, also make very favourable comments about the effects of a new partner on the pupil under discussion.

A final source of the perceived barrier derives from judgements about the intellectual ability or maturity of a parent

> (mother's) really like a girl of about 14.... not very bright but she means well (Interview 3)

d) Uncertainty over the location of the boundary with the environment

Another common uncertainty concerns the degree to which parents and teachers might construe differently the extent of each other's responsibilities and thus lead to difficult boundary transactions, in fact, to a difficulty in deciding upon the exact location of the boundary itself. Teachers sometimes expressed a lack of confidence about the extent to which they would or should be allowed to enquire about events at home and to offer advice and suggestions

> I think sometimes they think 'Oh you're prying'....Because (EP) is involved, somebody official, it's not so much like prying, it's not like prying from school (Interview 9)

> The mother came in looking for assistance originally and said 'Smack her if she needs it - she needs a good wallop sometimes'. But to me some attention from the mother would

> have gone a long way to assuaging some of the difficulties we were having with the child (Interview 20)

> I wouldn't like to start involving parents with things like money if I didn't know it was going to be profitable (sic) (Interview 11)

> I don't remember us actually saying 'Look, he needs a wash!' (Interview 7)

There is also a belief that the home culture is such that any comments from school about a pupil's behaviour will only contribute to a downwards spiral for the child or parent or both

> I'll say to her sometimes 'What's he been like at home?' and she'll say 'Oh, he's been terrible' and I'll say 'Well unfortunately he's not had a good day at school either'. It's *extremely* difficult, you know, the fine balance. I tend to give him..... average (ratings on a chart) (Interview 13)

and finally

> I think she just dreaded coming in because of what we would say about him (Interview 16)

Surmounting the barriers

Not only did the interventions lead to a teacher perception of improved behaviour on the part of the pupil, there was also a frequent sense of some of the boundary uncertainties, usually expressed in terms of a change in the level of 'support' from parents. Table 31 presents a number of examples of this in the from of comments about the level of 'support' before and after the intervention.

Table 31 Perceived changes in the level of support from parents before and after the intervention

Before EP involvement (Interview 18)

Darren's mum had been very critical of how he had been handled..... she's got a hair trigger

After intervention

After intervention

Mum came in every single night to check....I think she feels the more help she gets the better

Before EP involvement (Interview 15)

Mum had caused so many problems here. She's a very bristly lady.

After intervention

Mum and I got on quite well....I feel she's got some respect for what I'm trying to do for him)

Before EP involvement (Interview 20)

What we lacked before was cooperation from the parents

After intervention

Anytime I meet the parents they're very enthusiastic now

Before EP involvement (Interview 22)

We did try to get the parents involved. We got very little support from home at that time.

After intervention

The head, after her conversations with the parents, would then come to me and say 'They're really pleased you know'

Before EP involvement (Interview 6)

The mother had had such negative feelings about any involvement

After intervention

She said 'You don't know how much you've achieved with him....' she's so positive about the improvement

Out of the 24 cases, 16 teachers described a significant change in the level of 'back-up', 7 of them seeing it as being of an extreme nature.

Mechanisms leading to the resolution of boundary tensions

The process of actually carrying out a plan within which both parents and teachers perform certain designated or negotiated actions is usually accompanied by the informal trading of information, especially the teacher gaining additional information about the pupil's behaviour at home or about particular domestic arrangements. This latter phenomenon is attested to in 16 of the cases and can occur by 3 routes;

a) the strategy encourages regular contact between teacher or parent and this information is an incidental by-product of these meetings

> His mum came in on Fridays to check to see how he'd got on.... I think he gets a better deal at home if he was good at school (Interview 16)

> (Mum) would now come and talk to me about all sorts of things.... the marriage was a bit dicey.... (she) goes out to work full-time (Interview 15)

> It's helpful for me to talk to (EP) and mum.... because you can get more of an insight.... I mean I know a bit more about his background now so I can see the reasons why he acts likes he does (Interview 12)

b) meetings are arranged for which part of the agenda is the sharing of this information

> We have frequent meetings and.... there's no holds barred, we just say how we feel.... We had no idea of the depth of the problems he was shouldering for a boy of his age (Interview 6)

c) more rarely, the EP acts as a go-between, relaying this information to school

> He (EP) is the liaison between home and school. He puts me in the picture officially.... he obviously explains the problems.... he's heard or discussed with mum. (Interview 9)

Participation in a joint plan and the acquisition of this additional information is able to contribute to the resolution of boundary tensions in 3 different ways;

a) an increase in shared meanings

> He would come home and talk about things at school whereas before he never mentioned school.... And the next day he would come in with books and things....Ivan's mum.... also said she thought it should go a step further (Interview 11)

> Because the positive things were going home but we were also getting the positive things back (Interview 22)

b) a reduction in the unpredictability of the environment

> (The meetings) help you realise what the home situation is. His mum's come in and she's been very upset because she's having a lot of trouble with the older girl (Interview 4)

> So we're getting back up from them (parents)....they seemed quite concerned and, from talking to them, they did discipline him at home, they weren't happy with what he was doing (Interview 8)

> Now I'm quite pleased with that, the contact, the fact that she can come in and tell me not just the nice things, the not so nice things (Interview 15)

> I don't think it was his home background because he's got older and younger brothers and sisters and they were fine. So, I don't think it was parenting skills really. (Interview 21)

c) a clarification of the boundary location

> It was important that I could report back because his mum then could be positive and praise him at home...... All the time you're getting that feedback from home, so that definitely helps to improve his behaviour during class as well (Interview 12)

> When somebody else was supervising it they probably would see that it would be quite obvious who had let the side down if they (the parents) didn't pull their weight, if the school were following their side of the programme (Interview 20)

Attributing causes for the original behaviour and the improvement

Given the role accredited by writers such as Hargreaves (1975) to attribution processes in the construction of a pupil's deviant identity, and the problems of attribution between parents and teachers when a pupil is experienced as difficult in school, it was decided to analyse the transcripts in respect of causal attributions. Each explanatory mechanism suggested by the teachers, both for the original cause of the problem and for the improvement, whether in response to the direct questions on this matter or made incidentally elsewhere were recorded. Table 32 lists each of these attributions, grouped into parent, teacher and pupil factors and their interactions, and shows the number of transcripts within which they occur.

Table 32 Teacher's attributions for the origins of the difficult behaviour and the improvement

Number of cases

	Origin	Improvement
Parent factors:		
separated/divorced - absence of father	6	0
- divided loyalties	5	0
- geog probs	1	0
gen management of ch.	8	3

attention to ch. (or lack of)	6	0
management of diff behaviour	4	0
sibling interaction	2	0
punitive/violent home	7	0
encouragement of ch	1	2
atmosphere of disharmony	1	0
adoption	1	0
parent illness	1	0
grandparents influence	1	0
lack of affection	1	0
house move	1	0
geog isolation	1	0
feeling supported by teachers	0	2

Parent/school (or teacher) interaction factors:		
differing values/expectations	5	0
basis for cooperation	0	1
School factors:		
change(s) of teachers	4	1
previous management style	2	0
consistent approach across staff	0	2
Teacher factors:		
positive attention to child	0	13
negative attention	2	0
individual attention to child	0	2
work interest level	4	8
work expectations/steps/targets	3	5
incentives/tangible rewards	1	5
record keeping	1	2

(lack of) specific techniques	1	1
understanding pupil's motivation	0	2
understanding pupil's personality	0	3
anxiety (general)	2	1
affection/sympathy for child	1	2
feeling valued	0	3
(not) making an exception	1	1
pressure from within school	0	1
pressure from other parents	1	0
didactic teaching	0	1
maintaining awareness of ch.	0	2
prioritising problems	0	1
consistent approach	0	3
ignoring	0	1
having information about home	0	2

Pupil/teacher interaction factors:		
relationship	1	4
personality clash	1	0
Pupil factors:		
attention seeking	4	0
need for praise	7	0
knowledge of school rules (specific)	1	5
acceptance of school rules (or lack of)	4	1
knowledge of social norms (gen.)	1	6
acceptance of social norms	7	0
knowledge of sanctions	0	1
feeling valued/self esteem	5	5
respect for teacher	1	3
maturity/stages to go thro'	4	5
temperament/personality	6	2

self control	0	2
"physical/medical"	7	0
attention span	4	0
intelligence	2	1
bad previous school experiences	1	0
motivation to work	3	0
comprehension level	1	0
appreciation of effects on chn.	2	0
" " " on teacher	0	1
" " " on parent	1	0
'tough guy image'	1	0
'clutter in head'	1	0
trusting others	1	0
awareness of being monitored	0	2
awareness of behaviour/reward link	0	1

Attributions by teachers of 16 possible mechanisms by which parents may be implicated in the origins of pupils' difficult behaviour but only 3 by which they may make a contribution to the improvement, indicates the extent of the detail that has been developed by teachers in accounting for parental influences.

Conversely, but not quite so dramatically, there are seen to be 10 possible causal factors deriving from the teachers to account for the origins of problems and 20 to account for the solution. Again, taking the extent of elaboration as a measure of the complexity of the construction, these teachers appear to have far more developed accounting mechanisms to account for their contributions to solving behaviour problems, than for being responsible for their origins or maintenance. The pupils themselves are attributed with 23 possible factors relating to origins and 14 to solutions. The extent of these various elaborations are summarised in Table 33.

Table 33 Number of causal mechanisms attributed to various agents by teachers in respect of the origin and improvement of difficult behaviours

	Parent	Teacher	Child
Mechanisms for origin	16	10	23
Mechanisms for improvement	3	20	14
Origin:improvement ratio	5.3	0.5	1.6

This table indicates that, in terms of the degree of complexity of the mechanisms implicated in solutions as compared to origins, then teachers make attributions to themselves that are ten times more favourable than they make to parents and about three times more favourable than they make to pupils. Whilst attribution theory would predict the difference between the teachers and the other

categories, the difference between the parent and pupil figures requires a different explanation.

The extent of elaboration of attributions, however, whilst it may give a strong indication of the relative salience of different factors and categories, cannot give the full picture in terms of attributed *responsibility*. The dimension of 'controllability' has been shown to be an attribution closely related to adult's judgements about appropriate reactions to children's behaviour (Dix et al 1989; Johnston et al 1992).

In order to investigate this aspect further, all the items in Table 32 were rated as being of high, medium or low controllability on the part of the agent to whom they had been attributed. Because of the possible individual variations in judgments of this kind, and because of the researcher's close familiarity with the data, seven trainee educational psychologists also completed the task as an inter-rated reliability check. The trainees were asked to avoid the 'medium' rating if at all possible but were also given a response category of 'impossible to judge'. By pooling these responses with those of the researcher, items which did not receive the same rating from at least 6 judges were excluded from further analysis. By this means the overall list from Table 32 was reduced from 78 items to 47, 27 of this latter group being classified as 'high' in controllability and 20 as 'low'.

The next step was to undertake a case by case analysis and note whether high controllability l attributions were made in them to either parents, teachers or pupils for either the origins or the improvements. Table 34 shows the number of interviewees whose high controllability attributions fall into these different combinations. (The categories are, of course, not mutually exclusive).

Table 34 The number of teachers making ***high*** **controllability attributions to the three agents in respect of the origins and improvements in pupils' behaviour**

	Parent	Teacher	Pupil
Origin	17	12	9
Solution	4	21	6
Origin:solution ratio	4.25	0.6	1.5

This table, which, by concentrating on causal mechanisms that are seen to be highly under the control the agents, offers an analysis that is far more directly linked to teachers' attributions of responsibility. Again parents are seen as being about two and a half times more implicated in the origins of problems as compared to their solutions, than are pupils. The parents are also seen as about seven times more implicated than the teachers. When low controllability mechanisms are considered, the number of teachers attributing these to parents and themselves falls considerably, but rises to a high figure for pupils as shown in table 35.

Table 35 The number of teachers making *low* controllability attributions to the three agents in respect of the origins and improvements in pupils' behaviour

	Parent	Teacher	Pupil
Origin	3	1	22
Solution	2	4	14
Origin:solution ratio	1.5	0.25	1.6

These figures are not so pertinent to the discussion as they represent mechanisms that are seen as low in controllability and therefore are not so intentional. It is perhaps not surprising that adults are not credited very frequently with behaving in a manner devoid of intention but it is of interest to note that many teachers see mechanisms relating to pupils as being implicated, especially in the origins of problems, that are beyond their ability to alter intentionally.

This leads, finally in this section, to a closer consideration of the models of responsibility that teachers may incorporate into their attributions in such circumstances. It is possible to analyse this data in order to ascertain which of Fiske and Taylor's four models of responsibility (see Chapter 7) are involved. From the case by case analysis, it was possible to note, for each agent, whether the conditions for each of Fiske and Taylor's models were present. The number of cases displaying each model arranged against the agent to whom the model applies is shown in table 36

Table 36 The models of responsibility attributed to each agent

	Medical (resp orig x) (resp soln x)	Compensation (resp orig x) (resp soln ✓)	Enlightenment (resp orig ✓) (resp soln x)	Moral (resp orig ✓) (resp soln ✓)
Teachers	3	9	0	12
Parents	6	1	14	3
Pupils	13	3	5	4

Analysed in this manner, the data reveal interesting findings. For the teachers, one half the sample adopt a moral model, by which, rather against the earlier indicated trend, they see themselves as having taken action that has contributed to the problem and assume

a responsibility for enacting (and achieving) a solution. The second major group of teachers (37%) adopt a compensation model, not seeing themselves as having any involvement in the origin of the problem but still seeing it as their responsibility to effect a solution (and having achieved one).

Interestingly, an enlightenment model is applied to parents far more readily than a moral model. More than half of the teachers (58%), although seeing the parents as contributing the origin of the problem, did not see the improvement that was achieved as being due to the efforts of the parents. The moral model, which credited parents with a contribution to the solution as well as the origin, consisted of a much lower 12%.

Another model again characterises the majority of attributions made to the pupils. A medical model in which pupils were seen to have no control over factors responsible for the problem nor to have taken an active part in the successful strategy accounted for 54% of the cases. However, in the case of pupils, other models of responsibility also figured more prominently, indicating a more widely spread form attribution to pupils. This could possibly reflect the findings of Johnston et al (1992) that adult judgements about children's degree of control of difficult behaviour varies with the type of difficult behaviour, a factor not directly addressed in this study.

Resolving an apparent conflict between attribution and action

Despite attributing the origins of the problem behaviour to factors within the parents' control in 17 cases, despite working jointly with parents and witnessing their input in 18 cases, and despite attesting to an increased level of 'support from home' in 16 cases, parent factors are cited as contributing to the solution in only 4 cases. In 2 of these the mechanism responsible is described rather generally in terms of the 'general management' of the child, and in 2 this is elaborated more specifically as an increase in 'encouragement of the child'.

At one level, there appears to be a paradox in that teachers describe increased support from parents yet do not attribute to them any credit for the improvements that have taken place. Why is a change of management towards more positive and contingent attention seen as contributing to success in only 4 out of 16 cases when it takes place at home, but in 13 out of 21 cases when it takes place in school? What other function might be served by this 'support' or 'back-up' if its initial absence is so strongly emphasised in many cases whilst at the same time its subsequent presence is not seen as implicated in the improvements?

Attribution theory would predict that the teachers would be likely to locate the cause of the problem with an external agency and the solution with themselves, which is indeed what happens in this study. However, accepting this attribution becomes problematic professionally. The mechanisms which are seen as the most direct causes of improvement - teacher praise, appropriate types and quantities of work, incentives and a consistent approach, - are none of them complex or 'psychological' and would usually be considered to be within a teacher's professional orbit.

To attribute success to these purely and simply would carry the strong implication that the solution should have been within the

repertoire of the teacher originally and give a hollow ring to earlier statements about the severity of the child's difficulties and the impossibility of an internal solution. Another threat from this attribution would be posed if these teachers asked themselves whether, if the presence of these factors is responsible for success, might not their prior absence have been responsible for the initial problem? And yet these teacher factors assume high significance in the teachers' attributions of success.

The apparent paradox can be resolved by seeing the initial 'lack of support', which has been recast in this discussion as a form of boundary uncertainty, as being in some way causal in preventing these simple teacher actions from being implemented. In this sense, the notion of 'support' is rhetorical, a knot, and is a post hoc rationalisation for the solution not being implemented earlier. The interviews certainly contain a strong emphasis on the initial 'lack of support' but a much reduced position for its subsequent presence.

However, the focus upon this early state also carries with it a paradox given the nature of the intervention. If a parent has been seen to play a consistent and conscientious part in a strategy this perception is antagonistic to the prevalent typification of the parent as someone who has difficulty managing the child or is remiss in the provision of attention and consistent management.

To reconstrue the parent more positively would be destructive of the view of an initial lack of parental support which in turn would lead back to a challenge to the professional competence and judgement of the teacher in the early responses to the pupil. And yet the experience of the strategy threatens to set that chain of consequences into action.

It is at this stage that the information gleaned during the strategy can be used to prevent this unravelling of causal attribution with its consequent professional threat. It is used in

three different ways in an elaboration or refinement of the original causal attribution;

a) The closer working relationship confirms the original parent identity

This phenomenon does not occur very frequently but may be seen in examples such as

> All his mother's comments were were how wonderful he was.... she wrote in.... all the things where he'd been very good.... that was the biggest stumbling block (Interview 2)

b) As more information about the child's behaviour at home emerges, the teacher's typification of the child can become reinforced, often leading to a greater empathy with the parent.

> I felt mum and dad were as desperate as we were.... I'm sure being a mum has helped because I see things as a mum's point of view as well as a teacher's point of view (Interview 15)

> Often it can be even worse his behaviour at home (Interview 9)

c) As more information about the home circumstances emerges, it is possible to relocate the attribution to an absent father figure

> We had no idea of the depth of the problems he was shouldering for a boy of his age.... Alan's father was saying dreadful things about the mother, about what she'd done and she was evil and she was going to hell and Alan would go to hell if he behaved like his mother (Interview 6)

Each of these three processes confirms to the teacher the exceptionality of the case. Although a positive working relationship with parents is enjoyed in many of the cases, or increased parental enthusiasm for the actions of the school on the part of parents is relayed by the EP, the strategy gives rise to information which is used to reinforce typifications of either the

mother, the pupil or an absent father. These typifications do not challenge the original perception of a 'lack of support', but merely refine it, and this in turn is seen as the factor that was preventing the teacher from being able to carry out some of the more 'common sense' aspects of the strategy of her or his own volition. The strategy itself and the consultative role of the EP leads to a reduction in boundary uncertainties which in turn adds to homeostasis within the school and is perceived as representing an 'improvement'

This chain of attributions, a defensive routine in itself, depends upon the teachers not acknowledging the parents' contribution to the strategy as being directly responsible for at least part of the solution.

This analysis has ranged over a number of theoretical areas and has attempted to generate a theoretical framework grounded in the data obtained through the teacher interviews. In doing so, it has moved a considerable distance conceptually from its starting point. Before concluding with a more formal statement of this theory it is necessary to focus at last upon the 'behavioural strategies' themselves and ask what it is about them in particular that activates and creates the conditions in which these other mechanisms can have their effect.

Key features of behavioural strategies

The first feature that must not be overlooked in this discussion is that there is a substantial literature, some of which has been reviewed in chapter 1, to demonstrate that behavioural approaches can have a positive effect upon pupil's behaviour. However, as that review also showed, EPs working as consultants have often encountered difficulties in encouraging teachers to take up their recommendations and have often found that even successful interventions do not lead to teachers, those actually involved as

well as their colleagues, using such approaches again of their own volition when similar problems arise.

Table 34 has shown that 87% of the teachers in this study thought that the pupil's behaviour improved because of actions that were within their control and table 32 identifies the most prominent of these to be their giving of positive attention to the pupil, setting work of an appropriate interest level, splitting tasks into sequences of steps and using rewards or incentives. For the final piece of analysis of the data it is worthwhile to ask just what aspects of the advice they were given these teachers used. This is derived from the answers to question 3 - 'Can you tell me about the things the EP suggested?' - both the immediate answers and those following prompts. Table 37 summarises this data

Table 37 Teachers' recollections of the elements of strategies recommended by the EPs.

Number of cases

	immediate answers	with prompts
charts with steps/sections of the day etc	9	0
home/school diaries/records	7	4
ignoring certain behaviour	5	6
praise/positive attention	6	4
elaboration/decisions about rules	5	1

moving child's seating position	3	1
setting targets/steps to	3	0
joint teacher/pupil recording	3	0
time out (including sat elsewhere briefly)	2	2
home/school meetings	2	0
using explicit rewards	2	0
involving other children	1	0
record keeping	1	1
reading programme	1	0
checklist for belongings	1	0
response cost	1	0
changing original targets	0	2
consistent approach across staff	1	0
eye to eye contact	1	0
contract	1	0

list problems and prioritise	1	0
environmental analysis	1	0
use of sanctions	1	0
involving other staff	1	0
restraint	1	0
changing targets	0	2
class rewards	0	1

One of the most immediate implications arising from this list is the relatively low application by teachers of the three main elements of a behavioural approach as originally incorporated in Madsen et al's (1968) study and employed extensively since - the use of praise, ignoring and attention to rules. Even with prompts in respect of these items, a chi-squared test reveals that for all three elements teacher usage fell significantly below the level EP's recommendations, as determined by the questionnaire in Section I of this study. Table 38 compares the percentage of programmes recommended by EPs containing these three elements with the percentage of teachers saying that these were recommended by the EP. The statistical comparisons are between the EPs' recommendations and the teachers' memory of including the elements after being prompted about the items.

Table 38 The rates of inclusion of the elements - teacher praise, ignoring and attention to rules - in the programmes recommended by EPs and those actually implemented by teachers (as %ages).

	EPs (N=68)	Teacher (immediate)	Teacher (incl prompted) (N=24)	sig
praise	87	25	42	< 0.001
ignoring	72	21	46	< 0.05
attention to rules	51	21	25	<0.05

This raises at least two major implications for the present study. Firstly, it demands that the data presented in section I are very much treated as the constructions and intentions of EPs rather than as being a 'true' reflection of the actions carried out by the teachers. The data presented in chapter 2 are presented in this light but table 38 reaffirms how necessary it is to continue to emphasise this.

The second major implication is that the success of the interventions investigated in these teacher interviews is unlikely to be due, in the main, to the application of behavioural psychology, as only minimal applications can be seen to have taken place, thus throwing the onus of explanation back onto such processes as boundary maintenance and the management of attribution shift as described above.

But is the fact that the EP accounts for her or his own professional actions within the framework of a behavioural explanation irrelevant? Would any framework that granted the EP enough confidence to begin have served an equal purpose, with the

mechanisms discussed above finding their way almost inevitably into the intervention once begun?

This study suggests that the answer to these two questions is probably 'No'. Behavioural approaches in themselves appear to have qualities that enable them to achieve outcomes that might be denied to less theoretically inclined, 'common sense' approaches, or to those deriving from other theoretical perspectives.

The behavioural approach places an emphasis upon tasks. So too do a number of writers from the ecosystemic paradigm, even if the main theoretical focus of their attentions is upon the interactions between the members of two systems. Dallos (1990) has argued that in therapy with family groups 'behaving and construing must proceed together' and Taylor (1982) has pointed out that tasks that involve both the school and the family can help to change the dysfunctional interaction between the two systems. Even in the 25% of cases where parents and teachers do not work directly together the EP is still involved in the crucial task of relaying information between the two systems and affecting the interaction, by proxy, as it were.

Given the nature of the attributions that surround the difficult behaviour of pupils, and the intensity of the emotions that often accompany these, an approach that is able to deflect from, or sidestep these at least initially, is likely to have a chance to at least begin. Approaches by the EP that appear to be 'siding' with either parents or teachers are likely to enflame further feelings of blame and hostility. Further problems for approaches employing more direct attention to the probably conflicting accounts from home and school and attempting to work with the constructions of parents and teachers, are highlighted in Aponte's (1976) warning that teachers do not like to be treated like clients, especially when brought together with parents. A behavioural approach deflects attention fro these aspects onto the formulation of behavioural statements followed either by baseline recording or the direct implementation of a strategy.

Furthermore, the contributions required by strategies from both parents and teachers are likely to be relatively small and reasonably equitably balanced, thus enabling each party to begin to demonstrate to the other their concern to achieve positive outcomes for the pupil whilst not feeling they are being unreasonably 'saddled' with duties that are the responsibility of the other. When this demonstration occurs, even in those cases where the EP is acting as a go-between, then the parents and teachers are able to validate their own positions in the eyes of the other. As this mutual validation grows with the progress of the strategy, the intensity of accusatory feelings diminishes and the EP is able to employ a range of interpersonal skills to help establish a new system characterised by a greater degree of intersubjectivity and within which various shifts in attribution can take place.

The final chapter of this study will now summarise the grounded theory that has been developed, in line with Strauss' (1987) assertion that the emerging theory should seek to be dense and grounded firmly in the data. Following this, the quality of the theory will be evaluated against the criteria set by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and included at the end of chapter 5. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the various improvements that might have been made to the present study and a consideration of the implications arising from it for further research.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusions

The formal statement of the grounded theory
Evaluation of the grounded theory
Evaluation of the choice of methodology
Implications for research and practice

The formal statement of the grounded theory

Schools as organisations maintain their function and purpose partly through activities designed to define and validate their boundary with their environment (Glatter 1989). Clear boundary definition promotes internal stability, homeostasis (Rice 1976), and allows for the generation of norms and rules to address such issues as the procedures for interacting with other system members, dealing with internally disruptive events, carrying out joint tasks, and communicating across the boundary.

Within schools, the task of teaching leads to differences from many other work roles in terms of the extent and nature of collegiate behaviour (Little 1990). Although teacher colleagues may well provide a range of affiliative functions, they do not serve as stimuli and agents for each other's professional development (Little 1990). Instead, teacher's draw on reference groups who provide internal frames of reference through which to structure their perceptual field in respect of professional issues (Nias 1985). These reference groups, whose members will be construed as 'like-minded', may be very small, perhaps consisting of only one other colleague who may be as likely to be external as internal to the school.

A number of features of schools and the work role of teachers contribute to this relative professional isolation; the ecology of most schools, the major reward for teachers being the development and response of pupils (Lortie 1975) which is most easily earned away from colleagues, the lack of a technical language with which teachers may discuss their work (Lortie 1975), the lack of a commonly agreed standard by which teachers may measure their own worth and hence increase their confidence, and the high value placed upon being able to keep a class under control leading to a reluctance to be observed and the desire for a more physically bounded space (Little 1990; Lieberman and Miller 1990).

The task of teaching can require rapid sequences of decision making and, although teachers may employ an accounting system that is professional and theoretical in its vocabulary, the immediacy, frequency and changing nature of classroom demands can lead to their actions being more governed by 'ad hocing' and the following of 'tried and tested' routines (Sharp and Green 1975).

In settings where a number of teachers meet particular pupils, conversations between teacher colleagues, in the absence of a shared technical language, can serve as vehicles for the trading of summary typifications (Hammersley 1984). Such typifications, which are predominantly concerned with pupil behaviour seen as difficult, can be used by teachers to guide their behaviour in the immediacy of the classroom. Rather than promoting a consideration of contextual factors, these typifications are presented as stable psychological characteristics of pupils (Hammersley 1975). Despite a shared construction of a pupil among staff, however, teachers often report a high degree of isolation in terms of feeling responsible for that pupil's management.

When a pupil's behaviour is perceived as presenting a management challenge of a severe nature, various attributional processes are employed to account for this. The degree of differentiation within a set of attributions represents the extent of the conceptual elaboration of that set and hence its importance (Eiser 1978). In this respect, teachers possess a highly differentiated set of explanatory mechanisms relating to children, about twice as many as associated with themselves, with the number attributed to parents lying at an intermediary level.

Among the more frequent explanatory mechanisms attributed to pupils for difficult behaviour are physical or medical factors, a need for praise, a lack of acceptance of social norms and temperment or personality. To parents, general child management strategies, a punitive or violent home, an absent father, and a lack of attention are the most common attributions. Predominant causes attributed by

teachers to themselves consist of setting insufficiently interesting work and having unrealistic expectations of the pupil.

However, the extent to which actors are perceived as not responsible for their actions and are thus deserving of sympathy and help is governed by the degree of controllability judged to exist in their actions (Weiner 1980). In the case of 'difficult pupil behaviour', parents are judged as being about twice as responsible as pupils for this behaviour, with teachers this time lying at an intermediary level.

Attributing the responsibility for a pupil's difficult behaviour to parents, however, introduces boundary uncertainties within the organisation, because the responsibility for pupil behaviour within the system is being located outside. Because teachers and parents may construe their respective responsibilities and attribute causation differently, the exact location of the boundary, its definition, becomes less certain thus risking a decrease in the organisation's homeostasis. Teachers' uncertainties over the predictability of the environment itself, in terms such as perceived alien parental lifestyle or maturity, further exacerbate the boundary tension and act as a barrier to its resolution.

The involvement of an EP can lead to outcomes perceived by the teacher as highly positive. This is achieved by means of the creation of a new system whose membership includes at least the teacher, EP and one parent, and sometimes other school staff and family members. Within the boundary of this system new norms and rules are created and, because of the incorporation of the external consultant, this may be seen as a 'therapeutic suprasystem' (De Shazer 1982).

This suprasystem has two distinctive features. Firstly, it is seen as temporary and existing by virtue of the presence of the EP. As a result, notions of the EP's 'involvement' become the legitimisation for the new norms and procedures. Secondly, it overlaps the other

two systems of school and family and allows its members to belong to both the new and their original systems and adhere to both sets of norms and values simultaneously, even when these are contradictory. These 'knots' in teachers' thinking are especially likely to occur in relation to colleagues (Wagner 1987). Teachers frequently report on levels of emotional support and a developing intersubjectivity between members of the new system that approximate towards their experience within reference groups.

Various routes may be taken in the creation of the new temporary overlapping system. The most common starting point is for the EP to bring together a parent or parents with the teacher and possibly other members of staff. Working intensively with either the teacher or a parent separately are also frequent early strategies for the EP. Systems may include members who never all meet together in which case information and judgments are transferred between home and school by the EP. In the majority of interventions the final state is for parents and teachers to be working together in some way without the presence of the EP although the 'involvement' of the EP may still be invoked as the factor making it possible for teachers to construe or behave towards parents 'untypically'.

Particular forms of knowledge, skills, personal qualities and aspects of role are seen by teachers to be the distinctive features of EPs' involvement. In particular, knowledge derived from practice is valued above that with an established research base and there is a reluctance on the part of teachers to incorporate levels of abstraction into their discussions.

On the contrary, EP's commonly regard the research base within applied behavioural analysis as providing at least a part of the rationale for their contribution. Listening and problem solving skills on the part of EPs are regarded as important by the teachers. Taking an encouraging and approving stance and avoiding being directive are all singled out as being significant qualities

in facilitating the social interaction and non-attributive nature of meetings involving both teachers and parents.

The applied behavioural analysis paradigm provides the rationale for the strategies developed within these suprasystems, although a sizable minority see an amalgam of interactional and interpretive skills as their true professional contribution as psychologists. Widely researched components such as teacher praise, ignoring and clear statements of rules (eg Madsen et al 1968) are frequently included in the strategies they recommend but are consciously implemented by the teachers to a significantly lesser degree.

Although implemented less often than recommended, discussion of the practicalities surrounding these tasks nonetheless give a rationale for bringing together parties who are highly likely to be in a position of mutual blaming and hostility. Relatively small and equitably balanced requirements from both parents and teachers create a climate in which each can see that the other is making a contribution, thus validating the purpose for meeting and reducing the need for defensive negative attributions towards the other party.

Teachers who achieve success in this manner, and the 'behavioural' component of their strategies is often fairly minimal and imprecise, can experience a degree of change characterised by movement from 'the most difficult pupil encountered in twelve years' to 'a remarkable success story'. Their new construction of the pupil, however, threatens to disrupt the typification that has often been co-created between the various members of staff familiar with the pupil, especially by virtue of having been a class teacher in a previous year. Although many schools have devised or are in the process of devising whole school behaviour policies, - the espoused theory (Argyris and Schon 1978), - the culture of many schools, the system of informal rules that spell out how people are to behave most of the time (Deal and Kennedy 1982), or the theory

in use, in respect of managing pupil behaviour, often remains antagonistic to notions of teachers being able to effect change.

Widely acknowledged successful outcomes with a pupil are likely to strain affiliative relationships with colleagues for a teacher. Consequently, the boundary of the suprasystem serves not only to define the new set of norms and values that will apply to working with a particular pupil, it also insulates the rest of the school from these undertakings. Clear evidence of changed pupil behaviour would challenge typifications of deviant identity that consolidate the culture in respect of difficult behaviour, thus decreasing the homeostasis of the organisation. By keeping EP strategies separate from the rest of the school's procedures, and in existence only as long as the temporary EP 'involvement' applies, the school's usual procedures, the theory in action, can be maintained. Implications for possible changes in the way parents are construed do not impinge, thus validating the school's existing boundary and preserving homeostasis.

By working directly with parents or receiving reports on their contributions and (positive) reactions via the EPs, teachers experience a lessening of boundary tensions. This comes about in three ways. Firstly, by carrying out a joint strategy the opportunity exists for an increase in shared meanings, one of the most significant being that the purpose of meeting is to carry out and monitor certain tasks, rather than to engage in conversations that carry heavy implications of blame. Secondly, the location of the boundary is clarified, the teacher achieves a greater confidence in knowing which areas are the responsibility of whom. And thirdly, environmental uncertainties are reduced for the teacher as aspects of the parents' motivation and lifestyle become more clearly understood.

Despite working together and witnessing the contribution made to strategies by parents, teachers rarely attribute to the parents any credit for the perceived improvement. Neither do they see factors

within the pupils' control as frequently responsible either. Instead, they are around five times more likely to see themselves rather than the parents as having effected the change. The most common mechanism invoked for this is their positive attention to the child.

This causal attribution carries with it a threat. If these teacher-directed activities are mainly responsible for the success, the implication is that their earlier absence may have played some part in the genesis of the problem or that, at the least, they should have been enacted earlier. Whilst this contradiction may usually be contained within a knot in a teacher's thinking (Wagner 1987), circumstances may confront the teacher with the need to reconcile this implied threat to professionalism.

An initial 'lack of parental support' is frequently invoked as the barrier to implementing a solution earlier. Subsequent 'parental support' and the parent's direct contribution to the strategy, are not credited in themselves with having any effect. Instead, the experience of working with a parent, whilst bringing a sense of lessened anxiety through the reduction of boundary tensions, is also used to reinforce the notion of an earlier 'lack of support' as being responsible for the absence of earlier positive action.

This reinforcement takes place in one of three ways. The first and least common mechanism is the confirmation of the original parent identity. More commonly, as more information emerges during the course of working together, it becomes possible to relocate the attribution to an absent father. Alternatively, the mother is absolved from a direct responsibility, as more information about home is included in conversations, by the teacher increasingly attributing the origins of the difficulties to factors concerning the child which are not within the child's control.

The adoption of medical models in respect of pupils and enlightenment models (Fiske and Taylor 1984) associated with absent

fathers allows teachers to protect their professional self esteem from implied accusations of a lack of early positive action and to attribute to themselves much of the credit for improvements in the pupils' improvements. At the same time, the lessening of boundary tensions, achievable by virtue of having first escaped temporarily from school cultures surrounding deviant pupil behaviour, lead to a greater sense of professional self confidence and emotional well-being.

Evaluation of the grounded theory

As indicated in chapter 5, the grounded theory is to be evaluated according to the questions set by Strauss and Corbin (1990) which they claim are redefinitions of the 'canons of good science' necessary in order to fit the 'realities of qualitative research and the complexities of social phenomena'.

1 How was the original sample selected?

The teachers for the interview study were selected via a two stage process. Firstly, EP services were contacted and their members asked if they could identify any primary age range teachers with whom they had achieved positive outcomes in respect of a pupil with difficult classroom behaviour. This behaviour was defined rather loosely to include what might be considered hyperactive and aggressive behaviour and EPs were asked to identify only teachers with whom their own actions had been guided, however minimally, by behavioural psychology. The teachers were also required to be in agreement that positive outcomes had occurred. The second stage of selection followed the direct letter from the researcher to the teachers inviting their participation, whereby teachers were able to decline.

The EP services contacted were initially those in closest proximity to the researcher's workplace and a general letter was sent to them at roughly termly intervals. This radius was gradually widened in order to increase the number of teachers identified and advantage was also taken of opportunities arising from visits to more distant areas arising from the researcher's professional duties. The twenty EPs who contributed teachers to interview were drawn from a total exceeding one hundred and fifty, who were contacted at least twice over a fifteen month period. This low response, especially when compared to the questionnaire replies in section I suggesting a

much higher rate of successful examples, requires further explanation and will be returned to.

On the contrary, of all the teachers contacted, only three declined to be interviewed. The demographic data reported in chapter 6 suggests that these teachers were not untypical in terms of their length of service or the size of the school in which they taught. The socio-economic status of the school's catchment area, as indicated by eligibility for free school meals, was lower than the national average and the pupils were seen by the teachers as being among, or the most difficult they had ever encountered, thus removing the possibility that these cases were untypically 'light' in terms of the usual work of EPs.

In view of the nature of the theory that has emerged from the grounded analysis, it is clear that organisational and attributional processes are implicated in the changes that are achieved. Such factors are far more elusive to measurement and were certainly not taken into consideration when initial sample considerations were formulated. (They do, however, now present themselves as warranting inclusion in future research). It is not possible to determine whether the teachers who constituted this sample were typical or untypical in terms of their attributional styles or in terms of the organisational dynamics of the schools in which they worked. The fact that many of the emergent codes and categories in the study corresponded to areas of theoretical and empirical literature on these topics suggests that they might not be widely untypical.

The low response rate from the EPs may be explained partly in these terms. Although section I has suggested that around half of EPs see the psychological component in work of this type to be located within the behavioural paradigm, these EPs are nevertheless at least familiar with attribution theory from their original undergraduate studies and are aware of systemic processes as result of their wide discussion within the professional literature. It is

not improbable that many of the EPs contacted, a ,considerable number of whom commented upon having possible cases for the study that were still at a rather delicate stage, and capable of 'going one way or the other', were alert to the powerful determining effect of these less tangible processes.

Similarly, the study has shown that teachers have a strong incentive not to proclaim too publicly or unequivocally upon successful strategies. Consequently, from the perspective of the EP, utilising notions of success as defined within the behavioural paradigm, positive outcomes may be perceived and reported in questionnaire replies. However, these EPs will probably also be aware that teachers feel a stronger inhibition to declaring successful outcomes, and may therefore be much less willing to offer their teacher colleagues up to an intensive interview which by its very nature might begin to unravel the newly created boundary insulating these teachers from the standard typifications prevalent within their schools.

Sample characteristics therefore suggest that the theory built upon the interview data is not idiosyncratic in terms of the types of variables usually employed in research into effective responses to pupils with difficulties in schools. Whether it is therefore widely generalisable is more open to question, its conclusions, and those of a wide range of similar educational research efforts into similar issues, perhaps resting far more crucially than is often recognised upon the representativeness of various organisational and individual teacher's psychological processes.

2 What major categories emerged?

The major category to emerge from the analysis was that of the temporary overlapping boundary. Also prevalent and linked to this were the categories of consultant knowledge, skills, personal qualities and role and the causal attribution made by teachers to parents.

3 What were some of the events, incidents, actions (as indicators) that pointed to some of these major categories?

The question in the interview relating to the perspectives and role of colleagues was included because it was hypothesised that teachers who achieved successful outcomes probably also received a reasonable degree of support and encouragement from colleagues. At the time of devising the questions it was assumed that the most interesting answers would arise from enquiries about teachers' explanations for the improvements and the degree to which they followed the EPs' recommendations. In the event, these replies were rarely elaborated in detail and, and even with prompting, some teachers could not move far beyond seeing improvement in the pupil as arising from 'greater maturity'.

By contrast, however, the apparent disinterest of colleagues in the reasons for the improvement in the behaviour of a widely recognised deviant pupil, was unexpected and intriguing to a researcher whose profession is centrally concerned with the search both for successful interventions and explanatory mechanisms. Not only did the teachers locate what seemed almost a paradox, they also even seemed to speak of colleagues with a greater degree of affect, quickly countering anything that might be construed as criticism with other comments, usually indicating high degrees of general 'supportiveness'. Detailed coding of transcripts and extra supplementary probing during later interviews into these areas was therefore undertaken.

A related trend in the data, which became striking in the later analysis of one case in particular, was the extent to which the teachers hinted that their manner of social interaction and construing was influenced or legitimated by the EP. In Chapter 6 the example is given whereby a teacher claims to talk with a parent in a different or more intimate way than would have been normal practice, because the EP had recommended this. The teacher is quite insistent that this has only been possible because of the EP's

'involvement' even when, in this example, the EP is not physically present. Further probing revealed that the actual questions asked of the parent were already within the repertoire of the teacher and were not as a result of new insights or skills provided by the EP. There was a clear and repeated insistence that the questions, which may well have served to confirm certain causal attributions, were legitimated by virtue of their 'the case' having EP 'involvement' and that in the absence of this the teacher would not have felt *confident* enough to 'delve into the family background'.

An unexpected finding was the extent in itself to which the interventions under examination had actually included the EPs arranging meetings between teachers and parents, 75% in this sample but only 40% of the national EP sample from section I of this study.

A number of early findings from the actual interviews and the open coding also led to a greater insight into the nature of the internal working of the temporary system. Teachers frequently referred to a growing sense of intersubjectivity both with EPs - 'she was lovely, she would just sit there and I could ask her questions', - and with parents - 'she really was a caring mum'.

Another major development within the analysis, which occurred at a later stage, and again appeared to present a paradox, was the way in which many positive remarks about parents' conscientious contributions to strategies could exist in teachers' accounts alongside a very low level of credit being given to parents for actually having partly effected the improved behaviour.

4 On the basis of what categories did theoretical sampling proceed?

The first major effort at theoretical sampling took place in respect of the category of colleagues and yielded 23 different open codes within the transcripts. These mainly occurred all within the

early transcripts and recurred throughout, with few new items appearing in the later interviews, thus generating a reasonable degree of confidence that for this category a stage of saturation had been reached. All items relating to parents were extracted and examined leading to 29 open codes. Again few new codes were being detected for the first time in later interviews. Similarly, the role and perceived qualities and abilities of the EP led to 36 open codes. Finally, in terms of causal attributions, as table 32 shows, 67 separate items relating to either parents, teachers or pupils were detected.

5 What were some of the hypotheses pertaining to conceptual relations among categories?

The prominent hypothesis investigated when questioning the data after theoretical sampling, was whether a suprasystem boundary could be detected in all cases, having both the property of insulating the intervention from the culture of the school and also that of creating new norms and procedures within.

Secondly, an early hypothesis, partly brought by the researcher to the study, was that the intervention served as a vehicle whereby the teachers might be provided with a combination of an opportunity to problem-solve in relation to referred pupils' curricular needs and the chance to receive non-judgemental attention to their own professional and personal anxieties generated by the management challenge with which they felt challenged.

Another hypothesis was that the terms 'support' and 'lack of support', especially in relation to how parents interacted or did not interact with staff, served a rhetorical function and might obscure a 'knot' in thinking about attributional processes.

6 Were there instances when hypotheses did not hold up against what was actually seen?

In only one of the twenty four interviews was there not a clear picture of an intervention being carried out by a teacher in either a disinterested or a pessimistic culture in relation to the possibility of success with the pupil. In this case, other staff were reported to be positive about the EP's recommendations and optimistic that they would have a positive effect. Tracing back in this particular case, it emerges that the EP had already made recommendations to the pupil's previous class teacher and that there had been a recognition among some staff that improvement had taken place. In this example, the present teacher did not, therefore, as in the other cases, represent a threat to the identity of this pupil within the culture.

In the early stages of hypothesis forming it seemed probable that those cases in which parents and teachers actually met together with the EP might represent different phenomena from those cases in which such meetings did not take place, with perhaps two different grounded theories being required. However, as analysis of the transcripts proceeded, it became apparent that in the 6 cases where meetings did not physically take place, the EP was still acting as an information courier, especially in bringing news of parent adherence to their part in strategies and, or their positive responses to the school's efforts and their child's progress within the terms of the strategy.

This challenge to an early hypothesis helped to advance theory building by demonstrating that a system's boundary, easily envisaged as similar to a physical boundary, is in fact a more abstract and psychological construct referring to membership of a group without the necessity for this to have a physical existence.

7 How and why was the core category selected?

The core category of boundary maintenance was selected following different attempts to categorise and condense the codes relating to 'other staff'. Pursuing the literature on organisations, systems and cultures as a means of enhancing theoretical sensitivity whilst still questioning this particular section of the data, slowly built towards identification of the core category. In the final stages of identification this abductive process (Turner 1992) became more rapid in its alternation and focus.

Evaluation of the choice of a grounded theory methodology in terms of its suitability for investigating the original research question

The original research question asked how interventions supposedly deriving from behavioural psychology could at times achieve their effect. This question seemed particularly pertinent to the researcher because of the suspicion engendered by conversations with colleagues over a period of years that many teachers would only tolerate 'light' interventions and that these in themselves were only implemented by the teachers subsequently with a variable regard to rigour. Given that theoreticians with allegiance to other paradigms could also argue fairly convincingly that classroom interaction was an immensely complex social activity and that notions of deviance should pay regard to a range of sociological and interpersonal processes, how could it be the case that these very light interventions, often diluted beyond their explanatory tolerance could sometimes lead the teachers involved to experience a sense of success where all their best efforts had previously failed? And why was it only sometimes? What factors were at work in these instances?

Clearly, the research that attempted to answer these questions would have to be exploratory in nature. As this was not a specific area that was developed within the research literature, a methodology concerned with hypothesis testing was not applicable and any hypotheses the researcher brought to the task would need to be acknowledged and controlled for in the early stages. The grounded theory methodology was ideally suited to this task, firstly by recognising the importance of this issue, and then through the discipline imposed by 'fracturing' the data by means of the lengthy process of open coding.

Given that difficult behaviour has been approached from a range of theoretical perspectives it was important not to foreclose upon possible explanatory mechanisms too early and grounded analysis,

especially in the process of theoretical sensitivity, is well suited to avoiding this. Similarly, any attempt to impose a more global theoretical formulation from another sphere onto a puzzling practical phenomenon, would be likely to underestimate the complexity of the area under investigation and thus limit its explanatory power. Because of the emphasis on its emergent and 'local' nature, grounded theory again seemed particularly suitable to the task.

In view of Scarr's assertion (1985) that hierarchical models of nested theories are necessary to understand fully behavioural phenomena, it is appropriate to ask whether this particular example of a grounded analysis has adhered to this stipulation. The theoretical perspectives sampled during the interaction with the data analysis have been nested within a range incorporating organisational, systemic, consultative and attributional theories. These have certainly been able to reach a high degree of saturation in that most of the transcript data can be coded within these categories.

Implications for future research and practice

In the early years of interest in behavioural methods in this country, there was a strong feeling that major training efforts were necessary to convince teachers and policy makers that the approaches had the potential to make a serious contribution to solving an enduring problem within education. In recent years, the passion seems to have ebbed from the crusade, perhaps because the chief proselytisers have grown frustrated by a sense of only limited success despite their confirmatory case studies. Over the same period, however, the public and political clamour for effective solutions has certainly not diminished.

This study has pointed out the direction in which future research might profitably be directed. Firstly, it would be possible to continue to interrogate the data contained in the present set of transcripts. Although the major categories already detected, - boundary validation, consultant characteristics and attribution shifts, - do account for a major part of the variance within the data, there is issue of the reactions of other pupils in the class still to be explored. From a direct reading of the transcripts it would appear that open coding in this area might yield further pertinent categories although these would probably be relatively limited in their complexity.

In addition to examining the present data further, it is possible to conceive of a study using the same methodology and sample but employing some different questions in order to collect data concerning other possibly related areas. For instance, an area that might have yielded interesting perspectives could have concentrated more on the area of teachers' craft knowledge especially in terms of how they construe and organise the task of instruction and learning and how the issue of deviance interacts with that. At another extreme, one might have taken a more overtly social psychological or sociological stance, and pursued the issues of

teachers' emotional responses and job satisfaction at a more general level. However, from the point of view of an educational psychologist with a particular professional brief for pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties, the range of nested theories employed here have a certain utility. From the research perspective, they have been able to account for a large proportion of the data collected.

Moving another step away from the present study, it is possible to envisage a study that again worked with teachers (and EPs) who have achieved positive outcomes from similar interventions but, instead of interviews after the event, to adopt a participant observation approach. Dix (1993) has observed that far more studies of teacher's attributions for difficult behaviour rely on analogue approaches, utilising case studies or invented scenarios, than on in vivo examples. A major strength of the present study is that it asks questions of interventions that teachers have actually implemented themselves, thus being likely to access levels of detail and explanation less likely to occur with imagined examples.

A methodology in which an observer followed through each stage of the development and implementation of a strategy, backed up with interviews with various parties at different stages should add considerable additional benefits in that judgements and observations would not be influenced by a knowledge of subsequent developments and the problems of hindsight. However, such a study would present massive, and expensive, - logistical problems. It took a considerable degree of persistence to locate the present sample, which was spread over a considerable geographical distance. To find another sample and then to be present at all the pertinent stages would require considerable travelling and flexibility with diary commitments.

This expense, in terms of time as well as finance, might, nonetheless, prove a very worthwhile investment. Given the continuingly high profile of difficult pupil behaviour, an

investigation that replicated the present one but gathered more data from an extended sample could yield powerful practical implications.

A further examination of cultures in schools, especially in relation to deviance, is also indicated by the present study. Whilst the findings reported here derive from a qualitative methodology, attempts to transfer the concept of culture into a realist paradigm by designing instruments that might yield quantitative measures of culture, perhaps in the way that Rutter et al (1978) did for 'school ethos', could, if successful, eventually permit investigations in which culture could be manipulated as a dependent variable or investigated further in terms of its constituent dimensions. Such studies might point the way for the analysis of the factors affecting 'treatment adherence' called for by Axelrod et al (1990).

Similarly, studies such as this one offer the opportunity for in vivo examinations of attribution processes. Once again it would be possible to use measures of attribution, especially in terms of the perceived controllability of factors hypothesised to be related to difficult behaviour, in order to chart possible changes as they occur rather than in the present post hoc manner.

Turning to practical professional implications, the results of this study once again confirm that behavioural consultation with an EP can lead to positive outcomes even in the case of pupils thought by experienced teachers to be the most difficult they have encountered in their careers. Usually, positive outcomes are reported by consultants rather than classroom teachers and claims by teachers of this level of magnitude are rare. Clearly, these results reinforce the claim made by early proponents for behavioural methods especially at a time of once again increasing public anxiety.

The reasons why individual casework has not been the preferred method of a number of influential EPs over the past two decades have been alluded to in chapter 4 but, despite this, the tide of legislation, certainly in the latter half of this period, has been flowing in this direction suggesting that, if inevitably manoeuvred back into a casework approach, then EPs do at least possess certain potentially influential skills.

However, this study has also suggested that successful consultations are more fully understood within the framework of certain systemic and attributional processes. These, unfortunately, have been shown to be such that they often work against the wider take-up of recommended interventions. Given the intensive use of EP time required for these single interventions, the cost-effectiveness argument for approaches focussed upon the organisations themselves, still apply.

The EP as consultant will need to bear in mind that a written policy within a school concerning difficult behaviour may well not support an individual teacher experiencing difficulties with a pupil. Similarly, such policies can coexist with cultures that are not positive towards working with difficult-to-manage pupils. And again, even when a staff culture is perceived by a teacher as being positive and supportive, it may still not be encouraging to that particular teacher in respect of efforts with a difficult pupil.

Because teachers are very wary about describing interventions that they have successfully employed to their immediate colleagues, good practice in working with difficult pupils is unlikely to spread in a ripple-like manner through a school staff. It may, therefore, be unwise for an EP to attempt to use successful case studies from within a school as examples during school-based training courses for teachers.

In conclusion, it seems likely that EPs will continue to argue for an approach which addresses organisational issues, and now,

especially, organisational culture. While crusades against undesirable pupil behaviour may easily be incorporated into the political lexicon, notions concerning the influence of culture and attribution may be less easily incorporated. At a time when there is an obligation for members of the helping professions to make explicit their unique contributions, it is ironic that skills shown to bring unexpectedly high levels of success in cases which cause the most severe anxiety, must seemingly remain covert to be effective and thus possibly become unrequired as a result of the very mechanisms by which they seem to achieve their effect.

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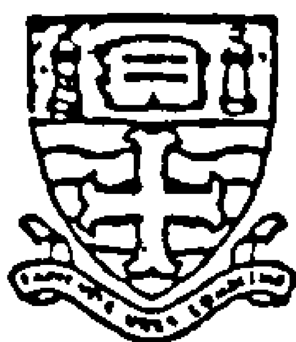
APPENDIX I

THE ORIGINAL LETTER SENT TO EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY SERVICES

THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

CHILD DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH UNIT
DIRECTORS. JOHN AND ELIZABETH NEWSON
TUTOR IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY·
ANDREW MILLER



UNIVERSITY PARK, NOTTINGHAM NG7 2RD
TELEPHONE 0602-506101 Ext. 3259

Dear Colleague,

I am intending to conduct some research by questionnaire with a number of Educational Psychologists. After a number of attempts to draft an explanatory letter, I decided that it was easier to ask certain questions in the form of a flow chart, (see over) so please excuse me for communicating with you in this rather unconventional form.

If you answer 'No' at a particular level; it would be extremely helpful if you could tick the box opposite the first 'No' you encounter and return the whole sheet to me. It is not necessary to identify yourself but I would be able to encourage late respondents more easily if you could at least indicate your L.E.A. May I thank you in advance for your help in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Andrew Miller

Andrew Miller
Senior Educational Psychologist

Please tick box if a 'No' is encountered, at level of first 'No'

Does your work involve you with infant; junior or middle schools? → NO ☐

↓ YES

Do you ever employ any aspects of a behavioural approach, even if only in the most simplified or general form? → NO ☐

↓ YES

Have you used these approaches with teachers of infant -, junior -, or middle-school aged children? → NO ☐

↓ YES

Have you used these approaches in an attempt to alter some aspect(s) of a child's social behaviour or conformity to normal classroom behaviour in a mainstream classroom setting? (i.e. I am not referring to purely instructional approaches such as Direct Instruction, Precision Teaching etc) → NO ☐

↓ YES

Do you have at least one example, whether successful or not, where you attempted this as a result of an individual request for help from the school, rather than as some form of case study on an In-service course? → NO ☐

↓ YES

Would you be willing to help me in some research which would involve completing a questionnaire? (It should take no more than 20 minutes at the most) → NO ☐

↓ YES

☐

Thank you for agreeing to help. Could you please fill in the details at the bottom of this sheet and return the whole sheet to me. I will then send you further information and a copy of the questionnaire.

Name.......................................L.E.A.............................

OFFICE ADDRESS..........................

....

....   Tel. No............................

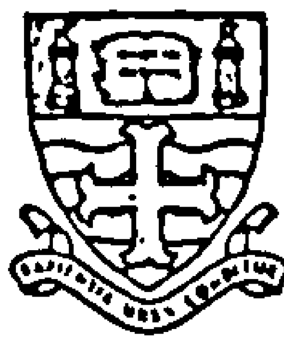
Please return to: Mr. A. Miller, Senior Educational Psychologist,
Child Development Research Unit,
University of Nottingham,
Nottingham NG7 2RD

APPENDIX II

THE QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO THE EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGISTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

CHILD DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH UNIT
DIRECTORS: JOHN AND ELIZABETH NEWSON
TUTOR IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY:
ANDREW MILLER



UNIVERSITY PARK, NOTTINGHAM NG7 2RD
TELEPHONE 0602-506101 Ext. 3259

Dear

Thank you for recently expressing a willingness to complete a more detailed questionnaire. I am interested in the application of intervention strategies based, to a lesser or greater extent, upon behavioural principles. In particular I am interested in the use of such strategies in the 'real world' of the child's school environment.

The attached questionnaire is an attempt to list a fairly comprehensive set of elements that might be involved in an intervention strategy based on behavioural approaches. Much of the literature suggests that 'good practice' consists of incorporating a large number of these elements into an intervention strategy. However, in practice it may well not be possible, or desirable, to implement such detailed strategies in one's daily work for any number of reasons. Consequently, a description of what practitioners find to be feasible and/or effective, and therefore actually attempt to do, could equally well represent a good and valid starting point from which to derive notions about 'good practice' in classroom settings. I hope, therefore, to elicit replies which may range from detailed and intricate programmes through to minimal interventions such as, say, giving advice on the use of praise or ignoring. In other words, there is no suggestion that value judgements be attributed to returns in which either the 'Yes' or the 'No' options are frequently ringed.

All questions, except where otherwise indicated, refer to infant, junior or middle school settings and interventions which aim to affect some aspects of a child's social behaviour or conformity to classroom norms (i.e. not a purely instructional programme such as that derived from Datapac). The 'Last intervention' section refers to the most recent strategy you devised that got at least as far as an initial acceptance from the classteacher and is now finished, whether or not it was successful. It also deals only with those interventions in which you worked individually with a classteacher rather than problems that were tackled as case studies or illustrative examples on a teachers' course or workshop. The 'In General' section is an attempt to elicit the way in which you usually attempt to structure interventions and I hope you will excuse those questions which are not quite grammatically compatible with the response categories.

No individual educational psychologists, local education authorities or training courses will, of course, be identified in any subsequent written report of the results of this survey. I will endeavour to send an outline of the main results to those Psychological Services where members have participated. I hope that you find the questionnaire of interest and I look forward to receiving your reply.

Yours sincerely,

Andy Miller
Tutor in Educational Psychology

N.B. 1) MAINSTREAM INFANT, JUNIOR OR MIDDLE SCHOOLS

2) SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR OR CONFORMITY TO CLASS NORMS

3) LAST INDIVIDUAL REQUEST FOR HELP

For all 'YES' replies in the 'Last Intervention' column could you please give brief details in the place indicated by the dotted lines.

For the 'In General' column, the following key is employed; Frequently (F) = on more than 66% of occasions; Sometimes (S) = on between 33% and and 66% of occasions; and, rarely (R) = on less than 33% of occasions.

(Please circle correct responses)

A.	PRELIMINARIES	LAST INTERVENTION	IN GENERAL
1.	Informal classroom observation?	(YES) 84 NO 16	F S R
2.	Use of psychometric instruments?	YES 29 NO 71	F S R
3.	Problem(s) stated in behavioural terms?	YES 87 NO 10 If YES how long did discussion on this take? ....mins	F S R
4.	Baseline observations recorded by you?	YES 28 NO 71	F S R
5.	Baseline observations recorded by the teacher?	YES 59 NO 41 If YES, what was recorded and for how long?	F S R

	LAST INTERVENTION	IN GENERAL
6. Other measures?	YES 60 NO 40	F S R
7. Total time spent by yourself on all these preliminaries:	......Hrs.........mins	

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)	IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33%, <66% R = <33%
B. STRATEGY PLANNING		
1a) Target behaviour(s) to increase chosen?	YES 85 NO 15	F S R
b) Target behaviour(s) to decrease chosen?	YES 73 NO 27	F S R
c) A series of sub-targets or steps chosen in advance.	YES 36 NO 64. (If YES, what governed moving on to next target?)	F S R
2. Child involved in the strategy planning?	YES 53 NO 47 If YES, was the child's opinion consulted in planning or was (s)he merely told, or what ?	F S R

		LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)		IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33%, <66% R = < 33%		
3.	Any difficulties in agreeing upon a strategy with the teacher?	YES 29	NO 71	F	S	R
4.	Were the following reinforcers used:					
	a) Ticks/stars on chart?					
	- immediately after target behaviour?	YES 43	NO 57	F	S	R
	- at a pre-arranged time not immediately afterwards?	YES 38 If YES, how long after?	NO 62	F	S	R
	- as appropriate, but not pre-arranged?	YES 12	NO 88	F	S	R
	b) Material: extraneous to usual classroom procedure (e.g. sweets?)					
	- immediately after target behaviour?	YES 7	NO 93	F	S	R
	- at a pre-arranged time not immediately afterwards?	YES 21 If YES, how long after?	NO 79	F	S	R
	- as appropriate, but not pre-arranged?	YES 7	NO 93	F	S	R
	c) Preferred activity chosen from within usual classroom procedure (e.g. painting?)					
	- immediately after target behaviour?	YES 15	NO 85	F	S	R
	- at a pre-arranged time, not immediately afterwards?	YES 39 If YES how long after?	NO 61	F	S	R
	- as appropriate, but not pre-arranged?	YES 11	NO 89	F	S	R

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each Yes circled)		IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33%, <66% R = <33%		
d) Social (praise/ attention) from teacher?					
- immediately after target behaviour?	YES 87	NO 12	F	S	R
- at a pre-arranged time, not immediately afterwards?	YES 25 If YES, how long after?	NO 75	F	S	R
- as appropriate, but not pre-arranged?	YES 26	NO 74	F	S	R
e) Social from peers, other than very incidentally?					
- immediately after target behaviour?	YES 8	NO 92	F	S	R
- at a pre-arranged time, not immediately afterwards?	YES 10 If YES how long after?	NO 90	F	S	R
- as appropriate, but not pre-arranged?	YES 15	NO 85	F	S	R
f) Social from other person?	If YES, who?				
- immediately after target behaviour?	YES 12	NO 87	F	S	R
- at a pre-arranged time, not immediately afterwards?	YES 41 If YES how long after and who was the person?	NO 59	F	S	R
- as appropriate, but not pre-arranged?	YES 26	NO 74	F	S	R
g) Other reinforcer(s)?	YES 55 If YES, specify:	NO 45	F	S	R

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)		IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33%, <66% R = <33%		
5. Type of non-reinforcer used:					
a) ignoring?	YES 72	NO 28	F	S	R
b) time out (moving to a different location)?	YES 39	NO 61	F	S	R
c) active punishment?	YES 9	NO 90	F	S	R
	If YES, specify:				
6. Did the teacher have initial reservations about:					
a) issues of bribery?	YES 27	NO 73	F	S	R
b) fairness (rewarding only one child)?	YES 46	NO 54	F	S	R
c) praise not being spontaneous?	YES 16	NO 84	F	S	R
d) practical problems of implementation?	YES 61	NO 38	F	S	R
e) other reservations	YES 34	NO 65	F	S	R
	If YES, specify:				
7. If YES to 6 a),b), c) d) or e) indicate approx amount of the time spent discussing these issues:-					
6a)					
6b)					
6c)					
6d)					
6e)					

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)		IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33%<66% R = <33%		
. If teacher had reservations, indicate how you attempted to overcome them:-					
a) by describing similar examples from your experience	YES 81	NO 19	F	S	R
b) describing examples from the literature which one(s)	YES 17	NO 83	F	S	R
c) by asking the teacher to trust your judgement	YES 19	NO 81	F	S	R
d) by leaving a handout prepared by yourself	YES 11	NO 89	F	S	R
e) by lending or recommending a book or article which one(s)	YES 26	NO 74	F	S	R
f) by other means	YES 54 If YES, specify:	NO 46	F	S	R
C. CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT					
1. Any of the following classroom conditions selected for changing?					
a) Quantity of child's usual work reduced	YES 17	NO 83	F	S	R
b) Quantity of child's usual work increased	YES 43	NO 57	F	S	R

	LAST INTERVENTION (please give details for each YES circled)		IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33% <66% R = <33%		
c) Type of work changed for child	YES 32	NO 68	F	S	R
d) Classroom rules changed for child	YES 12	NO 88	F	S	R
e) Class rules changed for whole class?	YES 5	NO 95	F	S	R
f) Usual class rules explained differently	YES 42	NO 58	F	S	R
g) Seating arrangement for child changed	YES 51	NO 49	F	S	R
h) Distractions removed from child	YES 40	NO 60	F	S	R
i) Other classroom conditions changed	YES 16	NO 84	F	S	R
	If YES, specify				
2. Total time spent by yourself on these aspects of classroom environemnt	.....hrs........mins				
D. MONITORING					
1. Criteria for ending programme set in advance?	YES 41	NO 59	F	S	R
2. Were measures taken during implementation of programme?	YES 63	NO 37	F	S	R
3. Did you visit during the implementation?	YES 85	NO 15	F	S	R
	If YES, how many times and how often?				
	What happened during your visits? (further discussion with teacher/child, modelling for teacher/child etc)?				

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)	IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33%<66% R = <33%
Were changes made during the implementation to:-		
a) Target behaviour(s)? (initiative?)	YES 34 NO 66 If YES, on whose initiative? T,48 ψ,9 Joint,43	F S R
b) Reinforcer(s) (initiative?)	YES 24 NO 76 T, 44 ψ,22 J,22	F S R
c) Punishment(s) (initiative?)	YES 6 NO 94.	F S R
d) Setting condition(s) (i.e. classroom environment) (initiative?)	YES 25 NO 75 T,64 ψ,14 J,7	F S R
e) Any other changes	YES 26 NO 74 If YES, specify: T,50 ψ,12 J,12	F S R
Was a decision made before starting about:-		
a) a review date ?	YES 75 NO 25 If yes, how long after starting?	F S R
b) an ending date?	YES 21 NO 79 If yes, how long after starting?	F S R
6. Person who eventually took the main responsibility to discontinue the intervention:-		
a) teacher	YES 29 NO	F S R
b) psychologist	YES 3 NO	F S R
c) teacher and psychologist jointly	YES 61 NO	F S R

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)		IN GENERAL F = >66% S = >33%,<66% R = <33%		
d) other	YES 6 If YES, specify?	NO	F	S	R
7. Was the intervention eventually shorter then you had originally expected?	YES 50 If Yes, by how much and was this because of success or failure?	NO	F	S	R
8. Was the intervention longer then you had originally expected?	YES 50 If Yes, by how much and was this because of success or failure?	NO	F	S	R
9. What was the eventual length of intervention?	....				
E. EVALUATION					
1. Was the intervention evaluated by:-					
a) Expressed teacher satisfaction/ dissatisfaction?	YES 95	NO 4	F	S	R
b) Detailed teacher report (verbal or written)	YES 35	NO 65	F	S	R
c) Repeat of any preliminary measures?	YES 19	NO 81	F	S	R
d) Repeat of baseline measure?	YES 28	NO 72	F	S	R
e) Expressed satisfaction dissatisfaction of others?	YES 63 If YES, who?	NO 37	F	S	R

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)	IN GENERAL F = > 66% S = >33% <66% R = < 33%
	KEY: considerable improvement- c.i; moderate improvement - m.i; no change - n.c.; and, deterioration - d)	(How often does this outcome occur in your experience?)
2. For the method of evaluation used how do you rate the outcome of your evaluation		
a) Expressed teacher satisfaction or dissatistaction?	c.i. m.i. n.c. d.	F S R
b) Detailed teacher report ?	c.i. m.i. n.c. d.	F S R
c) Repeated preliminary measures?	c.i. m.i. n.c. d.	F S R
d) Repeat of baseline measure?	c.i. m.i. n.c. d.	F S R
e) Expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction of others?	c.i. m.i. n.c. d.	F S R
3. Do you feel the intervention was restricted in its effectiveness by:-		
a) the type of presenting problem ?	YES 30 NO 70	F S R
b) the teacher's cooperation ?	YES 23 NO 77	F S R
c) the teacher's understanding of the approach ?	YES 38 NO 61	F S R
d) the time the teacher could allocate to the intervention ?	YES 45 NO 54	F S R
e) the child's cooperation?	YES 29 NO 71	F S R
f) the Head teacher's cooperation?	YES 12 NO 88	F S R

	LAST INTERVENTION (Please give details for each YES circled)		IN GENERAL F = > 66% S = > 33%, < 66% R = < 33%		
g) the Head teacher's understanding?	YES 21	NO 78	F	S	R
h) the other staff in the school?	YES 10	NO 90	F	S	R
i) your knowledge and experience?	YES 29	NO 71	F	S	R
j) the time you could allocate to the intervention?	YES 59	NO 41	F	S	R
k) other factors	YES 39	NO 61	F	S	R

For the last intervention described in this questionnaire; please indicate:-

Infs., 17.
Juns., 31.

- type of school...Primary, 52..............
- age of child..........................
- teacher's prior knowledge or experience of behavioural approaches (to the best of your knowledge)
- child's presenting problem.

For the types of school and children's problems examined in this questionnaire, which aspect(s) of devising and implementing a behavioural approach do you feel most require the skills and/or knowledge of a psychologist?

Which, if any, do you feel are the most difficult aspects of behavioural approaches for teachers to accept?

Which, if any, do you feel are the most difficult aspects for you to accept?

Have you or a teacher ever come to new understandings as a result of working on a behavioural programme?

Name..L.E.A..........................

Office address............................ Telephone number...............

....

....

Number of years as an Educational Psychologist...................................

Training Course.................................

How would you describe the attitude of your training course towards behavioural approaches?............................

In a typical 12 months' work* as an Educational Psychologist, how many behavioural interventions would you initiate, with the types of schools and children's problems that are the subject of this survey:-

a) as a result of individual referrals/requests for help?.................

b) as case studies on teachers' courses and workshops?..................

Thank you very much for your participation. Please return the whole set of papers, except the covering letter, to the address below.

Return to:-	Mr. A. Miller, Senior Educational Psychologist, Child Development Research Unit, University of Nottingham, University Park, Nottingham. NG7 2RD

* (If this is your first year in post, please estimate likely number on the basis of your experience to date.)

APPENDIX III

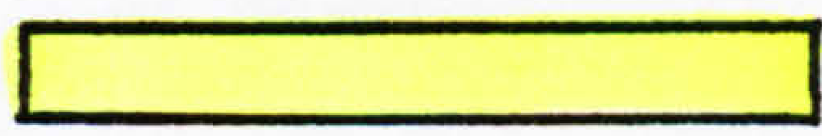
THE TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW 1
SHOWING LEVEL I CODES
AND CATEGORIES

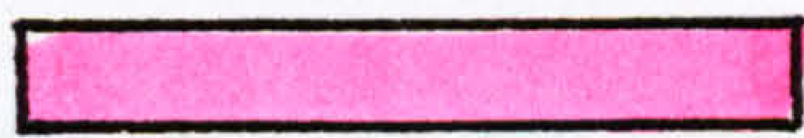
KEY

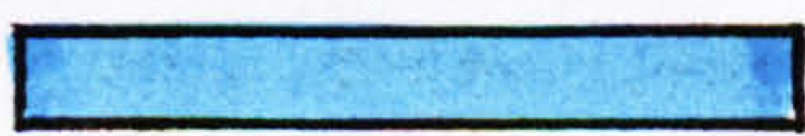
Level I (open) codes
A - AAAI = first
87 codes

A..
prior
expectation

Categories
(level II codes)

other staff 

parents 

explanatory
mechanisms 

EP factors

INTERVIEW 1

Can I ask you what you thought was wrong with this lad how you saw his problem being ......?

I started in September, with the reception class, newly appointed to this new school. I have a friend who worked in nursery who told me that I would be probably receiving this child if I got the post, and told me a little bit about his behaviour in the nursery and how his problem had manifested itself in there - told me a little bit about his home background and said this child will probably be in your class. For the first two weeks of the child being in my class there were no problems at all ..... none. He fitted in with the rest of the class, he was no problem, friendly, affectionate, perfectly normal and couldn't have been picked out from the remainder of the class. Looking back, what we feel now is that was just - he was in awe - that I was new, it was a new school, it was a new situation and that it took two weeks for him really to find his feet. After two weeks the behaviour started.

Where do you think the behaviour came from? Why do you think he was like that? At first .... at the time what did you think?

At the time - after the first two weeks - thinking to what I'd been told about what he'd been in nursery, I'd seen none of that behaviour. After the two weeks the behaviour that I'd been told about started to appear in the classroom situation. The head and I ..... during the first two weeks said 'there doesn't seem to be a

problem, he seems perfectly OK'. Perhaps it was the nursery, perhaps it was now that he's in a more formal situation .... obviously sitting down ... perhaps the dicipline of sitting down, working with other children, having to do a set amount of work, a set piece of work before activities - which is the way we work here, maybe that had done the trick. But after a fortnight then the problems started and then I didn't know what to think.

So what did you try before you called the Ed. Psych in? Did you try anything to deal with this behaviour?

Yes. We try to motivate ..... to do the work in the morning. How we work here is we do the work in the morning - number and language - and we activity in the afternoon which is when I hear readers, and that is the set pattern. The difficult thing being it really is perhaps the best reception class I have ever taught in terms of the other eighteen children. So this child was literally out on a limb because there is no middle. It's a very good and there was this child with these behavioural problems. So there were eighteen children working very hard in a morning and activitying in the afternoon, and there was Lamaine. So it was difficult for him because .. it was difficult for the other children because they were doing it - and he was the one that wasn't. The type of behaviour that he was manifesting made it such that we needed outside help because it came to the point that we were moving to this new building which is open-plan - at the time we were in the end of the nursery - that was my classroom - we had three bookcases across the nursery and I had the end of the nursery - very small space - six tables and fourteen children, at the time when he first started. Now the behaviour

that caused us the problem wasn't that he was just naughty and you could say to him "Don't do that", he was so destructive that we had to call Mum in because he was attacking other children and behaviour that literally I couldn't ignore. Usually with other naughty children in the class you've been able to say we're just going to ignore ..... and they stop doing it. You know you've had children yourself that you say "We're not watching" - and once they haven't got an audience they get fed up, but unfortunately this sort of behaviour ....

That didn't work?

...... under tables .. attacking other children under tables ...

Why do you think those things that you've done before didn't work on this occassion? Do you have any ideas on that? Did you have any thoughts then?

We tried ... I think I can honestly say, we tried everything I knew to try that had worked in the past and that was literally . I'd never seen such destructive behaviour in all my years of teaching .. so really at the age of four to be like that was really new for me. I've been teaching twelve years and I've never met such destructive, such wanton .....

So when you tried to make sense of that ... I can see you looking puzzled now .....

Yes and I remain puzzled. I still don't know why.

So you weren't thinking 'Oh that's because of such and such'?

No I haven't a clue. You can say Oh it's his family background and you can understand .... Do you want me to tell you his family background? You see that was the only thing. His Father's very agressive and he's down in London. He was in hospital until the age of two so in some ways if you account for the fact that he's five maybe the behaviour he was producing was that of a three year old - temper tantrums, wanting his own way, wanting your attention all the time and the minute you don't give it it's destructive so that you've got to give him that attention. We tried that .. maybe that's it. He was in hospital for two years, his Mother said ... came in and said that maybe this is the reason .. she was at her wits end. But she was so desperate for help she was just pleased that we were able to say "We want to help him" .... and she'd had involvement before from Social Workers and he was still a problem at home. He was still being destructive at home they were having .... he ripped his bedroom door off and they'd had to get the council in to put the door back on. Not just normal .... not just scribbling on a wall but so destructive. He set fire to his Mother's bed while she was in it. In twelve years I've never net anything like it. So really ..... I was saying to the head .... this is like nothing I've ever met before. We're not just talking naughty, we're talking a whole different realm that I haven't ....

G. Theory

model

absent

Parental distress

O

BEHAV. DESCRIPT.

C

OK I've got the picture there.

The next bit is did you have any ideas of what you expected from the E.P. when you called her in?

No, other than help and how to constructively .. What we wanted was to try and keep ..... the problem was was that he was running away - three times a day? And because we were in ... I had a door on my classroom and he was climbing over the bookcases and through into nursery and then running away. There was not sufficient staff for us to cope with that and in the back of our minds all the time was that we were moving here - with no doors, no classroom door to close.

Open plan?

Open plan. And we were saying to Mum all the time that we cannot cope with this behaviour when there's just me. Now I was able to call over the bookcases "Can you please take my class, Lamaine's gone again". And I was going out three times a day! There was a busy main road, he'd run onto the front, it really was intolerable. In fact if I'd have been a parent ..... and I think if the parents in the class knew really what the situation was it would have been ...... but fortunately I think children just went home and said that Lamaine's been very naughty. They had no concept of what 'naughty' meant ..... and really until you talk to people and try and say 'what we mean by naughty in this instance .... ' .... you have no idea how .... well, at your wits end you became at the end because you tried everything that you knew. When you were sitting down with him on a 1:1 and he had all your attention he was delightful but he was very jealous the minute you gave any attention to any other child, and it was almost as if he hasn't had that attention the five years of his life. But once you gave him that glimpse of what it was like he wanted it all the time, and if he didn't get it he'd run away or prod somebody, or jump on something, or hurt

somebody and he still finds it difficult to grasp that there's more than just him in the class.

So you called in Anne and she was ....

We had the parents in first ...

Right.

We kept a log of his behaviour.

Was this before Anne came?

Before Anne came yes, just to try and write down really what we meant by naughty - should we ever need to refer to it, and it went home and Mum had it at home and she would log his behaviour at home. He had to go into hospital for a fournight - he has asthma attacks - and when he came back after hospital he was as bad again. And it was at that point we said 'look you know we can't cope with this. Something's got to change otherwise we cannot take him to the other school - in an open- plan situation. Physicaly we cannot be responsible for what he might do' And that's sort of the extremes it came to, then we called Anne in.

So can you remember much about what Anne actually suggested you do with him? Can you describe a bit of that to me?

W. joint planning

Mmm ... she felt .. when we first got together there was Mum, Grandma, myself, the Head and Anne. Now fortunately out of all of it the good thing was that I knew Anne - although I didn't realise that she was Mrs Kay when I worked with her as a teacher. So when we were introduced it was something of a big relief for me because I've never had to call in an Ed. Psych before and I was a bit unsure ....

I was going to ask you about that later! Yes.......

I've never had to ... I've never met a problem like this before. So fortunately it was really nice because we'd already got a relationship, so I relaxed a bit at that. She felt on reading the log that his ... he was up against an awful lot of negative. That writing in the log the bad things he had done .... that there was no positive reinforcement for him and that it was perhaps .. perhaps he was in the position where everything he did - he might as well go the whole hog and blow it, if he was going in the red book he might as well be hung ...... do you know what I mean?

Umm......

Z. parental strategy

So she felt that all day it was .. you see Mum's response at home was to put him to bed which is where he wrecked his bedroom, climbed out of the window and escaped you see. And she felt that he wasn't getting any positive ...... that like ... at school what would happen .... he knew that if he was naughty in the morning he would lose his activities in the afternoon. And she felt that he just couldn't grasp all the negative. So she said that we needed to do something positive.

Now the first time we talked we looked at how my day was planned and the fact that

maybe it was too long a morning. One thing she said that encouraged me was that she said "Some of the things that I'm going to suggest to you will really get up your nose as a teacher". She said "I'll tell you now" and she said "I wan't you to say to me 'that will not ...... it won't work for me". So that was really good a) because we had that relationship, and b) because I then felt the freedom to say to her "No I can't do that". Because she felt that he needed - we work hard in the morning there's no two ways about it, we do work hard - and there tends to be a piece of maths work and piece of language work everyday, of some description. There is a variety and they get to choose .... but she felt it was a long time for him and that if we said to him in the morning "If you don't finish your work you won't have activities in the afternoon" - that he couldn't comprehend how far away the afternoon was ... and that it seems a long way off and he didn't want to finish the piece of work and so what! And so he blew it. She felt he needed a shorter space of time and could he have an activity between pieces of work? I said I couldn't do that because I felt that fourteen other children work so hard in a morning and to see Lamaine being naughty, or being treated differently by allowing him to get say the Lego out - between his pieces of work - I said 'I don't feel I can do that'. It just didn't rest easy with me. I said 'if we're going to do that, we're all going to have a break between pieces of work' and she said 'Yes but your other fourteen children do it so well, and are into that routine" and I said "Yes I know". And you can ask any of the children and they'll say "If I do this in the morning, we can have activities in the afternoon when Mrs Bacon hears readers". So I said "Yes that goes against the grain really. I can't make him special because he's naughty" and I didn't want to do that. Although, I wanted to do what was right for him. So what we decided was was he could do an activity that wasn't constructional or wasn't

clearly seen to be an activity, like threading or tracing - something that would give him a break from numbers or language - or a jigsaw. But once I started that with Lamaine, I started it with the rest of the class because they saw him do it and they would say "If I finish this piece of work, can I have a jigsaw?". So we all did it .... for Lamaine's sake really so that he didn't feel that he was special - although he had his own activity box and I would sit next to him - Anne said sit next to him - and I would work with him as much as I could, which was fine.

We had a star chart, I did a Ninja Turtle for him because he's into Turtles. I found something that he liked and the Ninja Turtle had six balloons which represented six parts of the day. One piece of work before play, one piece of work after play, the lunchtime period for two balloons, and the afternoon - and that each time he managed that period without ..... we had to limit it .... I think it was without running away at first ..... without running away, then a star went into the balloon - he could cover that balloon. Which worked well for a matter of I think a fortnight or so ...... and then I felt that he was just not bothered whether he got his balloon covered or not. We seldom had a day when all his picture was covered in. While the novelty of it was there it was fine but then he started to regress back to his other behaviour.

Now Anne came in .... and maybe I expected too much? I have high expectations of the other children because they are a particularly bright class - and Anne came in first thing in the morning which is his very best time because he's fresh and his first piece of work he knows he's working for a balloon ... and she said "He's on task. He's doing what he's ...." And I said

AN. partial/biased sampling

"Yes Anne, but you don't see him after this when he starts saying 'NO' and going under tables and throwing chairs. And she said "Yes but you're expecting too much of him. He's on task at the moment". And that was good because I had to review my expectations and separate them from the expectations of the rest of the class. We did charts - I think for about a fortnight ...... maybe it was longer ..... I lose track of the time ..... but that was her ....and she gave me a book to give to Mum. Mum's a single parent, Father's in London with a new family. Mum's a single parent with a live in boyfriend .. and she gave me something about positive reinforcement for the child ..

AL

AL

AM

AO. positive reinforcement

For Mum?

For mum .. to talk over with her. And we tried it that way.

Right so that's what ....

That's what she suggested in the beginning. We changed it later on.

Oh right ....lets talk about that in a second. I think you've answered my next question which was "When Anne was making these suggestions to you, did you think you could follow those effectively or not? You've already said to me that you ...... that part of the deal was that you could say .... OK. A related question to that is why do you think Anne thought these questions would work? When she was explaining this to you why did you think she was suggesting this to you?

AP. EP as guide

AQ experimental approach

Always she said "We will try this". The good thing is she never said this is the answer. What we were working at was finding something that was suitable for Lamaine, and we would try something until we found a solution. So the way she was coming across was that she wanted, first and formost, to be positive with .... because he had had so much negative in the past and I think positive reinforcemment was the key issue - that we were going for something positive and it worked - he came alive when you praised him and he was so different. But it was just ... the change was instantaneous . it was just so unexpected ...... there was no warning. This is one of the things I said to her right from the beginning, you cannot predict when he was going to 'turn' if you like. There was no pattern - we looked for pattern .... there was none. And that was the thing that was draining in a sense because you weren't prepared for him being violent or agressive ... you could have been working with another child and suddenly there'd be a chair flying. Or somebody would come crying because he had attacked them. There was no set pattern.

AI AQ AO Y G, AL AR unavailable theory W AC AR G AR

So do you think in the end ..... well lets talk a bit more about what she asked you to do subsequently, because what I want is to run these questions together . I'm going to ask you about what you actually did - and you're telling me that already. Did you end up doing what she was asking you to do, do you think?

For a time yes. And then I abandoned it and I told her I abandoned it because while it worked it was wonderful. There was no doubt about it it was wonderful - but at the end of the day .... there was a long break for some reason before she could get in again and in that space of time he really flipped. I don't really know how do

B AS. regular EP visits

describe ... but it got to the point .. I remember one particular day when he was in at playtime for some reason - because I couldn't risk letting him out ..... and at lunchtime he was just .. the dinner ladies came and said they just couldn't cope with him. Afternoon play he didn't do activities .... but something she did do .. the one thing that I have kept and that was brilliant was the time out ...... the sand timer. For some reason that was the one thing out of everything that he responded to.

The sand timer?

The sand timer yes. He would get so beyond himself that the only way to contain him and to protect the other children when there was just myself was to literally hold him on my knee - kicking, scratching, attacking, screaming "I hate you". Like I say I'd never met it in 12 years not to such an extreme. And at that time I said to him "I don't like you" and always he would calm down because I would say to him "I like you Lamaine, but you're not getting off my knee. I'm not letting you hurt any other children. I like you but I don't like what you're doing and until you stop what you're doing you're going to stay on my knee. And I don't care how much you kick me or hurt me, you're going to sit on my knee". And he would slowly calm down. Now Anne recommended that when he was about to blow - or when he'd blown - to get him onto a carpet on his own and to get the sand timer and one particular day I thought 'right this is the time for the sand timer'. I got the sand timer out and he was kicking and screaming he attacked one of the other children and he'd parted all the desks so that everybody's work fell on the floor

After a period of time ..... this was so draining ... I've never ...... like I say I can't

believe it ..... but I had to pick him up and put him on the carpet and I said "Right you're going to sit there, and you're going to watch that sand go from the top to the bottom - and when the sand has gone from the top to the bottom you're going to tell me what you have decided. Whether you're going to be like this all day or whether you're going to be like the rest of the class" And he was absolutely mesmerised. He sat and watched that sand without .. he never moved a muscle, and the sand went through and I said "Right now come and talk to me" and he came and said "Mrs Bacon I'd like to do my colouring". Well quite honestly I was just knocked for six because it had worked, and it has worked ever since. But we abandoned the 'star charts' because I felt the novelty had worn off and he couldn't have cared less, and I was doing all these different pictures with stars and things .. and he was getting so much of my time, so much of my attention .. such that the turning point came when one of the other children came and said "Mrs Bacon if I'm a naughty boy will you do for me what you do for Lamaine?" and at that point I went to the head and said "That's it. This child has had so much of my time" and the children have .. because they are such a good class I could leave them to get on - but I said "It's not fair". It's not fair that a child could be so naughty, disruptive and awful to be with and to be seen to be getting this sort of treatment, and when that little boy came and said "If I'm naughty can I have a star chart? Will I do what Lamaine does?" ... It was then that I said .... and I talked to Lamaine at that time and I said "Right this is how it's going to be from now on. We're having no more star charts. We're having no more activity boxes. There are 15 children in this class and 14 of them can manage to behave themselves. And now that you're 5 ... you're a big boy .. we're not going to have this anymore".

And he said to me ...... the interesting thing was he said to me "Can we throw my red book away?" He said "Aren't you going to tell mummy when I'm naughty anymore?" and "Aren't you going to write it in your red book?" and I said "Would you like me to stop writing in your red book?" and he said "Yes". And I felt that I had really got through to him at that point. That we were actually meeting each other and understanding each other because I had had to get so cross I was absolutely at the end of my tether with him .... when we sat down for the sand timer that I said to the head "I've never been so close to absolute ...." well whatever you'd say really. I mean I was going home at night and the first thing my husband would say was "How's Lamaine been?" because that was the only topic of conversation in the staff room, at home and everything. But we went to the Head's room and we through the red book in his litter bin. Now I knew that we would have to keep it. But I didn't want to lie to Lamaine ... I don't lie to the children. But I said "We're going to throw it in Mr Woodhead's bin. That's what we'll do". And he said "Yes lets do that" So we went upstairs........ his room was upstairs .. it was in the old building. And we threw the red book into his bin. And I said "We're not going to write in it anymore". And shortly after that Anne rang up and said"How are you?"and I said "Anne I've abandoned it. I've tried but he's got us so beside ourselves that I've just been awful. I've told him how it's going to be and if he steps outside - that's it". I said "and all he keeps saying to me is "Are you my friend?" I said "I'm afraid he's seen you know how I'm going to have to be". And she said "Well that's really good. He needs to know you've got a tether that you can come to the end of". And I said "Well he's certainly seen that ..... he really has", I said "Never in 12 years of teaching have I come so close ... " I said "the sand time was wonderful but we're not having any more star charts and he's being

treated like the rest of the class". And she said "Good for you". I said "He does occassionally still go under tables but if you say do something he'll invariably do it now". She said "Well I thought it would be a long time before you made any progress". So I felt encouraged at that. I'd tried what she said and it had worked ... and certainly the sand timer. And now we've moved to the new school he was ..... he has flashes of it but nothing like ... but I think at the end of the day it was the saying to him "This is it now! Either you start being like the rest of us otherwise you can't come to the new school. Mummy will have to find another school for you because we haven't got any doors to close and we can't have you wrecking a new school with new things". And the thing that seemed to work was that he would say "Are you my friend Mrs Bacon? Have I been a good boy?" He was desparate to please me in the end. And I said "Yes Lamaine I've always been your friend. I just didn't like the naughty things you were doing and that made me unhappy" and he had to go into hospital again and when he came back he said "Have you missed me Mrs Bacon?" and I said "Yes Lamaine I have missed you. I really have missed you". He said "Did you cry?" and it was heart rending. It was just as if ... he wanted that relationship with me that he had never had and the fact that somebody loved him even when he was so ... he couldn't grasp it. He said "Did you cry? Were you sad?" and I said "I'm very glad that you're back". You do start to wonder what you're doing wrong and whether you're in the right job somedays. Quite honestly ... never having met a child like this in 12 years of teaching I would go home somedays and say "I don't know what to do next".

So we were talking about him coming back out of hospital. This is an important question - can I ask you to think about this one - He's improved from what he was

- what do you think has caused the improvement or what thing/things?

The realisation ... I'm convinced of this ... the realisation that he has set boundaries and that those boundaries are not going to change even for him - and that the expectations that I have as a class teacher of 18 other children are not going to change for him, and that he has a choice everyday to make. Either he accepts those boundaries or accepts the consequences. I think it's the security. Because he has ... the more I think about it ... because he has such an insecure background and because he was taken for a month just before Christmas .... a month by his father whose now said that he's going to fight for custody ... and the poor fellow didn't know whether he was coming or going. Tied from pillar to post. The knowledge that when he comes back to school the situation is still going to be the same is I think what keeps him within those boundaries. The fact that there's going to be no new expectation of him. That what I said in September still goes today has just caused him to settle down, and he's either had to accept them or think about what would be the alternative really. And he's seen 18 other children accepting them and working within those boundaries and still having fun and still enjoying themselves and still doing the nice things. Then .. that and growing up has clinched it really. He needed to see me when I'd had enough to be honest. That really really shocked him and always when I'd reached that point ... I can only think of it happening on 3 occassions .. and I reached that point and he was always totally quiet afterwards ... really, really subdued. And he would always come and say "Are you my friend Mrs Bacon? Have I made you sad?" and "I don't like to see you sad". And I think it was just the realisation that I'm human too as well as being his class teacher and that I cannot put up with that behaviour on a long term

basis because it's so draining. And I would say "Yes Lamaine I am your friend but I can't have this behaviour. Yes it does make me sad and I love my job", and really talking this straight to him "I love coming to school. I love my job. I love my class but I don't love the naughty things you do and that makes me unhappy and that makes me go home unhappy". And really reaching him on that level ... it sounds so grown up but it wasn't until I was that honest with him and he saw me so human that he started to change.

You know that the star charts were nice and it started to work but he really had to see how he was affecting us as a class and me as a person and Mr Woodhead ..... and Mr Woodhead came one particular day when I'd been incarcerated with him all day. All day and at playtimes as well I'd hadn't had a break and I just said to the Head "Please can I have a break?" because I felt that I couldn't take anymore. It must come to that when you've got your own children but I said please can I have a break from this and I had to go out and have a break and make a coffee because I was absolutley beside myself. I was so tired it was either to get so cross that you cry or get so cross. He just got me to such a pitch.

So any other things that caused the improvement do you think?

We've never needed the sand timer since.

Haven't you?

No it's never got to that point where we've needed the sand timer. The 2 or 3 occassions ....

Do you think that helped the improvement - the sand timer?

Definitely.

How?

Well I can't really put my finger on why? The fact that he was having ... yes I can ... he'd got that time ... and I said that ... he'd got no concept of what a minute was but he was so engrossed in watching the sand go through that he forgot that he was in the middle of the biggest tantrum or that he was cross because he couldn't do what he wanted - and it just gave him that time. And I said "While you're watching the sand I want you to think and you're going to be very quiet and you're going to sit still and then you're going to come and talk to me". And having that time to come .... afresh if you like ... having calmed down and said "what are we going to do now? Are you going to carry on being naughty and am I going to have to get cross and be unhappy ... and we're both going to be unhappy because you're going to lose activity or whatever or are we going to finish our colouring like the rest of us and we'll do activities straight after?" It was just time out like Anne said really.

Yes

It was marvellous. I mean .... something so silly really like a sand timer was a life saver - far more than the star charts.

Right, so if we go back to the things that Anne suggested, from the beginning, everything really. The whole sort of bits that you sorted out between yourself. Did the rest of the staff know what you were doing ? Did the other teachers and people on the staff know what you were doing?

Yes, because I was like a wet dish-rag in the staffroom.

What did they think about the things that were being recommended by the Ed. Psych?

AAQ other staff's perception of equitability

Generally, the feeling was why should this child have this sort of treatment ... to be honest. And I could see their point of view .... that was the point I came to ..... that this child who was so destructive and so naughty beyond anything in the rest of the school, was having this special treatment and taking so much of my time really from the other children particularly. I can see ... like Anne said some of the things she was going to suggest .. but I was prepared to try anything. I wanted to go in with an open mind .... I said "right you know you're coming in to help I know that. I see that .... I will try anything in as much as I can" which I did.

O

? AQ

AB

Did they support what you were doing in the sense .. or did they......?

Very supportive yes. Just in letting me talk about it ......

AAR support as the opportunity to talk

Actually in the suggestions?

In the suggestions ..... no. Not that they didn't support me ..... they saw what I was doing ... but I think it went against the grain as teachers. For the most part why should this little, diminutive 5 year old have so much of my time and so much special attention? Why? Isn't there some other way?

AAQ

Right so they supported you anyway ..... and they would have done anyway. But in terms of the actual suggestions they didn't have actually anything to do as part of that. They didn't have ....

No.

What about with the results, with what's happened since? How do you think the rest of the staff view that? Have they noticed, are they aware?

Yes because he's ..... the thing is he had such a high profile when he was the way he was but now it's very noticable that he's settled down and that he's changed - and is changing.

AAS staff perception of progress

You said the star charts worked for a while and that the egg timer has been .... that was really quite a significant bit - do the rest of the staff know that? And how do they view that idea?

Yes. The star chart - their reaction was one of ...... well like when the little boy came and said "If I'm naughty will I get that treatment?", they reacted to that and said 'Well that's what's going to happen' - why should he get that sort of treatment

AAQ

and be seen to be getting special treatment just because it's naughty it's not right. Of course you can see their point of view in that as an outsider ... you know he's naughty so he gets a star chart. It seems to be contradictory and they reacted to that in that way 'it's not right. There should be some way whereby one 5 year old should be able to tow the line without being treated as a special case. And I can see their point of view in that. But I can also see the point of view where we were desperate to try anything because we'd tried all that we knew.

Yes you mentioned that the Head worked with you on this, what was his sort of view towards the things that Anne was recommending?

The same as mine really. We brought Anne in on the understanding that we needed professional help and that we had to have an open mind and try what was suggested in as much as we could, and when we couldn't we had to say. The Head and I talked a lot about it you know I said "Look ..." and when it came to the point where I just felt I couldn't anymore I said to Robin "I've got to draw a line here because when it start affecting the other children it isn't fair. I don't feel I can justify it for the other 14, 18. I've tried ....it's gone far ... now he's got to tow the line" and that's when it started changing.

I think you've answered this question a bit as well. Do you think you understand his problem a bit better now after having been involved with this programme that you and Anne worked out between you? Do you understand his problems better?

Yes, yes I do. He needed the 1:1. He needed to know that I was interested in him.

He did need the positive reinforcement because the more you learn about his home background the more you realise how negative it is, and has been. He needed that but he also needed the security of me saying 'that's enough, I'm not having anymore and if you choose to be this way you will have to find another school', and at the end of the day that's what it came down to.

Mum was in the picture all the time we kept her updated. Robin and I were in communication with her and she knew the state of things. We said don't buy school uniform because unless there's a major improvement he will have to go to a school that's got doors and can cope with him in a non open-plan situation. She was desperate for it to work really and still is. We're still in communication.

AAJ. parental agreement with school strategy

So you understand it better in terms of his need for a structure?

Yes. You see my day has always been very structured so I couldn't understand in one sense ...... I thought my expectation were very clear .. and for 14 of them it worked, just for one it needed reshuffling if you like ... but he still needed that structure but in a different way. He just needed to see a difference in me that the other children have never had to see. I mean there's been no case where the children have had to see me as cross as maybe I've been with Lamaine.

Right. Last question almost on this bit - then I've got a few quick questions afterwards. I expect you might wake up at nights in a cold sweat about this one. If you had another one like him at sometime in the future with the same problems ...

I'd change my profession.

Assuming you didn't resign - would you do the same sort of things that you've done now with Lamaine and would you involve the Ed. Psych., or would you feel you didn't need to involve the Ed. Psych.?

(AP)

I wouldn't involve the Ed. Psych. I would do ..... I would pick out that which had worked and have a go myself.

Right. Why would you not involve the Ed. Psych?

(AU) (D)

Because I would use what she had suggested and be able to work that out with my Head ... with the Headmaster and say "This is what I'm going to do" and maybe talk to him as I would the Ed. Psych. As she talked to me in the beginning and work closely with the Head in the situation.

Do you think it's useful to have someone else to work with there?

Definitely.

Yes. What does that do ?

Well just like we had Anne to work with really. Lamaine was aware of who Mrs Kay was, and was aware that Mrs Kay was my friend and that worked - and he's aware of my relationship with the Head - in that he knows that we are friends and

would Mr Woodcock be unhappy if you're unhappy. Just as it was when Mrs Kay is sad when she comes in if she hears I've been naughty. It's just so that you're not alone in it and that they're aware that you're not alone in it - and even that the rest of the staff support you in it - that if you go to Mrs Blades or if you go to Mrs Brown - they will say the same thing." That was one of the things talking to his Mum. I said "You've got to support what I do in class when he gets home. He's got to be hearing the same things". This is one of the things that Anne said to me "He's got to know he's going to be treated at home in exactly the same way he is at school. That he's going to have set boundaries at home just as he has in the classroom because that's his security" That was quite good working through that. She needed help in that area of being consistant because she was so extreme. The first sign of anything and he was up to bed for the rest of the evening. It's no wonder he climbed out and wrecked his bedroom because this was tea-time.

This is very interesting ...... one more question I think that I've not got written down here but I thought of as we were talking and that is - What do you think was psychological about what Anne had to offer you in terms of the way she went about it or what she said or whatever? How much did you feel that this was a psychologist you were working with rather than say a teacher? Was there anything that seemed particularly psychological or something you would expect a psycholigist to bring you that Anne bought in that intervention.

I don't know whether it made a difference that we were friends anyway but once I knew that it was Anne it made a big difference really. I stopped seeing her as an Educational Psychologist - I saw her as someone who'd been a teacher and had gone

on to study further and had got these ideas that were going to help me. Anne's approach was always that way - that "Look I know what it's like, I've been in the classroom and I know you must be tearing your hair out" and she was always so positive because she would say "You're doing brilliantly. He is changing. You might not see it because you're in the midst of it". Just her outside observation in saying that ..... something so simple - that you don't realise when you're in the midst of it that there's ever going to be a light at the end of the tunnel. And my Head used to come and say that "He is settling down" and I used to say "Where, where do you see it, tell me?" . and she would just come in and be so positive and say we're going to get there. I believe his behaviour can change and I know he can do it. But no she wasn't .. I never thought of her as the Ed. Psych. whereas I might have done maybe if I hadn't known her. I felt very tentative very when I knew that an Ed. Psych was being called in I thought "Oh my word!"

Oh my word what?

HELP!

Can I ask you why?

Well because ...... only ever once I suppose I had a dealing with an Ed. Psych. But this child's problems were not behavioural. It was learning difficulties - and this Ed. Psych was called in and I never saw her. She never came to talk ... the child was in my class and I don't know what my impression of Ed. Psych's was at that time but I was never consulted - I just received a book that might help me. I

though well - I don't know what I thought at the time really - and that was just my... when I say I've never been involved with an Ed. Psych before I honestly haven't because I never met the lady. She just came in and talked to the Head and gave her suggestions and I received this book to read and that was it I never saw her again. So I suppose I though "Oh dear, I wonder what help they're going to be" really. And whether they'd be able to do what they suggest anyway. You know - sometimes you feel like with inspectors ....

END OF SIDE ONE OF TAPE

...... this school is that you don't feel you've got to sort this problem out?

Isolated. I remember one particular school and I was there for three months - and the children were unbelievable - but the school policy was almost that you dealt with your own problems behind your classroom door and that you couldn't talk to anyone about it.

AAZ school culture re problem ownership

Right.

AAZ

I know that here I could talk to any member of staff and they'd understand or they'd offer help.

So you're not judged as a bad teacher through a naughty kid?

No, that's right but that is the impression that you get in some schools. Having

done supply work for 10 years .. in some schools you just daren't own up to the fact that you're having problems because you know that you would have been looked upon as being incapable or being unable to cope. Whereas here, it's just so different, and Anne's aproach as well. One of the first impressions she gives you is that she would be having the same problems as well in the same situation given the same child. That it's not you and if there's one thing that as a staff they've all said - right through - since September is "It's nothing to do with you, he'd be the same for anybody" and "Are you alright? Can we give you half an hour's break"? I'ts lovely. It's just so important that people are aware outside that teachers need help sometimes and that they haven't got all the answers.

It's important that they are aware inside as well isn't it?

That's right yes and that your staff are approachable and that your Head is approachable to say "I need help here!" I'ts almost I suppose - for some years it's been you don't own up to problems because otherwise you're seen as failing. It's almost like the odd teaching practice you know if you say you can't cope with a child are you in the wrong job. That's one of the reasons I agreed to the interviews that .... as you talk to other people just tell them that they're not the only ones.

Yes, well thank you. I think that's very interesting and that bit's interesting as well in terms of schools and I wonder if I might find differences as I go around.

Maybe so. There is that in you that doesn't want to say "HELP". There is that in you that thinks that you should be able to cope without help. That there's

something lacking in you that if you as a teacher you can't cope with a 4-5 year old child, and you know that when you talk to people outside the profession you can see in their response "What! You can't cope with a 5 year old - just smack him or" you can't. It isn't just like that and you can't just deal with it like that and you've 14 other children - 18 other children - but people need to know really do need to know that they're not bad teachers. I needed to know it. I needed to know that after 12 years I wasn't being gotten the better of by a 5 year old child.

Did you get that from Anne?

Yes. Definitely. There was nothing lacking in me and that I was a perfectly competent teacher and that came across every visit. I looked forward to her coming because that came across every visit and I knew that I could be real with her nd say "I'm not doing that" or "Yes, I'll try that. I'll give it a try and we'll see how we get on", and I was always able to be up front with her and say you know "This is how ...... I feel as if I'm sinking" or "I feel as if I'm going under". She would always be so positive and say "He's changing, his behaviour will respond to how you are" .... and I almost didn't want to tell her when I'd lost my cool with him and been really, really realistic and said ... I thought Oh dear how am I going to tell Anne, I said "Anne, I have to tell you I've been awful" and she said "Well good for you". I said "It's having a marvellous response he's not gone under tables, he does what I ask him to do".

Why did you almost not want to tell Anne?

Because it was almost as if I'd abandoned what she said and reverted to something that was unprofessional by showing him how cross he made me or how at the end of my tether I'd come to. I almost didn't want to admit that a 5 year old had got me to the end of my tether and that the star charts weren't working for me. And I suppose I desperately wanted to them to work to please her in some ways.

Do you think you would have got to that position of not just getting to the end of your tether but saying what you said to him and the way you said it and all the rest of it which you think has led to the change? Do you think you'd have got there if you hadn't had the involvement of Anne and what she suggested first? Would you have got there anyway?

Yes I think so but maybe in a different way. Maybe I needed to try all those things first and he needed to see that we were trying everything we knew before I came there. Maybe I would have got to the end of my tether far more emotionally perhaps. It was coming to the end of my tether having tried everything and bent over backwards - all of us not just me - all of us - having bent over backwards, having bought my friend in - as I referred to Anne, Mrs Kay, and talked about, giving him all this time. I think I needed to go through all that to say "This is an end to it now, this is the end".

Do you think you needed to go through it or he needed to go through it?

We both did. I'm sure I would have reached the end of my tether. I maybe would have given up teaching ... I wouldn't ... but it was good for me to have gone through

all that. To have been involved with an Ed. Psych. I certainly have benefitted from it as a teacher. Without a doubt I've learned - and I've picked out from what we did - from the experiences that I can use in the years to come.

Tell me again what you've picked out from those experiences that you can use again?

AAJ

That if I had a child in the same way I would be far more confident to deal with him. I would feel far more confident of myself in that situation and of the things that I was doing - knowing that I had had the involvement of an Ed. Psych who had told me to do those things and that those recommendations had worked. And I would know that it was alright to draw the line and expect a change and that my expectations weren't too much That children need to see that we are human and I wouldn't feel so reticent to do that again as I did feel - guilty - almost with this first encounter if you like. I did need .... it was just so good having someone to talk to from the outside coming in.

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