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SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS

A study of the experience of failure and
the effects of counselling

by

Sharon Shoesmith BEd (Hons)

A thesis submitted to the Council for National
Academic Awards in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of
Philosophy

Sponsoring Establishment: Department of Education
Sheffield City Polytechnic

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Education

December 1987



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ABSTRACT

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Twenty-four children, their peer group, parents and teachers took part in the study. The study examined differences between success-oriented and failure-prone children and the perceptions of their peer group, parents and teachers. Much of the design of the investigation was based on attribution theory.

The information was used as a basis for: (a) an observational study of teachers and children using both systematic and unstructured approaches and (b) counselling and attributional re-training with a group of failure-prone children. The counselled, failure-prone children were compared with a control group after a period of six months and then again four months after counselling had ceased. The results of the study cover the effects of this counselling and the experience of failure as it occurred in classes.

The results of counselling showed that reading trends were improved and that self-esteem increased significantly but that neither benefit was evident in the delayed post-test, suggesting that counselling would need to be provided over a longer time period.

It was shown that the experience of school transmitted messages of unworthiness and helplessness. Failure-prone children had lower self-esteem, used more external causal attributions, had fewer friends, co-operated less well in class and were perceived as less worthy and less valued by themselves and their teachers. They were valued more unconditionally at home than they were at school.

It is argued that the curriculum itself creates failure-prone children and that a more 'needs-based' curriculum would in the long term question the need for counselling in the first place. Such a shift in curriculum planning would represent a fundamental change in how educationalists view their own role and the range of pupil performance in school.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I am indebted to the parents, children, teachers and headteachers who gave their time generously to enable me to carry out the various investigations in this study.

Secondly, I wish to thank the staff of the Department of Communication Studies and the Department of Education, Sheffield City Polytechnic. Especially, Asher Cashdan, Patrik Holt, Tony Grant and Mo Preston all of whom taught me a great deal.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This study is concerned mainly with children who are failing in school. In order to focus on failure it is necessary also to focus on success. Failure is most often used to describe a delay in mastering the basic literacy skills, particularly reading. Alternatively, children who make a good start with reading become regarded as successful.

Teaching approaches used with failing children have been influenced by two major factors during this past twenty years. Firstly, there has been a concern, supported by the research, about the effectiveness of traditional remedial teaching methods used with failing children. Such methods have been largely based on the deficit model of intellectual retardation which utilises the concept of measurable intelligence quantified by the I.Q. A low I.Q. implied that failure to master basic skills was due to impaired, delayed or absent cognitive processes. Remediation usually involved the diagnosis of the deficits followed by training in the presumed areas of weakness. Names particularly associated with this model are Tansley (1967), Frostig and Horne (1964) and Kirk (1966).

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Collins (1961) first raised doubts about the efficacy of remedial education. He found no evidence of long-term gains with children receiving extra tuition and he claimed that temporary improvement in motivation explained the presence of short-term gains. In a later article, Collins (1972) referred to remedial education as a "hoax". Cashdan et al (1971) in a large scale study found evidence to support the claim that much remedial education only succeeded in the short-term and that individual response to treatment was a major factor influencing its success.

The second main factor contributing to change in remedial education has been the Warnock Report published in 1978 (DES 1978) and the subsequent 1981 Education Act (DES 1981) implemented in April 1983. The report conceptualised special education in a much more global way than before. It used the term "special educational needs" and suggested that one-fifth of school children could be seen as likely to have special educational needs of one sort or another during the course of their school careers. Since so many children were regarded as having special educational needs the role of mainstream class teachers and mainstream schools in recognising and providing for such needs now requires greater emphasis.

The recommendations made in the Warnock Report accelerated changes already taking place in special education. Teaching methods have become more concerned with early

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The recommendations made in the Warnock Report revolutionised current already existing practice in special education. Teaching methods have become more concerned with early

identification and emphasis is placed on prevention rather than cure. The approach has been much more geared toward individual needs than in the past. Individual programmes based on criterion-referenced assessment made by teachers have replaced intelligence testing by psychologists. Underpinning this new approach is a behaviourist model of learning, which places emphasis on learning by direct experience and the use of reinforcement contingencies to shape behaviour. Most individual teaching programmes emphasise positive reinforcement contingencies. Ainscow and Tweddle (1979) and Trickey et al (1979) have designed individual programming procedures for use with children who have special needs. The programmes are mainly concerned with helping children master basic literacy skills. Failure to master such skills is usually the main criterion in identifying special educational needs.

It has long been observed that emotional factors play a significant negative role in many children who have special educational needs (see Bloom 1976). The complex relationship between failure at school and emotional development has been studied in order to improve teaching approaches. Many teaching programmes acknowledge the importance of emotional development but they rarely attempt to deal with the pupil's emotional state in any systematic way.

Many researchers have attempted to identify and analyse the most important factors influencing school related affective

development. One of the most important theoretical notions has been motivation through self-evaluation. The evolution of self-evaluation is influenced mainly by the following four variables: self-concept (see Purkey 1970; Burns 1979), expectation of self and others (see Brophy 1977; Entwistle and Hayduk 1978), parental expectations (see Walters and Stinnett 1971) and locus of control (see Weiner et al 1971; Dweck 1975). Recent contributions from attribution theory (see Weiner et al 1979b) highlight the psychodynamic processes in failing children which may lead to self-devaluation and ultimately to maladaptive behaviour or to a phenomenon known as "learned helplessness" (see Abramson et al 1978). Research with failure-prone children suggests that remedial education may be hampered by the development of negative affective characteristics in children who have persistently failed (see Covington and Beery 1976). The evidence suggests that the experience of failure enters into every aspect of individuals' lives both in the present and in the future.

If this is the case, affective remedial intervention may be more beneficial in enhancing learning than cognitive remedial intervention; while a combination of the two may be most beneficial. It would be necessary to identify the most important affective variables which help successful learners and hinder unsuccessful learners. Such variables which lead to differences in learners seem to be embodied in self-worth theory. Self-concept, expectation of self and

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others and locus of control all contribute to children's assessment of their own worth.

Several investigators have attempted to enhance school achievement indirectly through methods which improve children's self-concepts. Counselling was used effectively by Dolan (1964), Lawrence (1973) and Cant and Sparkman (1985). In several experiments, attitudinal retraining was successful in bringing about changes in how children attribute their successes and failures (see Dweck 1975, Chapin and Dyck 1976). Forsyth and Forsyth (1982) found that attribution theory provided a good framework for counselling. However, attributional retraining has not yet been used in the natural setting of the classroom with children who are currently failing.

The focus of this study is on two groups of children who are failing and one group of children who are succeeding, their parents, teachers and peer groups. Each group of children was studied independently and in their interrelationships. The main emphasis is on differences in their perceived self-worth. In particular, they will be compared on measures of self-esteem, causal attributions and reading attainment. An investigation of peer perceptions will be made and the perceptions of teachers and parents obtained. This information is used as a basis for: (i) an observational study in the classroom, and (ii) counselling and attributional re-training with one group of

the children who were failing. Their progress in reading attainment will be measured and compared with the progress of the non-counselled group of failing children. The counselling approach is based on Carkhuff's "human resource development model" which is a "behaviour-cognitive" approach to behaviour change (see Carkhuff, 1969).

The main questions to be answered are:

1. What are the perceived causal attributions and the quality of self-esteem of the failure-oriented and success-oriented children?

2. Is there a relationship between causal attributions, self-esteem and attainment in reading; that is, do the successful children use more internal causal attributions and more positive self-evaluations than their more failure-oriented counterparts?

3. How do the children's self-perceptions and attributional styles influence their experience in the classroom?

4. What are the teachers' perceived causal attributions of failure-oriented and success-oriented children?

5. What are the parents' perceived causal attributions of their children?

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4. What are the parental perceived causal attributions of
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5. What are the parental perceived causal attributions of
their children?

6. Do the perceptions of teachers and pupils influence their interactions with the child? If so, how?

7. How do the children's interactions influence the self-perceptions of each child?

8. How do the children perceive the perceptions of the teachers, parents and peer group?

9. Is there a constant process of negotiation, if so, how does this affect the child's performance in class?

10. Can causal attributions, levels of self-esteem and reading attainment be enhanced through counselling?

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Introduction

The review of literature will consist of two sections. Firstly, affective factors and school performance and secondly, the enhancement of self and of achievement.

In the first section, the relationship between affective factors and performance in school will be illuminated through a study of the self and expectations of self and others. Recent contributions from attribution theory, a phenomenon known as learned helplessness and self-worth theory will be studied in order to highlight the complex processes of failure. A synthesis of these three approaches will provide a self-worth perspective which creates a unified view of the dynamics of failure.

In the second section, attempts to enhance school learning through processes which improve the children's self-concepts are studied. Such attempts are based on either counselling approaches or attributional retraining.

Introduction

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In the second section, attempts to enhance school learning through processes which involve the utilization of self concepts are studied. Such attempts are based on other conceptual approaches or attributional orientation.

1. Affective Factors and School Performance

The self

During the early part of this century, Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) became the main theorists concerned with the study of the self. As symbolic interactionists they produced a new perspective on individual-society relationships. This was in contrast to the hard-line behaviourist view of, say, Skinner, (1971), who emphasises that "a person does not act upon the world, the world acts upon him".

Cooley first drew attention to the importance of subjectively interpreted feedback from others as a major source of information about the self. He introduced the theory of the "looking-glass self", implying that individuals' self-concepts are significantly influenced by what they believe others think of them. Self and others cannot be separated, each determines the other - so to understand one is to understand the other. This symbolic interactionist approach belongs to the wider field of the phenomenological approach in that behaviour is not only influenced by past and present experiences but also by the personal meanings that individuals hold of these experiences. In this way, it is the person's perception of the situation which really matters, not what others believe

The self

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actually exists or took place. What individuals perceive is their reality and it is this reality which influences their behaviour. The behaviour of individuals is, then, a product of social interaction and is modified through the individual's interpretation of the shared interaction.

The Nature Of The Self Concept

A large number of self-terms are used by educationalists, often in inconsistent and ambiguous ways. For the purposes of this study it is necessary here to clarify the nature of the self-concept. Many theorists have offered their own interpretation of the self-concept and generally it is regarded as an attitude to the self (see Staines 1958 and Purkey 1970). Burns (1982) claims that the self-concept has a belief component, an evaluative component and a behavioural tendency component. The belief or cognitive component is a set of limitless ways in which individuals perceive themselves; for example, female, mother, teacher. Certain beliefs about the self may create negative or positive emotional reactions through the perception itself or through others reflecting positive or negative evaluations. These emotional reactions create the evaluative aspect of the self-concept. The evaluative component is not fixed as it can be situationally determined. Some writers, for example Coopersmith (1967) and Lawrence (1973), have used the term "self-esteem" to refer to this self-evaluation element. Finally, the

activity exists or does not. What individuals perceive as their reality and act in this reality when in social situations. The behavior of individuals is then a product of social interaction and is modeled through the individual's interpretation of the social interaction.

The nature of the self concept

A large number of self-concepts are used by educationalists in order to understand and explain human behavior. For the purposes of this study it is necessary here to clarify the nature of the self-concept. Many theorists have offered their own interpretation of the self-concept and generally it is regarded as an attitude to the self (see Turner, 1974, and Kelley, 1971). Turner (1974) claims that the self-concept has a social component, an evaluative component and a behavioral tendency component. The basis of a self-concept is a set of attitudes which individuals have toward themselves for example, talents, money, religion, etc. The self may be seen as a collection of positive emotional reactions through the perception of self by others. Self-concept is positive or negative depending on the reactions of others. These emotional reactions create the evaluative aspect of the self concept. The evaluative component is not fixed as it can be changed easily (see Kelley, 1971). Some writers, for example, Gecas (1971) and Lawrence (1971), have used the term "self-concept" to refer to this self-evaluation element. Finally, the

behaviour tendency component is concerned with how both belief and evaluative components influence subsequent behaviour. These two components mediate between the individual and the environment.

Self-respect and self acceptance, although often equated with self-concept and self-evaluation respectively, are regarded differently for the purposes of this study. Both terms are viewed as indications of the degree of congruence between ideal self and actual self. Individuals who perceive little discrepancy between these latter two will also show greater self-acceptance than their counterparts who perceive a larger discrepancy. Several writers, for example Murray (1953), and Allport (1961) have stressed the significance of any difference between ideal self and actual self, claiming that discrepancies can lead to mental illness.

Related to the above concepts is the notion of self-worth. Self-worth is regarded by Burns (1982) as a more fundamental concept related to a view of oneself as being in control of one's actions, a sense of respect and value from others. Self-worth theory (see Covington and Beery 1976) embodies this view and will be discussed in detail later.

Self-concept will be viewed in this study as a complex set of attitudes which represent the sum total of individuals'

conceptualisations of their own persons. It has evaluative components which indicate that person's level of self-esteem or self-evaluation. These self-evaluations in turn promote certain trends of behaviour. Self-worth refers to a person's sense of intrinsic value which is in turn derived from that person's self-evaluation.

Self-Consistency And Self-Enhancement Theories

How self-concept, self-evaluation, self-respect and self-worth influence behaviour has been the subject of many investigations. Two opposing theories have proposed explanations of how individuals react to failure and success and to evaluation from others. These are self-consistency and self-enhancement theories.

The phenomenological position defends the self-consistency approach to human behaviour. Several writers, for example Rogers (1951), Snygg and Combs (1949), and Lecky (1945) claim that the maintenance of the perceived self is the motive behind all human behaviour. Therefore, individuals with positive self-concepts find positive feedback consistent and negative feedback inconsistent. Similarly, individuals with negative self-concepts find negative feedback consistent and positive feedback inconsistent. According to this theory the drive to maintain consistency has an overwhelming effect on behaviour. Individuals will act in ways which they think are consistent with how they

conceptualizations of their own personal life, relative to components within their personal level of self-esteem or self-evaluation. These self-evaluations in turn promote various kinds of behaviors, both with respect to a person's sense of intrinsic value, which is in turn derived from that person's self-evaluation.

Self-Esteem and Self-Enhancement Theories

How self-esteem, self-evaluation, and self-worth interact in human behavior has been the subject of many theories. Two opposing theories have produced explanations of how individuals react to failure and success and to evaluation from others. These are self-esteem theory and self-enhancement theory.

The phenomenological position defines the self-esteem theory in terms of human behavior. Several writers, for example, Rogers (1951), Maslow and Lippitt (1950), and Maslow (1955) define the maintenance of the perceived self as the primary goal of human behavior. They observe individuals with positive self-concept find positive feedback reinforcing and helpful, while individuals with negative self-concept find positive feedback reinforcing and helpful. They observe individuals with positive self-concept find positive feedback reinforcing and helpful, while individuals with negative self-concept find positive feedback reinforcing and helpful. According to this theory the drive to maintain consistency is an overriding effect on behavior. Individuals will act in ways which they think are consistent with how they

see themselves. Rogers views maladjustment as a result of a prolonged state of incongruence or inconsistency.

In contrast, self-enhancement theory has as its central theme the belief that individuals have a desire to enhance their self-concept and to increase their feelings of personal worth, satisfaction and effectiveness. The more this need is frustrated the more strongly the individual will want to have it satisfied. This implies that both individuals with high self-evaluation and those with low self-evaluation will be motivated by positive feedback and dejected by negative feedback. Consequently, low self-evaluative individuals may be more frustrated in their needs for positive feedback. They may also react in a more hostile way following failure than their high self-esteem counterparts.

The relevant research evidence is inconclusive. Shranger and Lund (1975) found evidence to support self-consistency theory in contrast to Jones (1973) who found evidence to support self-enhancement theory. Research which looked specifically at low esteem children seemed to support the self-consistency position. For example, Ames (1978) found that for low self-concept children, providing successful experiences or removing the negative consequences of failure was not enough to enhance their self-concept. In a further study, Ames and Felkner (1979) found that, as predicted by self-consistency theory, children were

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theory in contrast to Jones (1993) who found evidence to
support self-enhancement theory. Research which looked
specifically at low-esteem (high need) to enhance the
self-enhancement position. For example, Amos (1994) found
that low self-esteem individuals, providing successful
evidence of removing the negative consequences of
failure will not attempt to enhance their self-concept. In a
further study, Amos and Roberts (1997) found that an
increase in self-esteem theory. Individuals were

motivated to maintain their prior self-concept. Low self-concept children took no credit for successful experiences and hence no self-concept enhancement took place. The evidence suggests that children who persistently fail in school form a certain view of themselves as failure-prone, hence they cease striving for positive feedback because they rarely get it. Gradually their need for self-enhancement is replaced by a need to maintain their perceived self-concept. Successful individuals, because of their continuous success will have enhancement needs satisfied; they will form a certain self-concept and seek to maintain it. In this way, the two theories cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive. Aikenhead (1980) makes a case for proposing that both the need for self-consistency and that for self-enhancement operate simultaneously in the individual.

The Self-Concept And Academic Achievement

Children enter school with their self-concepts already forming. Their self-concepts will have been influenced mainly by the degree of parental love and affection offered to them and the types of relationships and interaction patterns the parents have established with them. These self attitudes will afford the children a predisposition toward achievement in the school system. Wattenberg and Clifford (1964) found that negative self-conception and poor achievement is already established in many young children

entering school. The experience of school will provide new learning which will further enhance or debilitate their self-concept development. The children will have learned during the pre-school years from success and failure experiences but now their efforts have important value . For the first time they are officially evaluated through their achievements. Glasser (1969) argues that the whole of our society is dichotomised between those who anticipate success and those who anticipate failure. He criticises schools for the major role they play in bringing about this situation. Those children who achieve highly are rewarded by the school value system while low achievers remain unrewarded and at the extreme are punished for their failings. As well as the explicit curriculum there is the implicit curriculum in which children learn who they are, what others think of them and how they are to see themselves. Those who fail consistently must eventually adopt a self-view which is negative and inadequate, in contrast to those who succeed consistently. Through this valuing process, school has a major influence on the self-concept. Morse (1964) found a decline in the self-esteem of American children during the second and seventh school years. In addition, Richer (1968) found that the post-school period was a time when less academic boys recovered from the emotionally debilitating and devaluing effects of school.

There is a vast amount of empirical evidence to suggest

that self-concept of ability is significantly and positively related to the academic performance of pupils. The following are some of the major examples. Combs (1964) found that underachievers saw themselves as less adequate than others, they perceived peers and adults as less accepting, they showed a less effective approach to problem-solving and demonstrated less freedom and adequacy of emotional expression. Brookover, Thomas and Patterson (1964) in a longitudinal study with over one thousand twelve year olds found the following:

1. There was a significant positive correlation between self-concept and academic performance, even when measured I.Q. was controlled.

2. There were specific self-concepts of ability related to specific areas of academic performance which differ from the general self-concept of ability. These are better predictors of specific subject achievement than is the general self-concept of ability.

3. Self-concept is significantly and positively correlated to perceived evaluations that significant others hold of the individual.

In a later stage of the study (Brookover, Erikson and Joiner 1967), it was concluded that while a positive self-concept is important, it cannot guarantee success by itself. Purkey (1970), La Benne and Green (1969), Wylie (1979) and Burns (1982) provide comprehensive reviews of research evidence which give a consistent message that

differences in academic performance are associated with differences in self-concept level.

Although a relationship has been demonstrated there is no agreement on the order of causality. Schunk (1982) suggested that although causation is probably reciprocal, achievement is the most dominant cause. Caslyn and Kenny (1977) found evidence to support this claim. In contrast, Scheirer and Kraut (1979) and Shavelson and Bolus (1982) have found self-concept to be the cause of academic achievement. Most writers tend to regard the relationship between self-concept and academic attainment as reciprocal and not unidirectional.

Expectations

The expectancy process refers to the way in which one person's expectations can affect another person's behaviour and performance and so become an accurate predictor of that behaviour simply because the expectation is present. The expectations of significant others have been studied and found to be closely related to school achievement. In this case it is teachers and parents who exert the greatest influence on young children (see Entwistle and Hayduk 1978).

There are two main explanations of how significant others influence the development of the self-concept. Firstly, the

reflection or "mirror" theory associated with the symbolic interactionist tradition as proposed by Bandura (1977). The mirror theory holds that the development of the self-concept is subject to the reflected appraisal and expectations of others. Secondly, "modelling" theory claims that children acquire their self-concepts through a process of imitating various others in the environment. Therefore it would be the self-concepts and self-expectations of significant others which would influence the child's self-concept. The research evidence supports both explanations.

Teacher Expectations

Teachers offer interpretations of events and experiences through feedback to children. This teacher-pupil interaction in the classroom is permeated by the teacher's attitudes and general philosophy of life.

Teachers' self-concepts affect their behaviour in class through their ability to make relationships, their style of teaching and their expectations and perceptions of each child. Burns (1979) reviews research evidence which demonstrates a significantly high relationship between teachers' own self-concepts and pupils' perceptions of themselves in the classroom.

The general organisation and ethos of schools and

classrooms has some bearing on self-concept development. Barker-Lunn (1970) found that streaming seemed to exacerbate the effects of the expectation process. Teachers who made least use of traditional teaching methods had the most beneficial effects on pupil self-concept. Pidgeon (1970) claimed that teachers' beliefs about the role of ability or intelligence in determining attainment had a major effect on that attainment. Several studies have demonstrated the ways in which teachers can transmit a number of 'low ability' messages (see Brophy and Good 1974) One such strategy is the teacher's use of praise for success at easy tasks and lack of criticism for failure at easy tasks. The teacher may be trying to raise self-esteem with this strategy, but the message being transmitted may have the wrong effect. Weiner (1983) proposes that teachers' reaction to failure can be significant. If teachers show anger at failure then they believe the cause of failure to be controllable by the child. But if teachers show pity and tolerance then they believe the cause to be uncontrollable. Weiner believes that pupils' ability to decode such communications from teachers enables them to use the information to formulate their own reasons as to why they failed and hence this affects their expectations.

Parental Expectations

Despite the number of studies conducted on numerous aspects

of parental influence on children, for example Bronfenbrenner (1974), Coopersmith (1967), Walters and Stinnett (1971) and despite the amount of research on teacher expectations, few studies have investigated the relationship between parental expectations and children's learning. Burns (1982) reports psychological, social and educational studies which emphasise the importance of many family variables in the formation of the self-concept. Generally the evidence seems to be that parents of low achieving children tend to have more negative interactions and lower expectations of their children than their counterparts with normally achieving children.

Self-Expectation And Self-Motivation

From the discussion above it seems clear that for the young child, self-expectations, at least in part, are dependent upon the expectations held for them by significant others. Further, self-expectation for academic achievement will depend upon past successes or failures. Successful experiences will lead the individual to expect success in the future, while failure will decrease the individual's expectation. It seems that the reciprocal effects of performance levels and the expectations of significant others leads to the development of a set of expectations regarding future performance. These expectations influence the degree of confidence and motivation which the individual brings to subsequent learning. This motivation

of parents' behavior in the home. The results of the present study suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's internalizing problems. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's externalizing problems. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's conduct problems. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's anxiety symptoms. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's depression symptoms. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's self-esteem. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's social skills. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's academic achievement. The findings also suggest that the quality of parenting in the home is related to children's overall well-being.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study has several strengths and limitations. One of the strengths of the present study is that it used a large, representative sample of children and their parents. Another strength of the present study is that it used a variety of measures to assess parenting quality and children's outcomes. A limitation of the present study is that it did not include a measure of children's cognitive functioning. Another limitation of the present study is that it did not include a measure of children's physical health. The findings of the present study have several implications for practice. First, the findings suggest that parents should strive to provide a warm and supportive parenting environment for their children. Second, the findings suggest that parents should avoid using harsh and punitive discipline. Third, the findings suggest that parents should encourage their children to engage in positive activities. Fourth, the findings suggest that parents should monitor their children's mental health and seek professional help if needed. The findings of the present study also have implications for future research. Future research should investigate the mechanisms through which parenting quality influences children's outcomes. Future research should also investigate the role of children's cognitive functioning and physical health in the relationship between parenting quality and children's outcomes.

does not depend on measured ability or on the pupil's performance in school but on the pupil's perception of the reasons for success and failure. The empirical evidence supports this view. Weiner et al (1972) and Dweck and Licht (1980) found that children's use of debilitating or facilitating motivational strategies were not dependent on their measured ability. For example, strategies such as persistence were not confined to children of high ability. In a series of studies, Diener and Dweck (1978, 1980) differentiated between "mastery" and "helpless" children. The mastery children believed that they were in control of their behaviour while helpless children believed they were being controlled.

Success and failure, then, are influenced by motivational factors, but not in the simple way that many educationalists have assumed. This assumption is that successful experiences and positive feedback encourage children to pursue achievement goals and it is this assumption upon which many current 'individual objectives' programmes for children with learning difficulties are based. According to the evidence above, if children do not feel that they were in control of the success they experienced it will not have any motivational effect. It seems to be the individual's perception of what causes success and failure which is important. The key concept is "control", that is, perceived control over one's own learning.

Weiner and his colleagues (1971, 1974, 1979a, 1979b) proposed a cognitive attribution theory of achievement motivation. Covington and Beery (1976) also proposed a formulation of achievement motivation: the self-theory. This is a theory which has been influenced by fear of failure dynamics, defensiveness motivation and Weiner's cognitive attribution theory. These perspectives will now be reviewed.

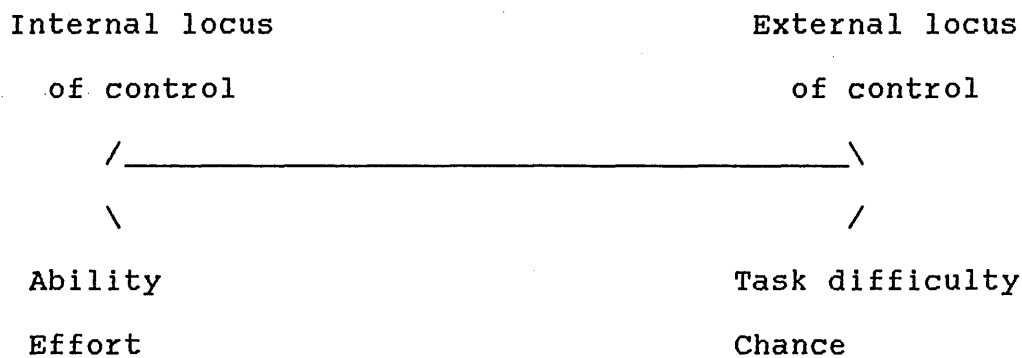
Attribution theory

Heider (1958) is generally acknowledged as the founder of attribution theory. His basic assumption was that individuals are motivated to attain cognitive mastery over causality in their world. Guided by Heider, Weiner et al (1971) and Weiner (1979a, 1980) proposed a theory of motivation based on causal attributions for success and failure; that is, the reasons to which individuals attribute their performances. The basic claim of Weiner's theory is as follows: individuals' motivation to take part in any task in which it is possible to succeed or fail is subject to the extent to which they expect to succeed and the values they place on achieving that success. Expectancy and value stand together in a multiplicative relationship so that if either is absent there will be no motivation no matter how strong the other factor might be. Thus, if success is highly valued there will be no motivation to take part in a given task if individuals believe that there is

no chance of achieving success. This is the proposal for intrinsic forms of motivation. But it is quite possible for someone to take part in a given task if forms of extrinsic motivation are used in which the extrinsic reward is highly valued.

For Heider, the central factor was the notion of personal control. That is, whether individuals perceived that they possessed power or lacked power over what happened to them. He suggested that ability and effort were examples of internal attribution in which individuals perceived that they had personal power. Task difficulty and luck he described as examples of external attributions in which individuals perceived a lack of personal power. In their initial proposal, Weiner and his colleagues (1971) accepted this single dimension of locus of control as shown in Figure 1 but added a second dimension: stability shown in Figure 2. This dimension categorised the four attributes as either stable or unstable. For example, ability and task difficulty tend to be stable whereas luck and effort tend to be more variable over time. Several empirical studies have found that subjects use these four factors in systematic ways to explain performance outcomes (Frieze 1976, Bartal and Darom 1979, Frieze and Snyder 1980, Nesdale and Pope 1985).

Fig 1. Attributions of success and failure and locus of control.



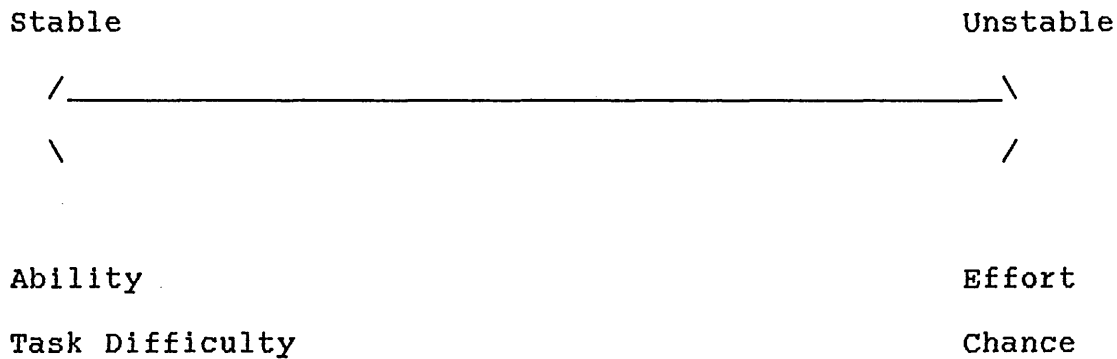
The two dimensional taxonomy of causality (Fig 2) was further expanded by Weiner (1979) to include a third dimension of controllability. A corresponding change in the label of locus of control to locus was proposed in order to clarify the distinction between locus (internal v external) and control (controllable v uncontrollable). The three dimensional taxonomy of causal attributions for success and failure is shown in Fig 3. Weiner made a distinction between typical effort which individuals exert, and immediate effort which might be due to temporary exertion due to counselling or special influences.

Fig. 1. Attributions of success and failure and locus of control.

Attribution	Success	Failure
Internal	✓	✓
External	✓	✓
Stable	✓	✓
Unstable	✓	✓

The results of the present study are consistent with the findings of other researchers who have shown that individuals with an internal locus of control are more likely to attribute success and failure to internal factors (e.g., ability, effort) rather than to external factors (e.g., task difficulty, situational factors). This finding is important because it suggests that individuals with an internal locus of control are more likely to take responsibility for their own actions and to seek ways to improve their performance. In contrast, individuals with an external locus of control are more likely to attribute success and failure to external factors and to feel that their performance is largely determined by factors outside of their control. This finding has important implications for the design of educational and training programs. For example, individuals with an internal locus of control may benefit more from programs that emphasize self-direction and personal responsibility, while individuals with an external locus of control may benefit more from programs that provide external support and encouragement.

Fig.2. Stability of attributions of success and failure.



The three dimensions of locus, stability and controllability are to be viewed as continua and not as dichotomies. Within these three dimensions, causal attributions can be classified within one of eight cells, that is, two levels of locus x two levels of stability x two levels of control.

Among the internal causes, ability is stable and uncontrollable, typical effort is ^{un}stable and controllable, mood, fatigue and illness are unstable and uncontrollable and immediate effort is unstable and controllable. Among the external causes, task difficulty is stable and

Condition	Success	Failure
1	7	7
2	7	7
3	7	7
4	7	7
5	7	7
6	7	7
7	7	7
8	7	7
9	7	7
10	7	7
11	7	7
12	7	7
13	7	7
14	7	7
15	7	7
16	7	7
17	7	7
18	7	7
19	7	7
20	7	7
21	7	7
22	7	7
23	7	7
24	7	7
25	7	7
26	7	7
27	7	7
28	7	7
29	7	7
30	7	7
31	7	7
32	7	7
33	7	7
34	7	7
35	7	7
36	7	7
37	7	7
38	7	7
39	7	7
40	7	7
41	7	7
42	7	7
43	7	7
44	7	7
45	7	7
46	7	7
47	7	7
48	7	7
49	7	7
50	7	7

The stability of attributions of success and failure was examined in a series of experiments. The results show that attributions of success and failure are stable over time and across different situations. This suggests that individuals have a consistent view of their own abilities and the causes of their success and failure. The stability of attributions is important for understanding how individuals maintain their self-concept and how they respond to success and failure. The results also suggest that individuals have a consistent view of the causes of their success and failure, which is important for understanding how they maintain their self-concept and how they respond to success and failure.

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uncontrollable, teacher bias is stable and controllable and luck is unstable and uncontrollable.

Some of the classifications are open to debate. For example, can an external cause be seen as controllable? Weiner defends these cases. He accepts that while this may be the main dimension of causality in achievement-related contexts, others might emerge. The notion of intention, he argues, may logically be separated from that of control. An individual may not desire or want to succeed; effort in this case is under volitional control.

Fig 3. The three dimensional taxonomy of causal attributions for success and failure.

	<u>Internal</u>		<u>External</u>	
<u>Controllability</u>	<u>Stable</u>	<u>Unstable</u>	<u>Stable</u>	<u>Unstable</u>
<u>Uncontrollable</u>	Ability	Mood Fatigue/ Illness	Task Difficulty	Luck
<u>Controllable</u>	Typical Effort	Immediate Effort	Teacher Bias	Unusual help from others

... of the self-concept and the self-esteem. The self-concept is the cognitive representation of the self, and self-esteem is the affective evaluation of the self. The self-concept is formed by the integration of information from various sources, including social feedback, personal experiences, and self-reflection. Self-esteem is formed by the evaluation of the self-concept against internal standards. The self-concept and self-esteem are both important components of the self, and they are both subject to change over time. The self-concept is more stable than self-esteem, and it is more resistant to change. Self-esteem is more volatile and is more susceptible to fluctuations in mood and situation. The self-concept and self-esteem are both important determinants of behavior, and they are both important components of the self.

Fig. 3. The three-dimensional taxonomy of causal attributions for success and failure.

External		Internal		
Stable	Unstable	Stable	Unstable	Controlability
Effort	Ability	Effort	Ability	Uncontrollable
Task	Person	Task	Person	
Stable	Unstable	Stable	Unstable	Controlable
Ability	Effort	Ability	Effort	
Person	Task	Person	Task	

The Weiner model, then, conceptualises the achievement process in several stages; firstly, the achievement outcome is interpreted as success or failure. Secondly, the causal attribution (identified on the three dimensional model) explains why the success or failure occurred and finally there are the consequences of the causal attribution for affect and for future expectancies. Each dimension is now discussed in more detail.

1. The Locus Dimension of Causality

The locus dimension of internal v external attributions of causality has been shown in several studies (for example, Frieze and Weiner 1971, Weiner et al 1972, Weiner and Kukla 1970) to have important implications for self-esteem, in particular in terms of pride and shame, reward and punishment.

Weiner and his colleagues (1971, 1972) claimed that locus of causality was related to affective consequences of success and failure. Maximum emotional reactions resulted from internal attributions. That is, success attributed to internal factors (ability and effort) resulted in the most positive affective reactions while failure attributed to internal factors (ability and effort) resulted in the most negative affective reactions. Further, success or failure attributed to external attributions generated only minimal

affective reactions.

Later, Weiner and his associates (1976) studied the relationship between attribution and affect. They found that for success and failure, many emotions were specifically related to certain attributions. Several affects were mediated through the locus dimension, but in a much more complex way than was previously thought. They found that affective reaction appeared to be either attributionally or outcome linked. These are referred to as either attribution-affect linkages or outcome-affect linkages. These terms described certain emotions which were experienced as a consequence of how one perceived the causes of success or failure. If one perceived that success was caused by;

(i) ability, then competence, confidence and pride were intensely experienced

(ii) typical effort, then relaxation was experienced

(iii) immediate effort, then activation was the outcome

(iv) the help of others, then gratitude was felt

(v) luck, then the individual experienced surprise.

If one perceived that failure was caused by;

(i) lack of ability, then incompetence was experienced

(ii) lack of typical and immediate effort, then guilt and shame was the outcome

(iii) one's own lack of personality, then resignation was

experienced

(iv) others, aggression and hostility was the outcome

(v) luck, then the individual experienced surprise.

The term outcome-affect linkage describes the emotions experienced whatever the perceived cause. These are success and disappointment. The most debilitating self-esteem affect was shame generated from failure after increased effort. The most enhancing outcome-affect linkage was pride or competence generated from success attributed to high ability. Children who externalise failure report more positive levels of affect than children who internalise failure.

2. The Stability Dimension of Causality

The second dimension along which various causes of success and failure are differentiated is stability v instability. Ability, diligence, task difficulty and personality are relatively stable causes whereas effort, mood and luck may be highly changeable. There are two aspects of stability: stability over time and stability over situations. Ability and background are stable and change relatively little over time, whereas effort and mood are unstable and are highly changeable. Stability over situations describes situations in which failure might be attributed to low ability in a particular subject. The low ability attribution will be unimportant when the individual anticipates success in

The first group, consisting of 10 children, was the control

(M) group. This group received no special instructions.

The second group, also consisting of 10 children, was the
experimental group. This group received special instructions
and was expected to be more cooperative than the control
group. The most important instruction given to the
experimental group was that they should be prepared to
provide information from memory. The children who
received the special instructions were expected to
provide more information than the control group.

3. The experimental procedure

The experiment was conducted in a room which was
designed to be as neutral as possible. The children
were seated at a table and were given a list of
instructions. They were then asked to read the list
and to answer the questions. The children were
then asked to write down the answers. The children
were then asked to read their answers and to
compare them with the answers of the other children.
The children were then asked to discuss their
answers and to try to reach a consensus. The
children were then asked to write down the
consensus answer. The children were then asked
to read their answers and to compare them with
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answer.

another subject. Abramson et al (1978) also made this distinction, but they limit the concept of stability to the situation and use the term global v specific to define generalisability of the cause to other related situations.

If success or failure is attributed to stable causes, the expectation is that future outcomes will be the same. Alternatively, if success or failure is attributed to unstable causes then the expectation of future outcomes may change. In this way, future performance is not only determined by expectations derived from past performance, but it will be influenced by perceived stability of the cause of past performance. Several researchers have explored the effects of such expectancies. Simon and Feather (1973) in a study of the attributional processes of university students found that once an expectation for success has been developed it is difficult to change it. If a very high or low outcome occurs unexpectedly the attribution will be made to unstable factors. Valle and Frieze (1976) outlined the process of the self-fulfilling prophecy for achievement expectancies. That is, those who expect to do well continue to have high expectations and those who have low expectations will maintain them regardless of how they actually perform. This effect seems to occur both for the individual and for someone else making the attributions about another person, for example, the teacher.

Thus children with a history of successes who attribute such success to stable, internal factors such as ability will expect to do well on future tasks. Alternatively, children with a history of failures who attribute such failure to the same stable internal factors will expect to fail on future tasks. If these failure-prone children attributed their failure to luck and effort they might expect to do well next time. The unstable causal attribution may indicate more possibility of change in the future, whereas stable causal attributions indicate that the future will resemble the past. The dichotomy between ability (can) and effort (try) has been used extensively in the analysis of many aspects of behaviour and it has influenced school practice. For example, it has created the often false difference between the underachiever who will not "try" to learn and the child with learning difficulties who cannot learn effectively. This distinction has led to different educational provision for these two groups. Weiner et al (1976) found that internal, stable attributions for failure were related to depression, apathy and resignation. The long-term effect of expended effort which appears to have no effect on the outcome had led several investigators to use the term "learned helplessness". This concept will be discussed later.

3.The Controllability Dimension of Causality.

This third dimension is concerned with controllable v

uncontrollable causal attributions. This dimension accounts for some causal factors which are seen as being within our control, while others are not. This dimension should not be confused with the locus dimension. Internal causes are not necessarily believed to be within our control. Ability (an internal attribution) for example, is fixed and permanent, while effort, also an internal attribution, can be controlled. Weiner has given this dimension little attention in comparison with the first two dimensions. He examines its impact only from the perspective of the individuals' perceptions of others' roles in influencing their success and failure experiences. That is, if a person interprets the reason for an individual's failure as controllable, that person is less likely to help, more likely to blame, to dislike and to withhold sympathy for that individual. For example, in the classroom, teachers who believe that the reason for a certain individual's failure is lack of effort may be more likely to behave in unsympathetic and negative ways toward the child. In contrast, if teachers believe that the child's failure is due to low ability they may be more sympathetic but hold lower expectations.

Self-perception of controllability is also important. Individuals who attribute their positive outcomes to controllable factors will experience more favourable affective reaction than those who feel that they cannot control the causes of their performance. Conversely,

individuals who attribute their failure to external uncontrollable factors will be most negative in their expectations. Weiner et al (1979) regarded future expectancy as more dependent on the stability dimension than the controllability dimension. In contrast, Forsyth and McMillan (1981) argue on the basis of their research results that controllability is the most important dimension affecting achievement. They conceded that stability appeared to be an important variable in research developed in the laboratory but claimed that in real life classroom situations controllability was more significant. The concept of controllability is central to both the self-worth explanation of the affect-attribution link in the classroom and the concept of learned helplessness.

Learned helplessness

Seligman (1975) used the term learned helplessness to describe a state which was mediated by a long-term perception of uncontrollability. If people are subjected to uncontrollable events, that is, non-contingent outcomes, they come to expect that they cannot affect outcomes through their own action. Hanusa and Schulz (1977) argued that it was not the experience of non-contingency per se but the way in which individuals interpret it which contributes to the development of learned helplessness. The perception of non-contingency is believed to debilitate subsequent performance through motivational, cognitive and

emotional effects. Learned helplessness is, therefore, a cognitive - behavioural state which the individual learns.

Recently, Abramson and his colleagues (1978, 1980) have proposed a reformulation of the learned helplessness position within an attributional framework. Abramson et al firstly distinguished between global and specific helplessness. Global helplessness describes helplessness deficits which occur in a broad range of situations. Specific helplessness occurs only in a narrow range of deficits. For example, a child may experience helplessness in all school subjects or only in a particular subject. Helplessness is referred to as chronic when it is either long-lived or recurrent and transient when it is short-lived and non-recurrent. Abramson et al have proposed that some causal attributions imply global helplessness while others imply transient helplessness. Stable factors are thought of as long-lived or recurrent, whereas unstable factors are short-lived or intermittent. In their reformulation these investigators firstly applied a global-specific continuum to performance outcomes. Consider children who fail on a spelling test. They can make eight kinds of attribution within three dimensions (internal-external, stable-unstable, global-specific). These attributions have quite different implications for how they believe they will perform in the next spelling test and in future spelling tests. Fig.4 shows the kind of attributions which can be made within the three dimensions.

It can be seen that a causal attribution of lack of intelligence is an internal, stable and global attribution.

Secondly, in the reformulation, the investigators proposed that once individuals perceive non-contingency they make

Fig. 4. The possible range of attributions made within the three dimensions of internal/external, stable/unstable and global/specific.

	<u>Internal</u>		<u>External</u>	
	<u>Stable</u>	<u>Unstable</u>	<u>Stable</u>	<u>Unstable</u>
<u>Global</u>	lack of intelligence	tired	teacher gives hard work	today is unlucky
<u>Specific</u>	lack of spell. ability	fed-up with spelling	teacher gives hard spellings	the page number was 13

The possible range of attributions made within the
 three dimensions of internal\external, stable\unstable and
 global\specific.

	Internal	External
Stable	Internal	External
Unstable	Internal	External
Global	Internal	External
Specific	Internal	External

causal attributions to explain their helplessness. The type of causal attribution made will determine whether expectations of future helplessness will be chronic or acute, general or specific and whether helplessness will lower esteem or not. The new model predicts that the effects of failure following an uncontrollable event will be most pronounced if individuals attribute failure to stable, global and internal factors such as general ability. Alternatively, individuals will be least affected if failure is attributed to unstable, specific and external factors such as bad luck. Success will give a facilitating effect on future performance if it is attributed to internal, stable and global causes (e.g. general ability).

Recent research on the learned helplessness phenomenon has focused on individuals' perceptions of their ability to cope with certain environmental stimuli. Seligman (1981) has suggested that individuals have stable attributional styles that determine whether or not the effects of helplessness will generalise beyond the situations in which they are exposed to uncontrollability. Rosenbaum and Jaffe (1983) used the term "learned resourcefulness" to refer to a learned set of mainly cognitive behaviours and skills by which a person self-regulates internal responses. In an experiment, they found that subjects high in learned resourcefulness were more resistant to the induction of helplessness than subjects low in learned resourcefulness.

It can be seen from the discussion of learned helplessness that it shares many of the concepts central to attribution theory. Several studies have attempted to understand failure in achievement-related situations from an attributional-helplessness perspective. Most notable are studies conducted by Dweck and her associates. Dweck and Repucci (1973) investigated learned helplessness in children. They found that those subjects classified as helpless (i.e. those who showed the largest decrements in performance after a number of manipulated failure experiences) tended to take less personal responsibility for their performances and those who did take responsibility tended to attribute both success and failure outcomes to ability. In contrast, persistent subjects attributed a greater role to effort in the determination of outcome.

Diener and Dweck (1980) report research in which they found that helpless children attribute failure to lack of ability and regard it as insurmountable, while mastery-oriented children emphasise motivation (effort) factors and view failure as surmountable. The two groups perform identically during success, although success for the helpless child is "less salient, less predictive and less enduring --less successful". Generally this research has shown that helpless children see themselves as less instrumental in determining outcomes; they would be less likely to view adverse circumstances as surmountable since they tend to

attribute failure to lack of ability; they would be less likely to respond to failure with increased effort or perserverance. Self-worth theory accepts and extends these findings in a more unified view of failure to achieve.

Self-worth theory

The term "self-worth" refers to individuals' evaluative appraisal of themselves. Psychological well-being is viewed as being wholly dependent on a favourable sense of self-worth.

The most crucial concept of this theory is the assumption that the individual's sense of worth is threatened by the belief that personal value may be equated with the ability to achieve academically. Beery (1975) suggests that the individual who cannot "succeed" is not worthy of love and approval. The valuing processes in our society have a tendency to hold in high esteem only those who are high achievers.

Covington and Beery (1976) were particularly interested in the effects of this valuing process in schools. They developed their theory from the basic assumption that the teacher's fundamental aim is to foster confidence or self-esteem and achievement. Self-esteem and achievement they regard as interdependent in that achievement enables

academic self-esteem and self-confidence to grow, which in turn promotes achievement. Their theory is specifically concerned with the effects of the incompatibility of these two goals. The global effect is that within a class, two fundamentally different patterns of achievement motivation emerge. One is motivated toward success and the other is an attempt to avoid a sense of failure. Covington and Beery document these two strategies with reference to the attributional framework; each is reviewed here.

Success-Oriented Individuals

Individuals who experience repeated success have their belief in their own ability confirmed. With ability confirmed these individuals regard success and failure as due to effort. They come to expect success in the future and in this way their self-confidence increases. The acceptance of high ability allows these individuals to take occasional risks, for example, setting goals high enough so that there is some chance of failure but not so high that success is impossible. This ploy gives these individuals considerable information about their capabilities. When these individuals encounter failure they attribute it to a lack of effort which has no reflection on their ability. Failure for them is part of the learning process and not part of the learner. In this way success-oriented individuals take charge of their own achievements; they are in control. Their locus of causality is internal, they

believe themselves to be the cause of their success and accept personal responsibility for their failures. These qualities, that is, a sense of responsibility, personal control and confidence in one's ability, all combine to produce an attitude of hope and trust in the future and in life in general.

Failure-Prone Individuals

Failure-prone children feel impotent and powerless at school. They attribute their failures to lack of ability and ascribe success to external factors. This is extremely threatening as ability is linked to their sense of worth. Failure removes their self-respect and these children become motivated to avoid failure even if it means hindering any chances of success. There are many common ploys to avoid failure; for example, non-participation and putting things off until it is too late. In this way failure-prone individuals set up their own failure in such a way that the shameful implication that the failure was due to low ability, is avoided. They can attribute failure to other things so that their performance is not representative of what they can do and so it is not considered as an indication of their ability and hence of their worth. These children fail to enhance their sense of worth or ability and often end up performing below their actual competency level. The defensiveness of failure-prone children is related to increasing anxiety and

self-defeating attributions which literally guarantee failure. This bleak situation can be worsened by a belief that nothing can be done. This is similar to that described in the review of learned helplessness and more specifically similar to the attributional style of perceived uncontrollability discussed by Seligman (1981). The result is that failure becomes an accepted way of life in which the hope for change fades.

Research conducted within the framework of self-worth theory -- for example, Covington and Omelich (1979a, 1979b) Forsyth and McMillan (1981) and Covington et al (1980) -- supports the link between self-worth and the affect-attribution link in educational settings. More importantly, these studies stress the role of controllability. These writers claim that perceived non-contingency and not just failure per se is associated with depression. This conclusion supports the learned helplessness model and places more emphasis on controllability than does Weiner's model.

Helping such failure-prone individuals may seem to be a simple case of providing successful experiences, as reinforcement theories would assume. But it is individuals' acceptance of these successes as their own which is the crucial point if such successes are to have any impact on enhancing their confidence in their own ability. Accepting success seems to be subject to the two basic and

conflicting motives of individual behaviour, that is, self-enhancement or self-consistency motives. Individuals may be motivated through self-enhancement to accept success and so enhance their sense of self-worth. Alternatively they may be motivated by a competing need to reject success and maintain consistency and stability in their sense of worth. Covington and Beery have attempted to understand how the relative strengths of these two opposing tendencies are influenced. They proposed two factors; obligation and certainty, which can affect the balance. Obligation refers to the tendency for individuals to reject success if they believe that they will be under an obligation later to repeat it. Certainty describes the degree to which the individuals are certain about the accuracy of their sense of worth. This certainty can be confirmed by significant others in the child's life. Coopersmith (1967) found that a group of low self-esteem boys who were certain about the validity of their negative self-evaluations had their feelings confirmed by the teacher. Another group of low self-esteem boys were uncertain about their low self-evaluation but these boys were held in high regard by both peers and teachers. They were also more successful and because they were more uncertain about their true worth they tried to reduce this uncertainty by striving to prove their worth to themselves and to others. Covington and Beery (1976) refer to this group as overstrivers, claiming that these individuals must prove their value through constant successes.

Maracek and Mettee (1972) examined the effects of certainty and obligation on performance. Low esteem students who were certain of their low self-evaluation were unable to accept success. They were motivated by success only if it was seen as occurring through luck and so they felt no obligation to pursue success for the future. They would not attempt to perform if success was dependent on skill. By contrast, low-esteem, uncertain students increased their performance under skill and luck conditions. These students had not completely internalised their past failures and were still able to accept their own achievements.

The implication is that intervention is possible before failure becomes a chronic way of life. As long as children are uncertain about the causes of failure they should respond to praise and success. As in attribution theory, the perceived causes of failure are emphasised, not failure per se.

2. The Enhancement of Self and of Achievement

Studies such as those reviewed earlier have demonstrated a relationship between motivation through self-theory and school achievement. These studies have great potential value for educators. Basically, the proposition is this: if children's motivation and self-concept have so much

influence on achievement then achievement might be enhanced indirectly through practices which enhance motivation and self-concept. Attempts to bring about changes through motivation and self-concept have been varied. The following are some of the main examples: Coopersmith and Feldman (1974) tried to influence the general ethos of school and quality of school performance in order to bring about changes in self-concept. Brookover et al (1964) attempted to change the expectations of parents, Murfitt and Thomas (1983) tried to influence the expectations of the peer group, Carkhuff (1969) focused on teacher expectation as a likely source of influence on pupil self-concept. Play therapy has been used successfully with young children, Pumfrey and Elliot (1970) give a useful review. Lastly, Lawrence (1973) used counselling with children who were retarded in reading. Recently, more specific strategies of attribution therapy have had some success.

The last two approaches; counselling and attribution therapy will be discussed below in more detail. Finally, attributional counselling will be considered.

Counselling

According to Quicke (1978), Rogerian client-centred therapy is the method most often employed in counselling with young people. This non-directive stance is consonant with contemporary aims in education and with current ideas on

individuality. The alternative approach is based on the behavioural learning model in which the counsellor directs and reinforces the pupil's behaviour. Carkhuff (1969) has proposed an approach which is a combination of these two, in which the counsellor initially provides direction for the clients until they can take over themselves.

Several studies have focused on the effects of individual counselling. Lawrence (1973) has effectively shown that reading achievement can be improved through counselling. The content of counselling was influenced by the Carkhuff model. Cant and Sparkman (1985) report the results of one class teacher's attempt to put Lawrence's ideas into practice. The results showed considerable gains in pupil self-concept with a group of children who received a programme of "systematic but fairly basic counselling".

Attribution Therapy

Valins and Nisbett (1971) first discussed the possibility of "attribution therapy". The term was used to describe a procedure whereby the teaching of new attributions for certain symptoms might lead to the lessening of the debilitating or undesirable effects of these symptoms.

Several research studies have attempted to induce individuals to attribute their failures to lack of effort: an attribution which is internal, unstable and under

volitional control. Most notable are studies by Dweck (1975), Chapin and Dyck (1976), Andrews and Debus (1978), Fowler and Peterson (1981) and Sheldon et al (1985). These studies suggest that helping children to change their attributions for failure and success may be a useful strategy in helping them improve their motivation and hence their achievements.

The study by Dweck (1975) stands out as the first attempt to relate learned helplessness and attributional retraining to a group of "helpless children", that is, those identified as having low expectations of success and an inability to cope with failure. The re-attribution training consisted of giving the children a series of problem-solving trials, over twenty-five days, in which the success to failure rate was 4:1. After each failure the experimenter explicitly blamed the outcome on lack of effort. As predicted, by the end of the training period, the children responded positively to failure information both in terms of their attributional and behavioural responses. In contrast, a control group who received training consisting of 100% success showed no improvement in reactions to failure. In other words, the attribution retrained children maintained and improved their performance in contrast to children taught by a programmed learning or behaviour modification approach. The latter approach left children less able to deal with subsequent errors.

Dweck's findings suggest that providing successful experiences per se is not sufficient to affect achievement, but that it is more necessary to provide children with alternative ways of interpreting achievement outcomes. Persistence in future tasks is more likely to occur when past failures are attributed to lack of effort rather than lack of ability.

Chapin and Dyck (1976) attempted a partial repetition of Dweck's study. They found that attributional training was superior in producing persistence to both continuous and partial reinforcement contingencies. Andrews and Debus (1978) found that eleven year old children who received effort-induced treatment showed gains in persistence and hence achievement. They argued that such training procedures were feasible as an individualised instruction device for use within a remedial context.

Finally, the study by Sheldon et al (1985) used as subjects children who were already displaying characteristics of learned helplessness. The children were asked both to verbalise more adaptive attributions themselves and to complete a training task correctly, thus demonstrating the results of their increased effort. The result was that those children reported more effort attributions for success and failure and more internal attributions for achievement in general and showed evidence of greater

improvement in reading than a similar group of children in a control group. Contrary to initial expectations, attribution training did not result in significant improvement in self-esteem. In the view of the researchers this may have been due to the brevity of the programme and a longer training period may have been required before the more global level of self-esteem could be realised. The strategies for coping given by attribution retraining would perhaps improve motivation and self-esteem in the long term.

An attributional approach to counselling

From the theoretical bases of attribution theory and learned helplessness, an attributional approach to counselling has been attempted by a few researchers. Altmaier et al (1979) found that attributional information presented during counselling can have therapeutically beneficial consequences. Altmaier found that the locus of control orientation of the individual had influence on how they accepted attributional information. Individuals who were more internal in their locus of control accepted internal, controllable interpretations, but those who were more external in their locus of control rejected these. Weiner (1979) suggested that counselling which stresses internal, controllable, unstable causes may produce greatest long-term benefits with individuals with an external orientation, but that initial stress may be

reduced by stressing external, uncontrollable causes.

For example, Tennen and Eller (1977) found that subjects who attributed their failure to the difficulty of the task, coped more adequately than subjects who attributed failure to personal inability. Forsyth and Forsyth (1982) examined the relationship between the content of attributional interpretations and the effectiveness of counselling in both laboratory and quasi-counselling experimentation. Firstly, they wanted to determine which attributional messages help people adjust to negative interpersonal events. Secondly, they attempted to apply this information by exposing individuals who reported social anxiety to differing causal interpretations. Guided by Weiner, they expected that greatest benefits would come when internal, controllable causes were stressed although initial stress might be reduced by stressing external, uncontrollable causal factors. Given the findings of the Altmaier study, they classified the subjects in this study into either internal or external locus orientation. They found that 'internals' were more positively influenced by an internal/controllable interpretation 'externals' did not respond to this interpretation or to external interpretations.

On the basis of this experiment, two types of quasi-counselling were developed. The first was labelled internal/controllable counselling in which the counsellor

stressed that social anxiety was controllable. The second approach was labelled coping counselling, in which the counsellor interpreted social anxiety as an almost unavoidable consequence of social life. The results supported the Altmaier study. They found that internal, controllable counselling was more effective with the more internally oriented individuals and that coping treatment was more effective with the more externally oriented individuals.

Finally, Omizo et al (1985) used counselling based on rational-emotive education with a group of learning disabled students. This was a group counselling programme based on the work of Ellis and his Rational-Emotive Therapy (RET) referred to by Omizo (ibid). Rational-Emotive Education is a planned systematic cognitive-emotive re-education programme, philosophically identical to Ellis's RET but placing greater emphasis on experimental learning. Their results showed that the method was beneficial in improving the students' self-concepts and in encouraging a more internal locus of control orientation.

Each of the studies described above gives some evidence that attribution theory seems to provide a reasonable framework for use in a counselling setting. None of the studies described took place in the natural setting of the classroom and only one used subjects who were failing already.

The present study proposes an attributional approach to counselling as a means of enhancing children's self-evaluation and achievement in school. The children selected for the study will already have experienced failure in school and will be continuing to fail. In addition, the study sets out to answer a series of questions which all contribute to an overall picture of the experience of failure. The questions were set out in chapter one, pages 6 and 7.

3. Summary

The review of the self has been presented from a phenomenological perspective. From this perspective, reality is what individuals perceive and it is this reality which influences their behaviour.

The self is seen as consisting of a belief component, an evaluative component and a behavioural tendency component. Self-concept is the sum total of individuals' conceptualisations of their own persons, while self-esteem or self-evaluation is a reflection of the evaluative component. Self-worth is regarded as a much more fundamental concept relating to a sense of respect and value from others. Self-consistency and self-esteem theories are seen to offer quite different explanations of how individuals react to success and failure. Self-concept

of ability was found to be significantly and positively related to academic performance. The self-concept was seen to be mainly influenced by the expectations held by significant others in children's lives. The interaction of these expectations and performance in school have a major effect on children's self-evaluation as learners. These resulting cognitions, especially beliefs about control, were seen to be the main force in determining the use of certain motivational strategies.

Attribution theory proposes the three following dimensions of causality: locus, stability and controllability. Each of the dimensions has a primary psychological function or linkage as well as a number of secondary effects. The theory addresses both self and other perception and intra- as well as inter-personal behaviour.

Learned helplessness was seen to be a cognitive-behavioural state which the individual learns. Its development is dependent on the individual's interpretation of non-contingency. It shares many concepts with attribution theory and several studies have attempted to understand failure from an attributional-helplessness perspective.

The fundamental belief of self-worth theory is that personal value is equated with the ability to achieve. The pursuance of these two aims of personal value and high achievement becomes incompatible for many children. This

incompatibility creates two sets of learning strategies; success-oriented and failure-prone. Success-oriented individuals develop an attitude of hope and trust for the future, while failure-prone children become defensive and anxious and failure becomes their accepted way of life.

Attribution theory has provided some insights into how individuals perceive and explain their performance in school, while the learned helplessness and self-worth perspectives have documented the far-reaching effects of these perceptions and explanations. In all three perspectives, personal control is a fundamental concept together with the perceived causes of failure rather than failure per se. In view of this position current approaches with failing children which emphasise the behaviourist perspective are clearly an oversimplification of the dynamics of failure.

In the final section of this review, three approaches to enhancing the self and achievement were discussed. Firstly, counselling was seen to be a valid way in which failing children could be helped to improve their self-concepts and hence their achievement. Secondly, attributional retraining was considered as a useful strategy in helping failing children to change their attributions for success and failure to more favourable attributions which helped to enhance their self-concepts and their achievement. Lastly, attributional counselling which stressed internal,

controllable and unstable causes for success and failure was suggested to be most beneficial in bringing about long-term changes in self-attitudes and achievement.

If educators accept that children use causal attributions to structure their environment, techniques may be developed to foster the most beneficial attributions. The education system might begin to mould what attribution theorists believe to be the key elements of academic motivation and behaviour.

The present study proposes an attributional approach to counselling as a means of enhancing children's self-evaluation and achievement in school. In addition, the study looks at the experience of children who are regarded as failing in the school system.

1. Overview of the Study

The focus of the study was on three groups of eight children; their parents, teachers and peer group. Two groups consisted of failure-prone children and one group consisted of success-oriented children. Failure-prone children were identified as those whose reading age was more than fifteen months behind their chronological age as measured on a reading test. The success-oriented children were identified as those whose reading age was above their chronological age. Each group was studied independently and in contrast to the other. They were compared on measures of self-esteem, intellectual achievement responsibility and reading attainment. An investigation of peer relations was made and the causal attributions of the children as perceived by teachers and parents were also investigated. The information was used as a basis for (a) observational study in the classroom, and (b) counselling and re-attributinal training with one of the groups of failure-oriented children. The counselled failure-oriented group were compared to a non-counselled failure-oriented group on the measures of self-concept, intellectual

responsibility and reading attainment after a period of six months. A delayed post-test was carried out four months later using the self-concept and reading test measures only.

2. The Main Study

The subjects

Each of the four teachers participating in the study was asked to specify the four children in their class who had the lowest attainment and the four children who had the highest attainment, making an initial sample of 32 children. These children were all given a reading test and those who fulfilled the initial criteria were selected. The children were not matched for ability because it was the teachers' perceptions of high and low attainment which was the important factor. Twenty-four children were selected and took part in the study (8 girls and 16 boys). The children were eight and nine year olds, drawn from two classes in each of the two schools involved, making four classes and four teachers. The parents of the children were invited to an interview and all attended. The schools were both First schools (5-9 year olds) with a number on roll in excess of 300. Both schools are situated in large pre and post-war council housing estates.

The establishment of the groups

Of the twenty-four children, eight were success-oriented

children and sixteen were failure-prone children. The success-oriented children were assigned to group one and the failure-prone children were randomly assigned within their class to group two and group three. The children were to be assigned to the groups in such a way that each of the four classes contained two failure-prone children who received counselling, two failure-prone children who did not receive counselling and two success-oriented children who did not receive counselling. In practice, the arrangement had to be as follows due to difficulties in gaining the best sample: two classes had the ratio described above, while a third had only one child in each category and the fourth had three children in each category, making up the total of twenty-four children. Group three was then randomly assigned to be the counselled group of failure-prone children while group two was the control group of failure-prone children.

Instruments

The children

The children in all three groups were administered four measures. These were:

(1) reading attainment, using the Neale Analysis of Reading Ability (Neale 1958). This was scored for accuracy, comprehension and speed, although only the score for

accuracy was used to establish and compare groups.

(2)self-esteem, using the Lawseq Pupil Questionnaire developed by Lawrence (1981) (Appendix 1). The Lawseq was devised to assist in the identification of children who may suffer from poor self-esteem. Hart (1985) examined the validity of the Lawseq and found that it was reasonably stable over a period of four months. Significant correlations were found between self-esteem, levels of anxiety and academic self-image. There was no significant relationship found between self-esteem and academic achievement.

(3)locus of control, using a modified version of the Intellectual achievement responsibility scale (IAR) devised by Crandall et al (1965). Several modifications have been made to adjust the American wording. The IAR is designed to determine the degree to which children believe that the intellectual failures and successes they encounter are a result of their own behaviour versus the behaviour of important others in their environment (e.g. teachers, parents and peer-group). The original scale consists of 34 items, but for the purposes of this study the scale was modified to twenty items (Appendix 2). Each item provides a forced choice depicting a positive or negative achievement situation and presenting two alternative attributions: (a) an internal attribution in which responsibility for the outcome is assumed by the subject, and (b) an external

attribution in which responsibility for the outcome is attributed to some property of the situation or other persons. The test-retest reliability of the IAR over time is moderately high. The correlation coefficient was 0.7 significant at the 0.001% level.

(4) Ability v Effort attributions measured by a scale developed by the writer (Appendix 3a). This was necessary since the IAR did not give a forced choice between ability and effort, which are both internal attributions. This distinction has important implications in the literature and it had important bearing on the content of counselling. The Ability v Effort scale is similar to that devised by Dweck (1975) and similar in idea to that used by Raviv et al (1983) with adults. The scale uses six stories depicting children in failing situations. The subject is asked to choose between ability and effort alternatives which are both internal attributions. This information will give an insight into the children's perceptions of success and failure. Do some children always perceive failure to be due to lack of ability? In which case they may assume that changes in performance are not possible. The second part of the scale looks more specifically at the children's perceptions of themselves. Using symbolic figures the children are able to identify themselves with either a failure-prone or a success-oriented child. Then they are able to make a judgement about how they think they are perceived by their teachers, parents and peer-group.

The scale was used in the pilot study to judge whether the children understood what was being asked of them. Because of lack of time available it was not possible to carry out a pilot study specifically to validate the scale. The scale therefore has only assumed validity and reliability and for these reasons is used with caution in the study to add additional information thought to be of interest.

The Teachers

The teachers took part in an investigation of their personal constructs elicited by a method based on Kelly's repertory grid (see Kelly 1955). The repertory grid is a method used to elicit from individuals the characteristics they use to categorise a certain aspect of their environment or selected aspects of it and to investigate how these characteristics relate to one another. The commonly used triad method was employed, with the pupils as elements. If constructs relating to ability, effort and self-concept did not emerge these were added to the completed repertory grid as provided constructs. The teachers were asked to arrange the constructs in such a way that firstly, each construct was in hierarchical order according to how much they believed it supported teaching and learning in school and secondly, all constructs which

were perceived as positive were at one pole and constructs which were perceived as negative were at the opposite pole. The teachers then rated each of their pupils on each construct (using a five point scale) to form a grid. The grids were analysed by the GAB computer programme designed by Bannister and Higginbotham (1980).

The Parents

A structured interview was conducted with one parent but in many cases both parents at the end of the experimental period. The purpose of the interview was to gain three pieces of information. Firstly, information on how the parents perceived their children in terms of performance in school; was their child successful or failing in their view? Secondly, information about the expectations the parents held of their children for the future. Thirdly, some insight into how they felt the perceived situation came about. For example, was present performance due to internal or external factors? It was possible to analyse their responses within an attributional framework.

The interviewing technique was similar to that used by Newson and Newson (1970). The questionnaire consists of questions asked verbatim but the interviewer asks additional questions in order to probe further into items raised by the parent(s) which are not covered by the

interview schedule. The interview becomes a conversation which is allowed to follow natural lines of development. The interview schedule is given in Appendix 4.

The Peer-group

A sociometric test was carried out with each class in order to provide a picture of the relationships existing among members of the class. The test was given at the beginning, middle and end of the six month study period. The children were asked to choose two other children in each of two situations; an academic situation and a friendship situation.

Observations

The observations were of two types: systematic and unstructured.

Systematic observations

The systematic observations were based on two instruments developed by Boydell (1975) and used in the 'Oracle study' reported by Galton et al (1980). Two separate observation instruments, the pupil record and the teacher record were used to obtain information about pupil and teacher classroom behaviour.

The pupil record

The pupil record examined the nature and frequency of children's classroom activities when working alone and when interacting with adults and children. One child at a time was the focus of observation. His/her behaviour was coded at regular thirty second intervals using a method of multiple coding. The behaviour of each target child was recorded ten times making an observation time of five minutes for each child. The activity and location of the teacher during the period of observation was recorded together with the time of day, details of curricular area and the composition of the target's base group.

The teacher record

The teacher record was used to record the different kinds of contact in which the teacher engaged with the pupils. The same thirty second time sampling unit was used. The teacher's behaviour was recorded forty-five times making an observation time of twenty-two and a half minutes. Both pupil and teacher observations took place in a pre-specified order during a one hour teaching period. At the end of each observation session, a record was made of the seating arrangement of the class, the curricular activities and any changes in the form of organisation. This record was used to check that the observations covered the range of activities which represented the actual work pattern of each class.

Unstructured observations

The unstructured observations gave an opportunity to bring out aspects of the classroom experience of the twenty-four target children which were not covered by the observation schedule or were not adequately recorded by ticking a category. The unstructured observations were based on a symbolic interactionist approach. This approach is descriptive; it is concerned with the processes in the classroom rather than the product, in this case what the children can do. The data were analysed inductively and it has meaning as its central concern. According to Woods (1983) it places emphasis on:

1. individuals as constructors of their own actions.
2. the various components of the self and how they interact, ... in short, the world of subjective meanings.
3. the process of negotiation, by which meanings are continually being constructed.
4. the social context in which meanings occur and whence they derive.

The observations were recorded as a sequence of events and analysed during the process of the study.

Duration and frequency of the observations

The twenty-four children and four teachers were observed as

four class groups. Each class group was observed during two one hour periods at the beginning, middle and end of the study period. During the two hours, the systematic observations were carried out for one and a half hours and the unstructured observations for one half hour. During the systematic observations each child was observed for two separate four minute sessions and the teacher was observed for approximately twenty-two minutes. This made twenty discrete observations for each child and forty-five for each teacher at the beginning, middle and end of the study. The total observation time was twenty-four hours.

Counselling

The method of counselling was based on the 'human resource developmental model' developed by Carkhuff (1969). It was developed from Rogers's client-centred therapy' but is described as a 'behaviour-cognitive' approach to behaviour change. The approach is discussed in detail in chapter 4.2.

Schedule of counselling

Each of the eight children received one half hour of individual counselling each week for twenty weeks. This made ten hours of counselling each. To minimise possible 'Hawthorne' effects, non-counselled children were visited and chatted^{to} in two groups of four at regular intervals.

The main study took place from January 1984 to July 1984. The delayed post tests were carried out during November 1984. Throughout the main study period, the classes and teachers remained the same. Fortunately none of the target children left the classes. At least one parent of each of the children took part in the interview. In November, when the children were followed up in their middle schools, two children had left and so were unable to take part.

Statement of hypotheses

The following null hypotheses are stated here. There will be no difference in:

- (i) the self-esteem scores between the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children.
- (ii) the use of internal attributions between the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children.
- (iii) the self-perceptions and perceptions of others to the self between the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children.
- (iv) the patterns of co-operative learning between the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children.
- (v) the patterns of friendship between the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children.
- (vi) how the parents of the success-oriented and failure-prone children perceive their children.
- (vii) the self-esteem scores, intellectual achievement responsibility scores and reading scores between the counselled failure-prone children and the non-counselled

failure-prone children.

(viii) the class experience of all children in the sample as a consequence of teaching style.

(ix) the perceptions of teachers towards success-oriented children and failure-prone children.

(x) the class experience of all the children in the sample as a consequence of the curriculum.

3. The Pilot Study

The aim of the pilot study was two-fold. Firstly to look at the suitability of some of the tests and other methods of data collection proposed for use in the study. Secondly, to give the writer experience in using the tests and methods of data collection. The subjects were different from those taking part in the main study but they were from the same age group and drawn from the same type of school.

The pilot study was carried out over a period of two weeks in a similar first school to those taking part in the main study. Nine children and three teachers took part in the study and they were selected from a larger sample of thirty-two children and six teachers. The following methods of data collection were used:

1. the Neale analysis of reading ability.
2. the Lawseq pupil questionnaire.
3. the Intellectual achievement responsibility scale.

4. the effort v ability scale.
5. the sociometric test.
6. the repertory grid.
7. the observations (systematic and unstructured)

The pilot study gave valuable practice in the administration of the tests. Additional time was spent using the systematic observational strategies so the writer was familiar with all the categories and could use the schedule efficiently. There were no modifications made following the pilot study.

Throughout the study the names given to the children were fictitious.

4.1. Group Differences and Similarities

Reading

The three groups were administered a reading test in January which was the beginning of the experimental period. Table one shows the mean and standard deviation scores of the chronological ages and reading ages of the children in the study.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations for chronological age and reading age (N=24, n=8)

	Chronological age		Reading age	
	in months		in months *	
	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.
Group 1	106.9	2.3	139.1	5.2
Group 2	104.5	4.0	86.8	4.1
Group 3	105.1	2.6	85.4	3.8

* (Neale Analysis, Accuracy score)

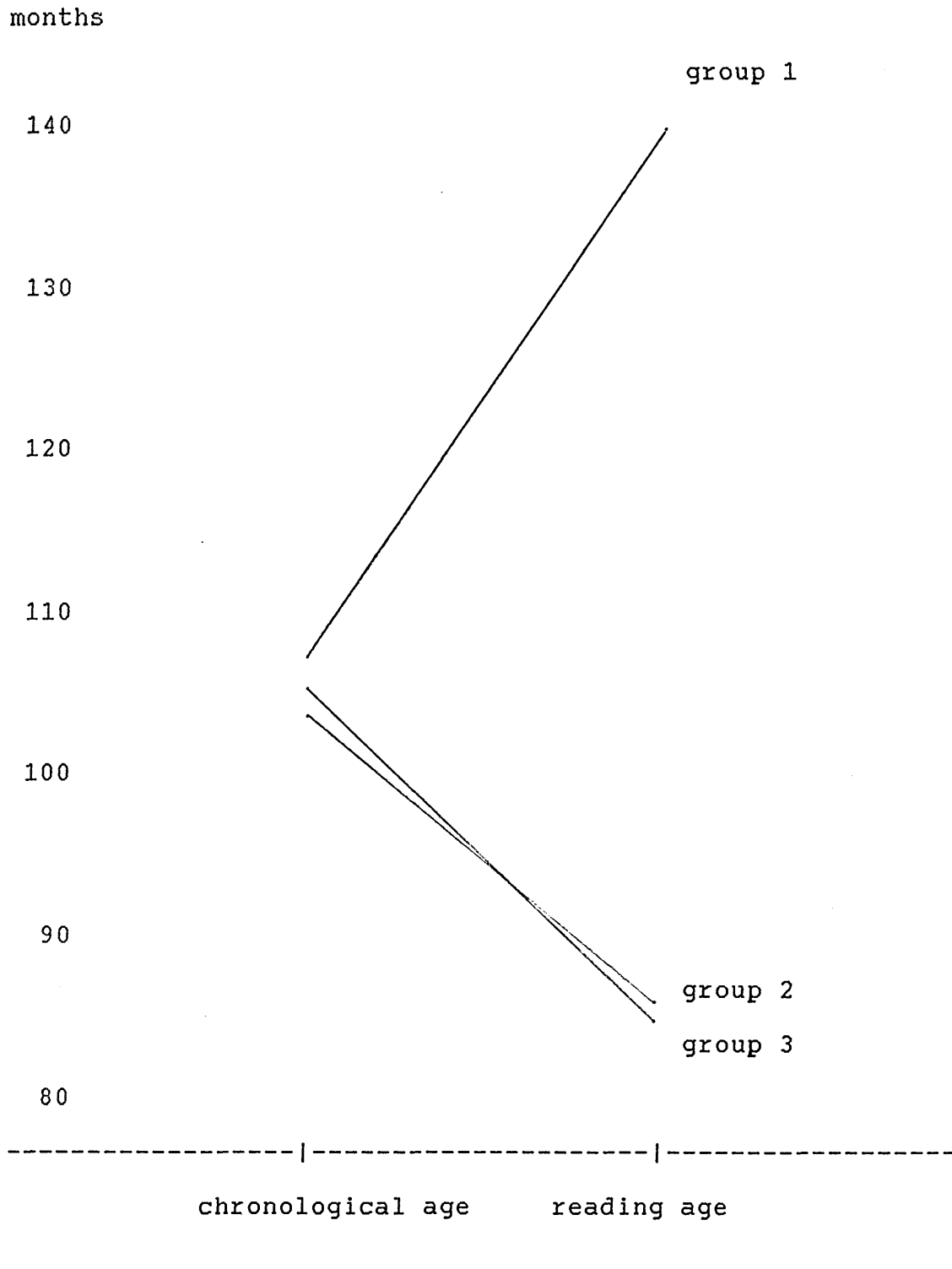
The means were subjected to analysis of variance (groups x age) and a full source table is provided in Appendix 5a. The difference between the groups was highly significant

(F = 150.9, d.f. = 2,21 P<0.001).

Further analysis of this difference using Scheffe's t-test as described by Edwards (1972) brought out the group differences. As planned, the statistical analysis confirmed that firstly, there was no difference between the three groups in chronological age (see Appendix 5b) and secondly, there was no difference between groups 2 and 3 (failure-prone) in reading age but a significant difference between these two groups and group 1 (success-oriented) (see Appendix 5c). Group 1 had significantly higher reading age scores than groups 2 and 3.

Figure 5 below illustrates these similarities and differences.

Fig. 5 Similarities and differences between the groups at the beginning of the study.



Self-Esteem

The three groups were administered the Lawseq pupil questionnaire in January which was the beginning of the experimental period. The mean and standard deviation scores are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations for self-esteem scores (N=24, n=8)

	mean	s.d.
Group 1	20.6	2.3
Group 2	12.1	3.0
Group 3	12.1	4.6

The data was subjected to one-way analysis of variance. The source table is in appendix 6a. The groups differed reliably ($F = 12.2$, $d.f. = 2, 21$ $P < 0.001$) and the differences were examined using Scheffe's t-test (see Appendix 6b). These results show that the children in group 1 (success-oriented) had higher self-esteem scores than the children in groups 2 and 3 (failure-prone) and that these scores were statistically highly significant. There was no difference between the scores for the children in groups 2 and 3.

Intellectual Achievement Responsibility (IAR)

The three groups were administered the IAR in January. Table 3 shows the mean and standard deviation scores.

Table 3 Means and standard deviations for IAR scores
(N=24, n=8)

	mean	s.d.
Group 1	14.5	2.4
Group 2	11.4	2.9
Group 3	10.1	2.5

The data was subjected to a one-way analysis of variance. A full source table is in Appendix 7a. The difference between the groups was highly significant ($F = 5.18$ d.f. = 2,21 $P < 0.001$) and further analysis using Scheffe's t-test showed which groups differed from each other. There is a significant difference between groups 1 and 3, a difference between groups 1 and 2 which is approaching significance (Scheffe's test is very conservative) and virtually no difference between groups 2 and 3. The t values are given in Appendix 7b.

Ability v Effort Attribution Scale

Table 4 shows the means and standard deviations for each group on the ability v effort attribution scale. The figures represent the effort score. There ~~were~~ no statistically significant differences in how the 3 groups perceived the role of ability and effort in failure experiences in school. However it was interesting that the standard deviation scores showed a greater spread of scores within group 1 due to several higher scores for effort within the group than there were in either group 2 or 3. If the perceptions of the children were applied to themselves this result would indicate that the success-oriented group saw their failure as due more to lack of effort than to

Table 4 Means and standard deviation for effort scores

	Mean	Standard deviation
Group 1	3.4	1.9
Group 2	3.4	1.3
Group 3	2.6	1.0

lack of ability. In a similar way the perceptions of the failure-oriented children indicated that they also saw their failure as due to lack of effort rather than lack of ability. This perception would have less serious

consequences for the quality of self-esteem than would a perception of lack of ability.

The perceptions of self, teacher, peers and parents were not suitable for statistical analysis. A full table of results is presented in Appendix 3b which shows the change in perception for each individual. In addition, Table 4b below shows the number of children in each group who perceived success due to effort both before and after the experimental period.

Table 4a. The actual number of children in each group perceiving success due to effort (N=24, n=8)

	self	teacher	peers	parents
Group 1 (Jan)	6	6	5	4
(July)	7	7	6	2
Group 2 (Jan)	3	3	1	7
(July)	3	2	1	2
Group 3 (Jan)	6	3	4	6
(July)	7	5	6	7

All the success-oriented children perceived themselves as 'doing very well' in school due mainly to their own effort. They perceived their teachers and peers as perceiving them as 'doing very well' mainly due to their own effort, but parents they believed perceived them as successful mainly due to their own ability. This pattern was very similar at the end of the study. Several members of the two failure-prone groups were uneasy about answering these questions. Only one child perceived herself as 'not doing well' due to lack of effort, the others saw themselves as 'doing very well' mainly due to ability in group 2 and effort in group 3. Perceptions of the teacher varied; four children felt that the teacher perceived them as 'not doing well' due to lack of effort while the remainder were split between perceptions of success due to effort and success due to ability. Peers were perceived most often as regarding the children in this group as 'not doing very well' mainly because of lack of effort. One child was so uneasy she was unable to answer at all. In contrast to these varied responses the majority of the failure-prone children perceived their parents as regarding them as 'doing very well' due to effort. At the end of the experimental period five of the counselled group changed their perception from success due to effort to success due to ability.

As might have been expected many of the failure-prone children may not have admitted how they really felt about their school performance. Several of the counselled failure-prone children returned to these questions themselves during the early stages of counselling and were relieved to discuss how they really felt. They mainly felt that their peers and teachers perceived them as not doing well at school but in all cases parents regarded them positively. The responses of certain individuals are highlighted later in the case studies.

Summary

Whilst there was no significant difference in chronological age between the groups there was a difference between the groups on reading age. The children in group 1 (success-oriented) had reading ages which were significantly greater than the reading ages for the children in both group 2 and group 3 (both failure-prone groups). There was no significant difference between group 2 and group 3 on reading age.

The results on the self-esteem questionnaire showed that group 1 (success-oriented) had self-esteem scores which were significantly greater than the scores for group 2 and group 3 (both failure-prone). There was no significant difference between the scores for group 2 and group 3.

On the IAR a similar pattern was repeated. There was a significant difference between the scores for group 1 and group 3 and a difference approaching significance between group 1 and group 2. There was no significant difference between the scores for group 2 and group 3.

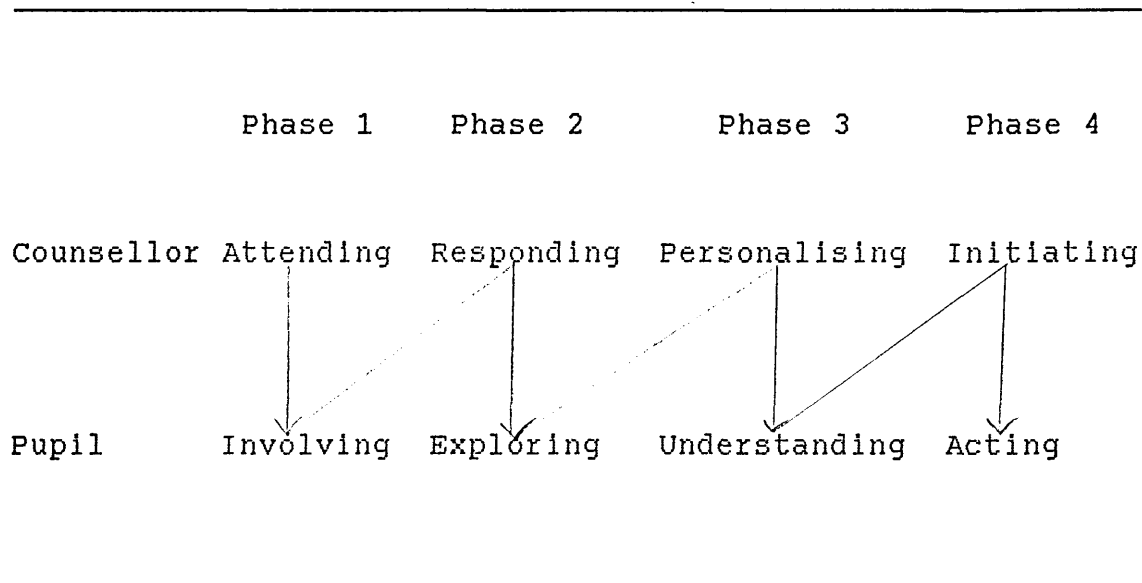
The effort v ability scale produced varied results which will be explored on an individual basis. What does emerge is the existence of a group of individuals within a class who, because of their low reading attainment, begin to see themselves as less worthy and less valued than their more highly attaining peer group.

One of the failure-prone groups (group 3) was randomly assigned to the counselling group while the other failure-prone group (group 2) remained as a control group. The experimental period was of six months duration: January to June with delayed post-testing being completed five months later in November.

4.2 The Content and Effects of Counselling

The method of counselling was based on the 'human resource developmental model' developed by Carkhuff (1969). It was derived from Rogers' client-centred therapy but is described as a 'behaviour-cognitive approach' to behaviour change. The model for the process of counselling is shown in figure 6.

Fig 6 The process of counselling



The way in which this process of counselling was applied to the counselling used in this study is described later.

The content of counselling was based directly on the individual's causal attributions. The aim was two-fold.

1. To change causal attributions for failure away from:

(1) internal, stable, uncontrollable causes (ability)

(ii) external, stable, uncontrollable causes (e.g.task difficulty)

(iii) external, unstable uncontrollable causes (e.g.chance)

toward internal, unstable and controllable causes (e.g.effort).

2. To change attributions for success away from:

(1) external stable and uncontrollable causes (e.g.ease of the task)

(ii) external, unstable and uncontrollable causes (e.g.chance)

toward internal, unstable and controllable causes (e.g. effort) and internal, stable and uncontrollable causes (e.g.ability).

In brief, it is a change from 'I can't do it so I won't try' to 'I tried and I can do it'.

Although Weiner (1979) envisages causal attributions on three dimensions, this counselling model is best envisaged as a continuum moving from negative school performance and negative self-evaluation at one end through causal attributions for success and failure to positive school performance and positive self-evaluation at the opposite

end. This continuum is set out in figure 7. The attributional style of the counselled children was revealed by careful questioning during the first session and was closely monitored during subsequent sessions. Some of these attributional styles are described in more detail in the case studies presented in chapter 4.7 and in appendix 13.

Content of counselling

A comprehensive outline of the approach to counselling is given here. Some diary notes are presented in Appendix 11 to help to illuminate some of the exchanges. Each counselling session was with individual pupils only and lasted 30 minutes.

The content of counselling was based on the process of counselling as presented by Carkhuff (1969). This process consists of four phases and was shown earlier in figure 6. The phases were implemented in the following way.

Phase 1 Attending/Involving

Firstly, this phase was concerned with the establishment of rapport, getting physically comfortable and observing and listening to the reactions of the children to the beginning of counselling. In the first session, this phase was devoted to exploring the children's experiences in school; for example, likes and dislikes, or things they would like

Positive school performance
and positive self-evaluation

∧

high ability

good effort

ease of the task

good luck

bad luck

difficulty of the task

lack of effort

lack of ability

∨

Negative school performance
and negative self-evaluation

to change. More specific questions in this phase were designed to lead the children to give an appraisal of their positions in the class as learners. These questions usually led into a much richer field of thoughts, feelings and attitudes; for example, peer-group relationships, teacher relationships. It was responses during this phase which often indicated the children's attributional styles. It was surprising to find that all the children described themselves as not doing well in class. The reasons ranged from lack of ability, for example, 'it's cause I'm just thick, Miss' to lack of effort, for example, 'I just get too fed-up,' to teacher bias, for example, 'the teacher just picks on me, to difficulty of the task, for example, 'all the books are too hard for me'. These initial comments provided a starting point for each pupil although the starting point was adjusted during the first few counselling sessions.

Responding/Exploring

This phase consisted mainly of reflecting the children's thoughts and feelings and clarifying what they were saying. For example, 'you say the teacher picks on you, or you feel you don't do well because the work is too hard. Can you tell me more about that?'

Phase 3 Personalising/Understanding

This phase was devoted to exploring the reasons the children gave for certain events. For example, 'you do badly with your reading because the books are too difficult, so you don't try. What do you think might happen if you decided to really try. Might it make a difference?' Some children accepted this suggestion and described how they would try in class, then they would report back the effects. A few children felt that the situation was quite hopeless and could only be encouraged to externalise failure. It was important throughout that the children attributed any change in behaviour internally, that is to their own effort and not to the counsellor's. Achieving this delicate balance took some careful thought on behalf of the counsellor. Care had to be taken not to become directly involved with teaching the children or guiding their work. Statements of personal pride in the children were inappropriate. For example, 'I will be very pleased with you if you get all your work correct' was replaced with questions such as 'how will you feel if you get all your work correct?' The subtle difference in these two statements represents the difference between internal and external control.

Phase 4 Initiating/Acting

Phase four involved helping the children to decide on

specific things to do during the following week to improve their school experience. This ranged from spending a longer period working, trying hard to remember some new words from a reading book, to making a new friend.

Development of Phase 4

During the counselling some brief notes were made but usually notes were made directly after each session. This was the counsellor's record. But it was thought that the children might also benefit from some kind of symbolic record of their sessions. After some considerable thought, the following idea was presented to the children. Together with each child, the counsellor drew a 'mountain' on a large piece of paper, consisting of a diagonal line from one corner to the other. We discussed the effort and hard work necessary for mountaineers to climb real mountains and compared it to the task the child was setting out on. We pretended that the child was at the bottom of the mountain and week by week was going to climb to the top of the mountain. Surprisingly, all the children accepted this idea with ease. Some were positively excited by it and often asked me eagerly if I had remembered their mountain when I returned to school the following week.

Each week the children projected where they would get to on their 'mountain' for the following week. The children

varied in their targets, some cautiously set very short goals only a centimetre along while others more confidently set much longer targets. Each week the children decided whether they had reached their goal. Sometimes they did but often they hadn't quite made it or sometimes they had gone past it. On several occasions two particular children had slipped back down the hill.

As the weeks unfolded it was fascinating to observe how well these props worked for the children and how very truthful they were in their use of the 'mountains'. The mountains became the central feature of the counselling. The children's assessment of their own endeavour gave the ideal opportunity for relevant questioning. The children's own self-evaluation guided the counsellor's questions.

As discussed earlier, the children's attributional styles varied. It was possible with most of the children to concentrate on emphasising internal, unstable and controllable causes for success; that is, their own effort. At the same time, external, unstable and controllable causes such as ease of the task which were given to explain success were discouraged. Through this process it was possible to encourage children to regard themselves as able learners, that is, a movement toward internal, stable and uncontrollable causes. The same process was undertaken for failure, lack of effort was emphasised as opposed to not being able. A few children

were much more toward the negative end of the continuum and the process was different for them. They viewed their failure as lack of ability and throughout the counselling time it was only possible to encourage them to externalise their attributions for failure and therefore accept reasons such as the difficulty of the task or the bias of the teacher. Externalising their attributions for failure at this stage had less negative effects upon their self-concepts.

A critical element of the counselling process was that the children must come to attribute any change in behaviour internally; that is, to factors within themselves and over which they have control. The counsellor at no time directly assisted the children with their work and never publicly praised their work.

The effects of the counselling

Reading

The reading test was administered at the end of the experimental period (June) to groups 2 and 3. A delayed post test was administered some five months later in November when the children had moved to their new middle schools. Table 5 shows the mean reading scores for groups 2 and 3 in January, June and November.

Table 5 Means and standard deviations for reading age in January, June and November (N=16, n=8)

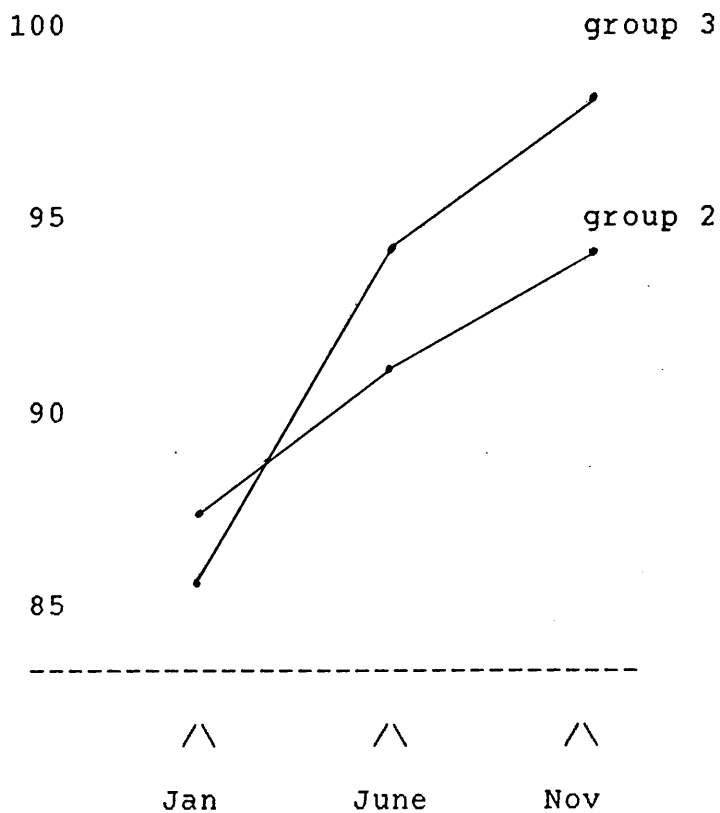
	January		June		November	
	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.
Group 2	86.7	4.9	91.4	5.8	94.0	8.3
Group 3	85.4	3.8	94.0	3.0	96.4	4.0

The results were examined using a two-way analysis of variance and the full source table is in Appendix 8.

The difference between the groups over the whole time period, that is, January to November was not significant but each group improved significantly over the ten months ($F = 35.87$, $d.f = 2, 28$ and $P < 0.001$). The counselled group, (group 3) however, did show a greater improvement when the June scores for groups 2 and 3 were compared. Figure 8 shows how the scores for group 3 rose more sharply, peaked in June and levelled off in November. This interaction failed to reach significance therefore the counselling seems to have made no statistically significant difference to the reading scores between these two groups.

Fig. 8 A comparison of reading age scores for groups 2 and 3 in January June and November (N=16, n=8)

months



Self-esteem

The Lawseq pupil questionnaire was administered again in June and as a delayed post-test in November to groups 2 and 3. Table 6 shows the means and standard deviations for self-esteem scores in January, June and November.

Table 6 Means and standard deviations for self-esteem

In January, June and November (N=16, n=8)

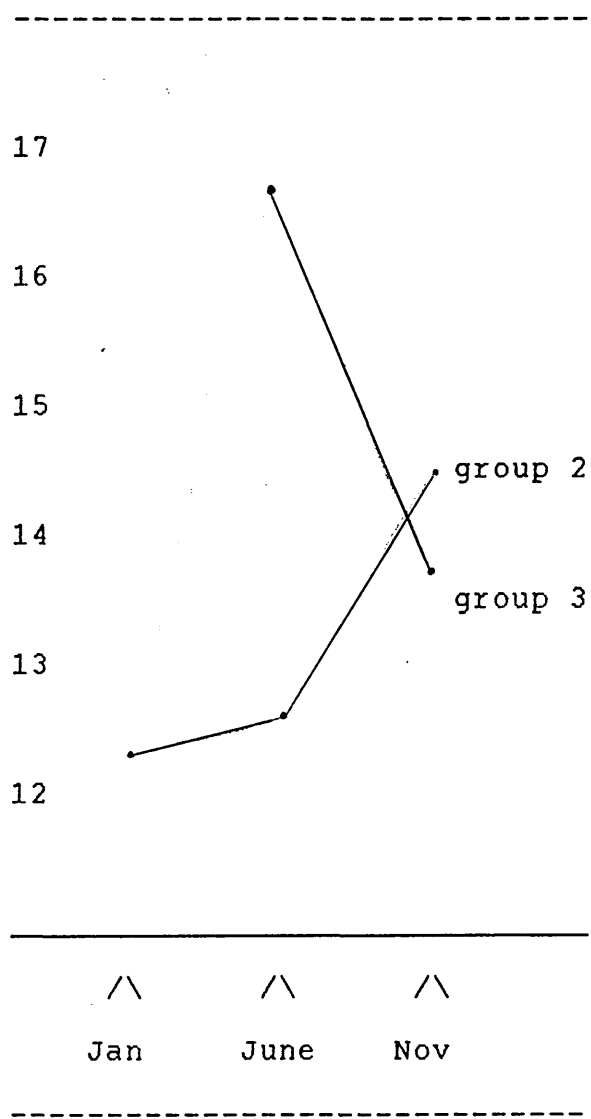
	January		June		November	
	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.
Group 2	12.1	3.0	12.4	3.8	14.4	2.4
Group 3	12.1	4.6	16.4	4.6	13.5	3.7

A full Anova source table is in Appendix 9a. The difference between the groups over the whole ten months was not significant. There was an interaction between the groups showing a significant difference between the self-esteem scores in June ($F = 3.43$, d.f. 2,28 $PC0.05$). The counselled group had significantly higher self-esteem scores in June than the non-counselled group. Further analysis of this interaction was carried out using Scheffe's t-test and the results are shown in Appendix 9b.

The source of the interaction is the relatively high score by group 3 in June shown very clearly in figure 9. But this difference fails to reach significance with this conservative test. Figure 9 shows the difference between

the two groups from January to June to November.

Fig. 9 The difference in self-esteem scores between group 2 and group 3 (N=16, n=8)



The score for group 3 in June increased much more than the score for group 2 which stayed the same. During the period

rapidly but was still quite an improvement on their scores in January. Perhaps this fall was due to the absence of counselling which this group had benefitted from earlier in the year, but looking at individual scores the reduction in scores was due to the sharp fall in the scores of two particular children. These were two children who were quite behind in reading but were progressing well within their particular classes. However with a change of school and teacher their self-esteem had fallen. In contrast to group 3, the scores for group 2 improved between June and November; again this was due to a very sharp increase by two particular children.

The Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Scale

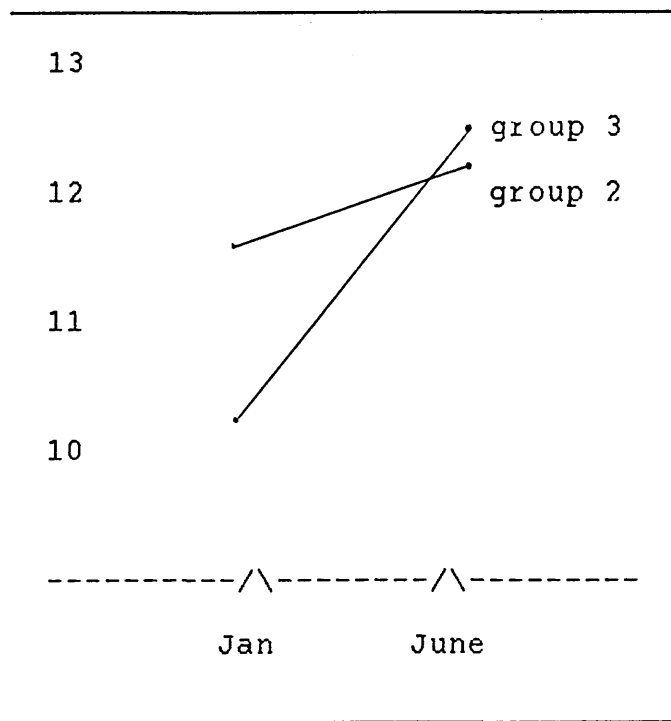
The IAR was administered again to both groups in June only, due to lack of time available. Table 7 shows the means and standard deviations for January and June.

Table 7 Means and standard deviations for the IAR in January and June (N=16,n=8)

	January		June	
	mean	s.d.	mean	s.d.
Group 2	11.4	2.9	12.2	3.0
Group 3	10.1	2.5	12.4	2.4

A full source table is in Appendix 10. There was no significant difference between the groups in June. The difference between each group's score in January and their score in June reached significance, ($F = 5.92$, $d.f. = 1,14$, $P < 0.05$) that is, both groups improved their scores but there was no significant interaction between the groups. Figure 10 below again shows the sharp increase made by the counselled group between January and June compared with the progress made by group 2.

Fig. 10 A comparison of scores for groups 2 and 3 on the IAR ($N=16$, $n=8$)



Summary

The content of counselling was based on the four phases of the 'human resource model' developed by Carkhuff (1969). At the end of the six month counselling period in June, the reading test, self-esteem questionnaire and the intellectual achievement responsibility scale were re-administered. The reading test and the self-esteem questionnaire were repeated as a delayed post-test five months later in November.

Analysis of the reading test scores showed that the differences between the counselled group and the non-counselled group failed to reach significance on the ANOVA.

Analysis of the self-esteem scores showed that there was a significant difference on the ANOVA between the scores of the counselled group compared to those of the non-counselled group in June. This difference failed to reach significance on the conservative Scheffe's t-test. The results showed a marginal effect representing a trend toward higher scores for the counselled group.

A similar pattern emerged for the results on the IAR. The differences between the counselled group and the non-counselled group failed to reach significance on the ANOVA.

Individual results are referred to and analysed further in the case studies presented in chapter 4.7.

4.3 The Teachers and Children Observed

An analysis of the systematic and informal observations is presented here. The analysis of the systematic observations is based on that used by Galton et al (1980) in the Oracle study. Firstly, the teacher record is discussed, secondly the pupil record and finally the individual teacher style is presented drawing on the systematic and informal observations.

Teacher record

The observations recorded on the teacher record were analysed and expressed as a percentage of the observations made. These percentages are presented in the following five tables. Table 8 shows the type of teacher-pupil interaction. Teacher A spent most of his time interacting with groups, while teacher B spent most of her time interacting with the whole class. Teachers C and D spent most of their time interacting with individuals. Table 9 shows the breakdown of that interaction in terms of questioning, making statements and silent interaction. A question is defined as an utterance which seeks an answer, while a statement refers to all other utterances. Silent interaction refers to situations in which there is no

Table 8 Teacher-Pupil interaction

TEACHER	A	B	C	D
Individuals	29.1%	13.2%	78.8%	89.6%
Groups	69.1%	34.7%	13.4%	6.4%
Whole class	1.8%	52.1%	7.8%	4.0%

conversation with class pupils. This category includes several other aspects of interaction broken down in Table 12.

Table 9 Breakdown of teacher-pupil interaction

TEACHER	A	B	C	D
Questioning	24%	24.4%	8.9%	10.7%
Making statements	54.7%	56.4%	41.6%	38.7%
Silent interaction	21.3%	19.1%	49.4%	50.7%

Teacher A spent most of his time making statements, with the remainder of the time shared between questioning and silent interaction. Teacher B showed a similar pattern. Teachers C and D had similar patterns to each other with

most time spent making statements or in silence; they questioned very rarely.

Table 10 gives a breakdown of the types of questions the teachers asked. The categories in each of these tables were those used in the Oracle study.

Table 10 A breakdown of the questioning category

TEACHER	A	B	C	D
factual questions	22.1%	44.0%	43.0%	40.1%
closed questions	17.4%	10.6%	--	4.4%
open questions	44.3%	20.1%	6.2%	8.9%
referring to task supervision	16.3%	24.2%	11.8%	25.2%
referring to routine matters	--	1.1%	38.9%	18.9%

Teacher A asked mainly open questions, followed by questions of fact, whilst teachers B, C and D asked mostly factual questions. The remainder of teacher B's questions were divided between open questions and task supervision. Teachers C and D asked very few open questions and most of the remainder of their time was divided between task supervision and routine matters.

Table 11 shows an analysis of the teachers' statements.

Teacher A made most statements about ideas/ problems and of fact. The majority of the remaining statements were shared between telling the children what to do and giving feedback on work or effort. Teacher B made mostly statements of fact followed by telling children what to do.

Table 11 An analysis of the teachers' statements

TEACHER	A	B	C	D
factual	24.4%	34.2%	13.1%	7.9%
ideas/problems	26.8%	13.9%	1.9%	0.9%
telling child what to do	15.4%	18.5%	16.9%	31.8%
praising work or effort	8.8%	0.7%	13.4%	4.0%
feedback on work or effort	13.2%	11.8%	19.7%	14.5%
routine information	3.1%	4.4%	16.2%	9.5%
routine feedback	4.4%	2.6%	12.5%	10.2%
critical control	---	13.9%	---	1.2%
small talk	3.3%	---	6.2%	---

The majority of her remaining statements were equally divided between statements of ideas and of critical control. The statements of teacher C seemed to be fairly evenly distributed through all the categories except critical control and statement of ideas. Teacher D made statements mostly to tell children what to do followed

closely by feedback on work and effort.

Table 12 presents an analysis of the teachers' silent interaction. Teacher A spent most of his silent interaction in waiting for pupils to respond to his questions and statements. Teacher B spent the majority of her silent interaction either marking work or waiting for pupils to respond to questions.

Table 12 An analysis of the teachers' silent interaction

TEACHER	A	B	C	D
Gesturing	---	2.2%	---	1.1%
Showing	8.1%	6.6%	16.5%	4.5%
Marking	9.5%	45.8%	37.3%	43.1%
Waiting	70.1%	40.3%	18.9%	10.6%
Story	---	---	---	---
Reading	1.4%	---	---	17.3%
Not observed	---	---	---	---
Not coded	10.9%	5.0%	27.3%	23.3%

Again, teachers C and D showed a similar pattern. They both spent significant amounts of time in marking work and in classroom behaviour which was not coded on the teacher record. For both of these teachers this category represents

time they spent watching the class silently. Both called out names of particular children from time to time in an effort to maintain class control. The individual characteristics of these four teachers corresponded to certain teacher types used in the Oracle study. These teacher types are discussed later in this chapter.

The Pupil Record

In a similar way to the teacher observations given above the observations of the pupils were made at the beginning, middle and end of the study period. Because of this it was not possible to compare the non-counselled group with the counselled group. Therefore the failure-prone children were compared as a whole group with the success-oriented group. The most significant part of the pupil record for the present study is the analysis it gives of the pupil activity during the observation time. The record of seating arrangements and the position of the teacher in the class was not as significant. The data for the pupil activity is presented in table 13. The data is analysed firstly according to class differences and secondly according to the differences between the failure-prone group and the success-oriented group. This latter data is analysed statistically.

Class A had two failure-prone children and one success-oriented child. There was little difference between

the success-oriented child and the counselled failure-prone child but a vast difference between these children and the second failure-prone child. The latter spent only 30% of his time co-operating and 40% distracted. The counselled failure-prone child spent 68% co-operating and 6% distracted while the success-oriented child spent 82% co-operating and 2% distracted.

Class B had three success-oriented children and six failure-prone children. There was quite a significant difference between these groups except for one counselled failure-prone boy who co-operated for 66% of his time and was distracted for only 2% of his time. On average the success-oriented children co-operated on the task for 70% of their time and were distracted for only an average of 4.6% The failure-prone children co-operated for an average of 41% and were distracted for an average of 30% of their time.

Class C had two children in each of the two groups. There were much less marked differences between these two groups The failure-prone children did co-operate less well achieving an average of 48% for co-operation and 15.5% for distraction. The success-oriented children co-operated for an average of 60% of their time and were distracted for 4% of their time.

Table 13. Pupil Activity (pupil record)

Key. S = success-oriented F = failure-prone

	Class A			Class B									
	S	F	F	S	S	S	F	F	F	F	F	F	
Co-operating on task	82	30	68	82	68	60	32	24	46	42	34	66	
Co-operating on routine	2	8	14	14	16	16	10	8	8	4	14	16	
CO-OPERATING	84	38	82	96	84	76	42	32	54	46	48	82	
Distracted	2	40	6	2	4	8	18	52	28	38	38	2	
Distracted by observer										2	2		
Disruptive													
Horseplay													
DISTRACTED	2	40	6	2	4	8	18	52	28	40	40	2	
Waiting for teacher	6	2				2	18		12			6	
Co-operating/Distracted	2	2	6		2				4		6	10	
Interested in teacher	6	4		2	6	12	6	4		8		2	
Interested in pupil		8			4	2	10			4			
Working other activity													
Resp. internal stimuli		4					6	12	2	2		4	
OCCUPIED	14	20	6	2	12	16	40	16	18	14	12	16	
Not observed													
Not listed		2	6										

Table 13 continued:

	Class C				Class D							
	S	S	F	F	F	F	S	S	F	F	F	F
Co-operating on task	64	56	42	38	74	40	68	72	54	40	34	38
Co-operating on routine	4	2						6	10	16	14	
CO-OPERATING	68	58	42	38	74	40	68	78	54	50	50	52
Distracted	4	4	10	26	2	24	16	12	28	4	22	24
Distracted by observer							2					
Disruptive				2								
Horseplay				6								
DISTRACTED	4	4	10	34	2	24	18	12	28	4	22	24
Waiting for teacher			2	4	2	12	2	2	26	4	6	
Co-operating/Distracted	2	4	10	6	4		4	4	2	10	4	
Interested in teacher	2	6	4			2	2	2	2	10	6	8
Interested in pupil	22	26	22	16	18	16	6		4	4	6	6
Working other activity												
Resp. internal stimuli		2	2	2		6		2	4	2	2	
OCCUPIED	26	38	40	28	24	36	14	10	10	44	28	24
Not observed												
Not listed	2		8						8	2		

Class D had also two children in each group. Here there was a clearer pattern of success-oriented pupils co-operating for longer periods than the failure-prone children. The

success-oriented pupils co-operated for 70% of their time and were distracted for 14% of their time. The failure-prone children co-operated for 41.5% of their time and were distracted for 19.5% of their time.

Over all the classes, the success-oriented children co-operated for an average of 69% of their time and were distracted for 6.7% of their time. The failure-prone children co-operated for 43.9% of their time and for 22.8% of their time were distracted.

The differences between the co-operative behaviour and the distracted behaviour of the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children were analysed using the independent t-test. The success-oriented children were found to spend a significantly greater time co-operating than the failure-prone children ($t=4.05$, $d.f. = 22$ $p<0.001$) .

Teacher style

From the observations outlined in the teacher record the teachers in this study had teaching styles which approximated very accurately to the following categories used in the Oracle study.

Teacher A was clearly in the category of 'group

instructor'. This is characterised by the high level of group interaction and low level of questioning, but within this a high level of open questions. There is also a high level of informational aspects of teaching in telling children what to do and giving feedback on work and effort. Teacher A was male in his late twenties. He appeared very organised in his teaching and planning of his day. He was very quietly spoken and on no occasion shouted while the observer was present. He responded positively to children at all times. He expected and appeared to receive high standards of work and behaviour from his class. He was constantly on the move around the class talking to groups and individuals helping them to solve their problems and extend their ideas.

Teacher B showed a broad mixture of organisational strategies and according to the Oracle study would be in the group known as 'style changer'. Such teachers show a high level of task supervision questions and make more statements of critical control. The descriptive accounts of life in this classroom showed that this teacher made changes throughout the observation time. Teacher B was female in her mid-fifties, she spent most of her time sitting at her desk at the front of the class. She spoke very loudly so that her conversations with each child could be heard throughout the class. She interacted with the children in an extremely negative way, using much sarcasm. Any positive interaction (usually with the success-oriented

children) was used sarcastically to imply that at least some children had brains. She used many rude comments; for example, 'you talk rubbish boy, only hot air comes out of your mouth.' She often threw books off her table onto the floor if she felt that the standard was not good enough. The owner of the book was usually told to retrieve it. The atmosphere in the classroom was tense and anxious for all the children, especially the failure-prone children who suffered the ill-feeling. The children worked in complete silence, only daring to glance or smile at each other. The teacher usually heard children read at her table. She was critical and often abusive; for many children this must have been a demoralising experience. On one such occasion she shouted at one of the failure-prone children, 'I am writing in my book that you cannot sound out your words, you are rubbish at reading and I'm not spending my time on you, you'll grow up not being able to read, now go away--I'll hear Sarah' (member of the success-oriented group). One sensed that in this class the children who were having difficulty with their reading were offered sympathy by their more able counterparts.

Teachers C and D both showed a high level of individual pupil contact and a low level of class and group interaction. Galton et al referred to these teachers as 'individual monitors'. The style is further characterised by a low level of questioning and a high level of non-verbal interaction, characterised mainly by marking

individual pupils' work. These teachers engage in the highest number of interactions concerned with telling children what to do.

Teacher C was female and in her mid-fifties. She was vigilant with the class at all times. She seemed tense, rarely smiled but was not critical or dominant. Teacher C moved around the class constantly and seemed to need to use a lot of control strategies to keep this class in order. She made much use of positive reinforcement with the whole class and in particular with the failure-prone children. She demanded a fairly quiet, but not silent working atmosphere. Much of her time was directed toward keeping the more successful children working.

Teacher D was male in his late fifties. He sat at his desk at all times, usually with a large queue beside him. The instructions for each day were on the blackboard and the class revolved around three tasks: english, maths (usually set from text-books) and craft. Teacher D rarely spoke loudly, usually his voice could not be heard above the noise of the class. The class was extremely noisy, often children yelled at each other across the the room. The class was ability grouped and it was usually the more successful children who made the most noise and needed the most attention. This teacher always seemed calm and composed amid this noisy class.

Summary

The four teachers in the sample were characterised by three teaching styles. Teacher A was a 'group instructor', teacher B was a 'style changer' and teachers C and D were both 'individual moniters'. The style of 'group instructor' includes certain characteristics judged to be the most beneficial to the act of teaching. On the other hand the 'style changer' is regarded as the least advantageous to the act of teaching. These teacher styles may relate to the progress children made, the experiences they had in the classroom and to the perceptions the teachers held of teaching and learning. The teacher observations will be returned to in the case studies later in this chapter.

The success-oriented children were observed to spend a significantly greater amount of time co-operating than the failure-prone children. Within classes the proportions of time varied but generally it was the same pattern in all four classes.

4.4. The Teachers' Perceptions of the Children

In the last section the observational data gave an outline of the characteristics of each teacher which may have influenced the progress of both the failure-prone and the success-oriented children. In this section the repertory grid method was chosen to provide insights into how these teachers perceived the act of teaching and learning, in particular failure and success as it occurred in their classes. A particular teacher type may be linked to certain perceptions of teaching and learning.

The repertory grid method was devised to test personal construct theory as presented by Kelly (1955). It is also used in experimental system design - i.e. to test knowledge domains. Kelly (ibid) assumed that underlying each single judgement a person makes is an implicit theory which he referred to as a personal construct system. This system covers the realm of events within which each judgement is made. The repertory grid method provides a way of exploring the structure and content of the personal construct system. The method assumes that conceptual links between a person's ideas can be explored by examining associations between acts of judgement. Grid methods have been used extensively over the past twenty-five years, major contributions being

from Bannister and Mair (1968), Slater (1977) and Fransella and Bannister (1977).

The repertory grid method was particularly suitable for the present study because it lends itself to systematic analysis. Analysis of the repertory grid data was facilitated by the Gab programme (Bannister and Higginbotham 1980). This programme was preferred because of its simplicity, accessibility and availability to the present study. The programme was written in Fortran and was run on IBM 4341 VM/CMS system at Sheffield City Polytechnic. In this programme three forms of analysis are available; ranked data, rated data and bipolar data. The application of the analysis for rated data proved most suitable for the present data.

Application of the Grid method

The most commonly used method was employed. This is the triadic sorting routine. Each teacher used their children as the elements in exploring their personal constructs. Approximately 20 constructs were obtained from each teacher in this way at the beginning of the experimental period. At this stage and for ease of analysis, each teacher was asked to arrange their constructs in order of importance with positive constructs at one pole and negative constructs at the opposite pole. This information was used to provide an initial subjective analysis of the perceptions of each

individual teacher. The constructs were then used in a five point rating scale which formed the repertory grid for each teacher. A rating of 1 represented the most favourable interpretation of the construct, 5 represented the least favourable interpretation and 3 describes a neutral position.

Factors of particular interest to this study were ability, self-esteem and effort. It was expected that teachers would produce these during the triadic process. All teachers produced some aspect of ability but either self-concept or effort had to be added as 'provided constructs' to the grids of all four teachers. The possible influence of the provided constructs was an added area of interest during analysis.

The grids were then applied in this form at both the beginning and end of the six month experimental period. Because the grids are unique to each teacher more powerful forms of statistical analysis such as Slater's Ingrid were not appropriate.

The data

The application of the repertory grid method produced a set of constructs for each individual teacher which are shown in full in tables 13, 14, 15, and 16 later in this chapter.

The grids were completed for all of the children in the four classes at the beginning and the end of the experimental period. The statistical data obtained using the GAB programme produced 8 printouts, two for each teacher. One printout is in Appendix 14. Each printout consists of the following tables of statistical information:

1. raw data showing the constructs in rows and the elements (pupils) in columns

2. a matrix of relationships between constructs. The top right segment of the matrix shows the correlation between each possible pair of constructs and where the correlation is significant its P value is marked with one asterisk to signify a 5% level and two asterisks to signify a 1% level. The bottom left segment shows the total relationship score for each pair of constructs. This is simply the correlation shown in the top right segment squared and multiplied by 100, so that the figure represents the variance in common between two constructs. The diagonal line of the matrix shows the summed relationship scores for each construct. That is the percentage variance in common scores for construct 1 and every other construct have been added together and the total entered in cell 1,1. The percentage variance in common scores for construct 2 with all constructs have been added together and entered in cell 2,2 and so forth. The variance in common scores can be used

additively since they are linearly related unlike correlation.

3. The constructs are listed in order of their contribution to variance, that is they are listed in order of size of their summed relationship scores as shown in the diagonal of the matrix. This lists the constructs in order of their "importance" if we assume that importance or centrality is indicated by high correlations with other constructs.

4. The components are listed by the programme taking the construct accounting for most of the variance and identifies this as the central construct of component 1. The printout then lists all the constructs which are related to this construct at the 5% level or higher. The programme goes on to select the construct which accounts for the next highest amount of variance which is not significantly related to the construct chosen as component 1. The programme continues this process until all the constructs have been listed. It is therefore a simple form of cluster analysis.

5. The same information as that given for constructs above is given for elements.

The method of analysis

Firstly, the constructs were subjectively analysed. The way in which the teachers ordered their constructs gave some insight into how they perceived themselves as teachers and their children as learners.

Secondly, the statistical information provided by Gab was used to study the perceptions of the four teachers. It was important for this research to obtain information on how each teacher perceived his/her children. The computer programme provides elements in order of their contribution to variance. This is a list of the elements in order of their importance assumed by their centrality indicated by a high correlation with other elements. It is not possible to say what that importance is without going on to look at the components. It is possible to identify the main characteristic of each component by looking at the constructs which unite the groups of elements provided by the computer programme. A component may list all the children who are perceived as, say, friendly by the teacher. Since it is possible to identify the components it is therefore possible to look at the placement of certain individuals who are of particular interest to this study. In this way it is possible to obtain the teacher's perception of certain individuals. Any change in this perception over the experimental period can also be obtained.

This analysis was applied to the data and is presented here for each teacher and class.

Analysis of the data for Teacher A

Table 14 The constructs of teacher A

stable home background/unstable home background
good parental support/poor parental support
good self discipline/poor self discipline
well motivated/poorly motivated
settled behaviour pattern/erratic behaviour pattern
socially capable/socially incapable
mature/immature
good peer relations/poor peer relations
out-going/retiring
very confident/lacks confidence
easy to capture interest/difficult to capture interest
even tempered/quick tempered
popular/unpopular
self-assured/needs reassurance
favourable social background/unfavourable social background
settled/unsettled
high ability/low ability
more able/less able
under-zealous/over-zealous
neat/tidy

quiet/noisy

*high self-esteem/low self-esteem

*tries hard usually/tries hard rarely

* provided construct

Teacher A ranked his 21 constructs with stable home background and good parental support as the most important constructs. He ranked ability 17th making it lower in his list of priorities. The order of these constructs suggest that this teacher judged aspects of social background, socially acceptable behaviour, self discipline and popularity to be more important than ability in the process of teaching and learning. The Gab programme broadly supported this, showing constructs of socially capable, mature and well-motivated to be in 2nd, 3rd and 4th positions in the order in which they contributed to variance. But the first construct and principal component contributing to variance was the provided construct of self-esteem. The second and third components were zealousness and even-temperedness, respectively. Ability was 18th out of the 23 constructs. This teacher perceived self-concept, motivation and personality as the three most important factors contributing to learning. This situation changed a little after six months. Motivation became both the most important construct contributing to variance and the principal component. The remaining component was zealousness. Motivation and zealousness are both aspects of

effort. Effort for this teacher became the overriding concept related to learning in school. Effort is an internal, unstable and controllable attribution.

It is with this personal construct system that this teacher perceived his role as a teacher and his pupils as learners. His main construct of effort can be traced throughout his perception of the children.

The elements

target children: Nicolas: failure-prone counselled

Gordon: failure-prone non-counselled

Joanne: success-oriented

At the beginning of the experimental period, the elements in the order of their contribution to variance were further analysed into eight components which each give a particular cluster of children who were linked by a perception or perceptions of their teacher. The first component was made up of the largest group in the class. These were children who were fairly confident, quite self-assured and who tried acceptably well with their work. Neither of the two failure-prone children were in this group nor was the success-oriented child. The second component was made up of children who were self-assured and had high ability. Again none of the sample were in this group. The third component was made up of those children who did not show quite enough

effort according to this teacher's criteria. Both failure-prone children were in this component, with Nicholas as the principal element and Gordon as the final element of eight children. These two children were not included in any other components. Joanne was the principal element of three children in the seventh component. These children were well-motivated, showed settled behaviour, were even-tempered, displayed good self-discipline, high ability and high self-esteem. After six months, Joanne remained in a similar but larger group of success-oriented children. Gordon joined a second group of children who were perceived as mature, quiet and quite well-motivated. He remained a member of a group of 4 children which included Nicholas as the principal element. These children were perceived as children who did not show enough effort and whose imagination the teacher could capture easily.

Throughout the experimental period the teacher perceived the two failure-prone children as not showing enough effort. Effort was this teacher's main construct. Although the teacher used the construct of high ability to perceive other children, he did not use low ability to group these two particular children who were having reading difficulties. This suggests that his attitude towards them was such that he believed that their lack of effort accounted for their difficulties and not a lack of ability. The theory of attribution outlined earlier would suggest that these children would progress more with a teacher who

perceived their problems to be more due to effort, an internal, unstable and controllable cause than ability, an internal, stable and uncontrollable cause.

Analysis of the data for Teacher B

Table 15 The constructs of teacher B

high ability/low ability
very conscientious/not very conscientious
diligent/lazy
bright/dull
very capable/not very capable
very confident/lacks confidence
attentive/inattentive
very resourceful/not very resourceful
mature/immature
interested/uninterested
always tries hard/rarely tries hard
very cooperative/very uncooperative
no difficulties at home/difficulties at home
sensible/silly
stable/nervous
happy/sad
very well-behaved/very badly behaved
popular/unpopular
not very demanding of attention/very demanding of attention

never late/always late

*high self-esteem/low self-esteem

* provided construct.

Teacher B ordered her constructs with ability and conscientiousness as the two most important constructs contributing to teaching and learning in school. Notions of popularity, happiness, appropriate behaviour, emotional stability, sensibility and home background were all ordered below ability and effort. The Gab programme showed that aspects of ability and effort remained important. At the beginning of the experimental period diligence was the principal construct of component 1. This was followed by conscientiousness, attentive, very capable, interested, resourceful and high ability. After the experimental period conscientiousness was the principal construct of the only significant component, ability was again important, being in the upper quartile. The provided construct of self-esteem had no significant effect on the construct system of this teacher. This evidence suggests that this teacher regarded conscientious, diligence and ability as major constructs. The construct of ability is regarded as an internal, stable and uncontrollable cause of performance whereas effort is regarded as an internal, unstable and controllable cause of performance. This represents the major constructs with which this teacher perceived her role as teacher and her pupils as learners.

The elements

target children: Gayle 1
 Damion 1 failure-prone counselled
 David 1

 Linda 1
 Tracy 1 failure-prone non-counselled
 Neil 1

 Andrew 1
 Jason 1 success-oriented
 Sarah 1

The elements in order of their contribution to variance were presented and further analysed into 8 components. Each gave a cluster of elements or in this case children, all linked by a particular teacher perception.

Component 1 was the largest single group perceived by the teacher. These children were not very able but they were reasonably sensible, stable and had no difficulties at home. Linda was the principal element of this group with all the remaining failure-prone children also part of the component. None of the success-oriented children were part of this component. The second component linked together children who were from very good homes and who were very well-behaved even though some were not very capable. David,

Neil and Tracy were in this group along with Sarah who was the last element in this component. The third component grouped together children who tried hard, who were cooperative, well-behaved and not demanding. Tracy was a member of this group. The two remaining success-oriented children were the only elements of components 7 and 8 respectively. Jason was rated almost completely favourably with only a slight lack of maturity and popularity. Andrew achieved a perfect rating; he was for this teacher an ideal pupil.

At the end of the experimental period this teacher's perceptions seemed to change slightly. The first component was similar, placing Linda as the first element and including all the other failure-prone children with the exception now of Gayle. Tracy was again a member along with Sarah of the second component of children perceived as well-behaved, cooperative, sensible and mature. The failure-prone children, with the exception of Linda, were united with two additional children in the third component. The component had Gayle as the principal element and the children were perceived as not bright, not capable and not diligent. Jason and Andrew retained their previous positions.

This teacher was shown earlier to use ability and effort as major constructs. These constructs, in particular ability, can be traced throughout her perception of the children.

Ability was the main perception which separated all but one of the failure-prone children into a common component. It was the children who lacked ability who were clustered together and not the children who had high ability. Lack of ability as an attribution is internal, stable and uncontrollable. If this teacher perceived these failure-prone children as failing because of lack of ability then it would be expected that she did not believe that any intervention on her behalf would make any difference.

Analysis of the data for teacher C

Table 16 The constructs of teacher C

not upset by a challenge/upset by a challenge
accepts criticism/doesn't accept criticism
very well-motivated/not very well-motivated
positive approach/unsure approach
very confident/not very confident
has workmanlike approach/hasn't workmanlike approach
always tries hard/rarely tries hard
doesn't need the support of working together/does need the support of working together.
no difficulty in expressing self orally/difficulty in expressing self orally.
no difficulty in expressing self in writing/difficulty in expressing self in writing

very interested in the world around him or her/not very
interested in the world around him or her
always thinks before acting/rarely thinks before acting
popular/not popular
out-going/reserved
not aggressive to peers/aggressive to peers
not fussy/fussy
anxious to please/not anxious to please
not spoilt/spoilt
doesn't need a lot of affection/does need a lot of
affection
tidy/untidy
not anxious/anxious
not very talkative/talkative
*high self-esteem/low self-esteem

*provided construct

Teacher C rated aspects of motivation high on her list; for example, not upset by a challenge and has a workmanlike approach. She did not have ability per se as a construct but other constructs such as: having no difficulty in expressing self in writing, would give her the opportunity to judge individuals according to what she thought they were capable of. The Gab programme gave evidence to support this subjective analysis. The first component listed constructs related to effort, ability and self-concept as being important. The second component was similar but had

non-aggression added to the constructs of effort and ability. The remaining components were headed by constructs of popularity, the need for affection, accepts criticism and interested in the world around him/her. These perceptions showed very little change during the experimental period. For this teacher, effort remained the most important perception followed by ability, self-concept and aggression.

The elements

the target children:

Cory 1 failure-prone counselled

Alan 1

Stephen 1 failure-prone non-counselled

Jimmy 1

Tina 1 success-oriented

Simon 1

The elements in order of their contribution to variance were presented and further analysed into eleven components by the Gab programme. The largest group in component 1 were clustered together by the constructs of: not upset by a challenge, accepts criticism, outgoing and not spoilt. Cory was the only member of the failure-prone group in

this component together with the two success-oriented children. The remaining members of the failure-oriented group were all members of component 2. This grouped together children who were: anxious, anxious to please and interested in the world around him/her. The third component had Tina as the principal element. This was a group of 4 girls who were non-aggressive, outgoing and popular. Tina was again a member of the next component along with Stephen. This group of children were again non-aggressive and out-going but they were also thoughtful and didn't require a lot of affection. Component 7 had ability as its central construct with constructs of: no difficulty expressing self orally or in writing. Tina was again a member of this group of 4 girls. Alan and Cory were included in component 8 which was a cluster of 4 boys perceived as aggressive, untidy, anxious to please and impulsive. The remaining components did not include any other target children.

The situation during the experimental period changed quite a lot. The large group of children in component 1 included only Simon from the target children. These children were reasonably well-motivated, friendly and non-aggressive. Simon was a further member of component 3 which grouped together children who were well-motivated and who had no difficulty expressing themselves orally or in writing. Stephen, Cory and Jimmy were included in component 2 as children who were not well motivated, not confident and

very anxious. Component 5 linked Simon and Cory as children who were too talkative, outgoing and were able to express themselves well orally. Jimmy and Alan were grouped in component 6 with children who were outgoing, not spoilt, not very well-motivated and who had difficulties expressing themselves in writing. Component 8 grouped Cory with two other boys who had high self-concepts, were outgoing but who were too talkative, and not very popular. Finally component 10 consisted of three children who were highly motivated, confident, able to express themselves orally and in writing, always interested in the world around them and out-going. This component included Tina as the principal element.

Perceptions of effort, aggression and popularity were prominent in this analysis of elements. Ability as a construct was not used to group the failure-prone children. They were more often distinguished by motivation and aggression. Constructs relating to ability were used to group 4 girls, which included Tina at the beginning of the experimental period. Again, at the end it was used to group 3 children with Tina as the principal element. This teacher seemed to be less concerned with ability. Whilst effort, an internal unstable and controllable attribution was important for this teacher, there were also other attributions present. Aggression was a recurrent construct applied to some of the children. Perhaps this teacher regarded this as an important variable contributing to

children's school performance.

The analysis of the data for teacher D

Table 17 The constructs of teacher D

good social behaviour/poor social behaviour
ease in socialising/difficulty in socialising
helpful to staff and peers/unhelpful to staff and peers
good parental support/poor parental support
well-motivated/lacks motivation
good concentration/poor concentration
good attitude to school/poor attitude to school
good presentation/poor presentation
tidy/untidy
eager to take part in discussion/not eager to take part in
discussion
high ability/low ability
good self-concept/poor self-concept
not anxious/very anxious
very confident/not very confident
good at maths/not good at maths
doesn't often seek attention/often seeks attention
quiet/talkative
doesn't show a superior attitude/shows a superior attitude
very creative/not very creative
keen on sport/not keen on sport
* tries hard/rarely tries hard

* provided construct

Teacher D rated aspects of socialisation at the top of his list of constructs; for example, good social behaviour and helpful to staff and peers. Motivation, concentration and attitudes to school took high positions. Ability came in the middle of the constructs. It was not as important as socialisation and motivation, but was rated alongside self-esteem. The Gab programme supported this subjective evaluation. The first component of constructs had effort as the principal component, followed by aspects of socialisation. Self-concept was the principal construct of the second component which also included attitudes, confidence, attention and anxiety. The third component had ability as the principal component along with motivation, concentration and eagerness. The situation after the experimental period did not change. Aspects of social behaviour and motivation were the principal constructs of the three components produced by the programme. The construct of ability was given lesser importance by being placed at the end of the second component. For this teacher, ability was a construct which had little bearing on the way he perceived his role as teacher and his pupils as learners.

The elements

the target children:

Michael 1 failure-prone counselled

Cherie 1

Lorraine 1 failure-prone non-counselled

Keith 1

Scott 1 success-oriented

Thomas 1

At the beginning of the experimental period component 1 represented children who had good work presentation and who were eager to take part in discussion. Scott and Thomas were members of this group but none of the failure group were included. The second component linked children who showed good social behaviour, good attitudes, who were confident and tried hard. The third component again linked Scott and Thomas as of high ability and good at maths. Michael was a member of the fourth component along with three other children whom the teacher perceived as eager and who had high self-esteem. Keith, the remaining failure-prone child was the principal element of three in the sixth component. These three children did not show a superior attitude, they were helpful to staff and peers, they had good attitudes to school but had untidy, poorly

presented work. After the experimental period, the situation changed as follows. Lorraine and Cherie became members of component one which linked together well-motivated children who had good concentration and who were helpful to staff and peers. Scott was in the second component of children who were good at maths and creative work. He was also in the next component which linked children who were good socially, were eager to take part in discussion, who tried hard and had good attitudes to school. Thomas was in the fifth component, along with other children who were perceived as being good at maths. The seventh component linked Keith and Scott and a third child as children who had good parental support, helpful and with good attitudes to school. Michael was the only element of the last component.

This teacher used social behaviour, attitudes and effort as the main constructs in how he perceived his pupils. High ability and ability with maths were used to link the success-oriented children at the beginning of the experimental period but were not used at the end. The interesting consideration for this study is that ability as a construct was not used to link the failure-prone children even though they had the lowest attainments of this class. This suggests that this teacher did not perceive the problems these children might have had as due to low ability. The analysis above would suggest that he used aspects of social behaviour, motivation and attitudes

to perceive them. This suggests that the teacher may have been using more internal, unstable and controllable attributions to account for the performance of these pupils.

Summary

Teacher A used effort as the main attribution with which he perceived his pupils. He did not use ability as an important construct. Teacher B on the other hand did use ability as her main construct when she perceived the act of teaching and learning. Constructs of effort, aggression and popularity were used by teacher C to perceive her children. Ability for this teacher was not as important a construct. Finally, teacher D used aspects of social behaviour, attitudes and effort as his main perceptions of his pupils. Ability had least importance for this teacher.

Attributions of effort suggest that teachers perceive performance in school to be due mainly to internal, unstable and controllable factors. On the other hand perceptions of ability suggest that they believe performance to be due to internal, stable and uncontrollable factors.

This would suggest that all these teachers with the exception of teacher B felt that the performance of these failure-prone children could be improved.

The perceptions the four teachers held of some particular pupils will be given more specific consideration in the case studies later.

4.5. The Children and their Friendship Groups

The results of the sociometric tests administered at the beginning, middle and end of the experimental period were analysed and are presented here. The aim of the sociometric testing was to compare the friendship patterns of the failure-prone children in both groups and those of the success-oriented children. They were not used in a pre-test and post-test form but as a comparison between the two groups of children on three occasions. Each class had been together with their teachers for one full term before these tests were administered. The children were asked to choose two children in each of two situations: an academic situation in which the children were asked to choose the two children they would most like to sit beside to do their school work, and a friendship situation in which the children were asked to choose the two children they would most like to sit beside on a coach outing to the sea-side. The two choices on each criterion were given equal weighting in recording. The results of each sociometric test were tabulated and are presented in Appendix 12. The tables for each class show how many choices each pupil received.

Table 18 below shows the overall positions in class of the

three groups. Their positions were divided into quartiles, the first quartile representing the most popular positions in class and the fourth quartile representing the least popular positions. Children who did not receive any mutual choices are regarded as neglectees and are marked with an asterisk.

Table 18 The quartile position in class of the three groups of children

Non-counselled failure-prone	Counselled failure- prone	Success-oriented
class A		
4th*	3rd	1st
class B		
4th	4th*	1st
3rd	2nd	1st
4th*	4th*	1st
class C		
2nd	4th	1st
2nd	2nd	1st
class D		
4th*	3rd	3rd
4th	1st	1st

It can be seen that the failure-prone children were consistently less popular than the success-oriented children. Only in class D was this situation varied for two of the children. There was only a marginal change in the patterns of popularity between the situation before the counselling and the situation afterwards. It was not thought that the counselling would have been long enough to have filtered through to friendship patterns in any measurable sense.

The discussion below highlights the friendship patterns of the target children and compares them to the patterns of friendship within the class. Tables 19-26 referred to below can be found in Appendix 12.

Class A

Gordon is the non-counselled failure-prone child identified as child B in tables 19 and 20. Gordon scored only 2 making him 12th out of 14 boys and joint 23rd out of the whole class of 26 children. He was placed in the 4th quartile of the class and he was at no time part of a mutual pair. Gordon was a neglectee within the class.

The counselled failure-prone child was Nicholas, identified as child N on tables 19 and 20. Nicholas scored 6 putting him in 9th position among the 14 boys and in joint 14th position out of 26 children. Nicholas was placed in the 3rd

quartile of the class. He was a member of a mutual pair on three occasions and once he was chosen by the star of the boys. Generally he remained on the edge of a fairly well defined clique.

The success-oriented child in this class was Joanne identified as child U on tables 19 and 20. She consistently attracted many choices making a total of 34. She emerged as the star amongst the girls and second in the class overall. She was in the first quartile and she was the main member of a clique of four girls.

Class B

The non-counselled failure-prone children in this class were Neil, Tracy and Linda identified as C, Q and X respectively on tables 21 and 22. These three children all had low scores. Neil scored 5 making him 13th out of 14 boys and 22nd out of 24 children. He was in the 4th quartile. Tracy scored 8 making her joint 7th out of 10 girls and joint 14th out of 24 children. Tracy was in the 3rd quartile. Linda scored 7 making her 9th out of 10 girls and joint 18th out of 24 children. Linda was in the 4th quartile. Tracy and Neil had at least one mutual choice whilst Linda, although chosen had no mutual choices. She was a neglectee.

The counselled failure-prone children in this class were

Damion, David and Gayle identified as B, M and W respectively in tables 21 and 22. Damion scored 1 making him the least popular child in the class. He had no mutual choices and was a neglectee. David scored 12 making him 6th out of 14 boys and joint 9th out of the class of 24. David had several mutual choices and was often included in the main friendship group of boys. He was in the 2nd quartile. Gayle scored 3 making her the least popular girl and she was in 23rd position out of the 24 children. Gayle did not have any mutual choices making her a neglectee within the class.

The success-oriented children are Andrew, Jason and Sarah identified as J, K and P respectively on tables 21 and 22. These children were all in the 1st quartile. Andrew scored 22 making him the most popular boy but in joint 2nd position in the class overall. Jason scored 20 making him the second most popular boy but in 5th position in the class overall. Sarah scored 29 making her both the star of the girls and in 1st position in the class overall.

Within this class the success-oriented children were much more popular than the children in both failure groups. When separated by sex the successful children took up the most popular positions in the class as opposed to five of the six failure-prone children who took up the least popular positions.

Class C

The non-counselled failure-prone children in this class were James and Stephen, identified as C and J respectively in tables 23 and 24. James and Stephen both scored 13 which made them joint 7th out of 17 boys and joint 10th out of the 29 children. Both boys enjoyed several mutual choices and were part of the main friendship group of the class. They were both in the 2nd quartile.

The counselled failure-prone children in this class were Cory and Alan, identified as B and G respectively in tables 23 and 24. Cory scored four which put him in 13th position out of 17 boys and in joint 21st position out of the 29 children. Cory was the least popular of the failure-prone children. He did have two mutual choices but with the same child and so he remained in the 4th quartile. Alan scored 11 which made him 9th out of 17 boys and 13th out of 29. Alan was in the third quartile, he had several mutual choices with various children and was included in the main friendship group of the class on two occasions.

The success-oriented children in this class are Tina and Simon. They are identified as S and K respectively in tables 23 and 24. Tina scored 15 making her 3rd out of 12 girls and in joint 7th position in the whole class. Tina had many mutual choices from various children and although she was not the star of the girls she was part of a

friendship group which included two other girls who were in 1st and 2nd positions. Tina was in the 1st quartile. Simon scored 21 putting him in 2nd position among the 17 boys and in joint second position overall. He had many mutual choices and was a member of the most popular group within the class. He was also in the 1st quartile.

The success-oriented children in this class, although more popular than the failure-prone children were not the most popular. Similarly, the failure-prone children were not the least popular.

Class D

The non-counselled failure-prone children in this class were Keith and Lorraine identified as B and V respectively in tables 25 and 26. Keith scored 2 which put him in last position in the class. Keith did not have any mutual choices and was a neglectee in this class. Lorraine scored 4 which put her in 12th position out of 14 girls and in 24th position out of 28 children. She was in the fourth quartile and enjoyed only one mutual choice.

The counselled failure-prone children were Michael and Cherie identified as A and T respectively in tables 25 and 26. Michael scored 8 which put him in joint 9th position out of 14 boys and in joint 19th position out of 19 children overall. Michael enjoyed five mutual choices, two

of which were from the most successful boys in the class. Michael was in the third quartile. Cherie scored 18 which made her third out of 14 girls and joint 5th out of 28 children. Cherie had many mutual choices and was a firm member of the main friendship group in the class. She was in the 1st quartile, the only failure-prone child to be in the 1st quartile.

The success-oriented children were Thomas and Scott identified as E and H respectively in tables 25 and 26. Thomas scored 8 and was 9th out of 14 boys and in joint 19th position in the class overall, he shared this position with Michael. Thomas was in the third quartile, the only success-oriented pupil not to be in the 1st quartile. H had three mutual choices but he was on the edge of the main friendship group of boys in his class. Scott scored 18 and was in the third position out of 14 boys and in joint 5th position in the class overall. He shared this position in the third quartile with Cherie who was a member of the counselled failure group.

The patterns of popularity were least clear in this class. There was little difference between the positions of the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children.

Summary

Overall, the failure-prone children were much less popular than the success-oriented children. Five of the sixteen failure-prone children were neglectees. The patterns of friendship did vary between the classes. In class B, the failure-prone children were significantly less popular than the success-oriented children. Meanwhile, in class D the differences were much less obvious. These differences will be considered later in the case studies.

4.6 The Children and their Parents

Interviews were conducted with the parents(s) of all the children in the sample. The information gained is presented here in three areas for each group of children. Firstly, perception of school performance; secondly, expectations of future performance; thirdly explanations of current school performance. Finally, group differences are discussed.

Group 1 (Success-oriented children)

Perception of school performance

All the parents of the children in this group were very happy with their child's school. Six of the eight parents felt that their child was doing better than most of his or her classmates and the remaining two thought their child was doing as well as the other members of the class.

Expectations

All the children in this group had done as well as their parents had expected, two had done better than expected. When asked about expectations for the future all these parents responded immediately with suggestions of careers they hoped their child would pursue. Examples include

solicitor, teacher and engineer. Seven of the eight parents mentioned either university or college. The remaining parent favoured a 'high-up' career in the bank for her daughter. These expectations represented the careers these parents would be most happy with.

Explanations of school performance

The parents of this group of children all mentioned their own role in encouraging and stimulating their children as a significant factor in their child's school performance. Seven of the eight parents specifically mentioned aspects related to intrinsic motivation, interest and ability on behalf of their children. Comments such as, 'Simon was always interested in books and games from an early age', or 'Andrew was always keen to learn', were typical. One parent felt that school was the only factor explaining her child's success. She commented, 'If it hadn't been this school Sarah would be struggling by now'. A further six parents did mention that school had provided appropriate support and encouragement to develop the skills and attitudes the children had brought to the learning situation. The remaining set of parents felt that the school was failing to stimulate and develop their son's ability adequately.

Group 2 (Failure-prone children, non-counselled)

Perception of school performance

The parents of the children in this group were less enthusiastic about their child's school; nevertheless, all were satisfied. Seven of the eight parents said that they felt that their child was doing as well as the other class members. The remaining set of parents felt that their son Gordon was performing worse than most of his classmates.

Expectations

Six of the eight parents felt that their child had done as well as they had expected. A seventh parent had recently begun to feel that his son was not doing as well as he had hoped. The final parent felt that their son was not doing as they had expected. Expectations for the future among this group varied. Among the responses were the armed forces, a craft trade, professional football, hairdressing shop assistant or any type of paid employment. One set of parents who were Jehovah's Witnesses felt their son was failing at school, but declined to think about the future, explaining that this was 'up to the will of God'.

Explanations of school performance

In contrast to the last group, none of the parents who were

satisfied with their child's performance mentioned their own role as a contributory factor in their achievement. In addition, only one parent mentioned his son's own interest and ability as a significant factor in his achievement. Four of this group of parents mentioned the school as the sole agent of their child's achievement. A further two parents who were dissatisfied with how their children had performed, blamed themselves for this disappointment. A seventh parent blamed sight problems for their child's difficulties and the last parent was unable to answer the question.

Group 3 (Failure-prone children, counselled)

Perception of school performance

The parents of the children in this group were also much less enthusiastic about school than the parents of the children in the success-oriented group. Seven of the eight parents were satisfied most of the time, whilst the parents of the remaining child were not always satisfied with the school. Five of the eight parents felt that their child performed as well as the other children in the class, although they all mentioned factors which had held their child back. A further two parents felt that their sons were as good as the other children in everything except reading. The remaining parent felt that her daughter Gayle was 'a bit better' than most of the other children.

Expectations

The parents in this group were again divided on their expectations. Five of the eight reported that their children had done as well as they had expected. Three parents were disappointed and two of these had already reported perceptions of failure reported above. When asked about future expectations several of the parents in this group found difficulty in responding. One mother simply couldn't answer. The suggestions made were again the armed forces, hairdressing, shop work or any kind of permanent paid employment.

Explanations of school performance

Even though five sets of parents in this group reported that their children had done as well as they expected all these parents mentioned that their child might have done better if other circumstances had been different. Two mentioned the school as a reason why their children had not achieved better standards. The remaining three parents mentioned family circumstances, usually large families to be looked after. Of the three sets of parents who were disappointed, none mentioned factors within their child as an explanation for failure. They all mentioned the attitude of the school and teachers to account for this.

Group differences

The differences discussed here are between the success-oriented group and both failure-prone groups.

For perception of school performance, 75% of the parents of the success-oriented children felt that their child was doing better than the others in the class. The remaining 25% thought their child was performing about the same as the rest of the class. In contrast, 6% of the parents of the failure-prone children felt that their child was performing better than most, 75% thought their child was performing about the same as the others and the remaining 19% thought their child was performing worse than the others in the class.

Whilst these perceptions of school performance were very different for the two groups, expectations were very similar. For the success-oriented group, 75% of the parents reported that their child had done as well as they had expected. For the remaining 25% their child had done better than expected. In a similar way 75% of the parents of the failure-prone children also reported that their child had done as well as they expected. The remaining 25% had done less well than had been expected. Differences emerged in the type of occupations these two groups hoped their children would achieve. For the success-oriented group seven out of the eight parents mentioned some form of

higher education. In contrast, no parents in the second group suggested higher education.

In the last area for analysis, that is explanations of school performance, differences were marked. The parents in the first group all mentioned their own role as supportive parents as a significant factor in their child's achievement. Seventy-five percent of these parents went on to describe the reasons for their child's success in terms of the child's own intrinsic motivation and interest. None mentioned intelligence per se but they were clearly identifying internal attributions. The school in their opinion had only helped to direct and extend their children. In contrast, the second group explained the success and the failure of their children in terms of external reasons. Of the eleven parents who said their child was doing as well as expected, nine mentioned external factors to explain their performance; most often identifying the school. One did mention internal factors, specifically intelligence; the remaining parent declined to answer. The five parents who perceived their child as having not performed as they expected, all mentioned external reasons. These ranged from difficulties at home, to large classes, to hearing and sight difficulties.

Summary

Several interesting features of this enquiry emerged.

Firstly, 75% of parents whose child in the view of the school was failing quite significantly, regarded their child as doing as well as the other children. Secondly, 75% of the parents of the children in both groups reported that their child was doing as well as they expected. Even though the career expectations were radically different for these two groups, the important issue is that the children who were perceived as failing in the school system did not experience this perception at home. We could assume from this information that these children were valued unconditionally and enjoyed positive regard at home. Unlike home, school life is dominated by the ability of children to achieve academically. Often because of this emphasis, personal success and value become contingent upon academic achievement.

4.7 Case Studies

Eight case studies are presented here. These include a study of a counselled failure-prone child and a success-oriented child in each of the four classes. Since the experiences of the children are influenced by teacher style and teacher perception, a profile of each teacher is included. In this way the experiences of each pair of children can be compared within the same class.

Class A

The teacher of Class A was described earlier as a 'group instructor'. This 'teacher-type' is characterised by a high level of group interaction and a low level of questioning, but within this a high level of open questions. There is also a high level of informational aspects of teaching; that is, telling children what to do and giving feedback on work and effort. This style of teaching is regarded in the 'Oracle study' (Galton et al 1980) as having characteristics judged to be the most beneficial to teaching and learning.

The atmosphere in class was welcoming and the teacher was always available to help children solve problems. He used much encouragement and praise and had high levels of expectation in terms of work and behaviour and all the

children seemed to meet these expectations.

This teacher used effort as the main perception related to teaching and learning. Effort is an internal, unstable and controllable attribution. It was suggested that this teacher perceived lack of effort as accounting for the difficulties of the failure-prone children. He did not perceive lack of ability which is an internal, stable and uncontrollable attribution which suggests that little can be done to help failure-prone children.

Case Study 1. Joanne (success-oriented)

Joanne was the elder of two girls from a two parent family. She had joined this school only the term before having recently moved into the area.

The Current Position

Joanne had settled into this class very well. She was reading at a level three years and one month above her chronological age. She had a high score in the self-esteem scale missing only two points at the beginning of the experimental period. At the end of the experimental period she scored maximum points. The IAR showed that she regarded performance in school to be due mainly to internal attributions, a position she did not alter after the six months. When faced with a forced choice between effort and

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Case Study: Joanne (Success-oriented)

Joanne is a 35-year-old female who has been working for the same company for 10 years. She is a highly motivated and successful employee who has been promoted several times. She is currently working as a senior manager and is responsible for a team of 15 employees. She is a very organized and detail-oriented person who is always looking for ways to improve her work. She is a very hardworking and dedicated person who is always willing to go above and beyond for her company.

Background Information

Joanne was born in a small town in the Midwest. She is the only child of a single mother who worked as a nurse. She graduated from high school with honors and went on to attend a state university where she earned a Bachelor's degree in Business Administration. She then went on to attend a graduate school where she earned a Master's degree in Business Administration. She has been married for 5 years and has two children. She is a very active person who enjoys playing tennis and reading. She is a very organized and detail-oriented person who is always looking for ways to improve her work. She is a very hardworking and dedicated person who is always willing to go above and beyond for her company.

ability, Joanne gave each equal weighting on both occasions.

The Child's Perceptions

Joanne regarded herself as successful in school due to her own effort. She also perceived her teacher and peer group as regarding her as successful due to her own effort. She did however regard her parents as perceiving her as successful due to her ability. Joanne maintained this position six months later.

Friendship Patterns

Joanne had a very high number of friendship choices. She emerged as the star of the girls and in second position in the class overall. She was a member of a 'clique' of four girls.

The Parents' Perceptions

Joanne's mother was happy with the school, following some initial difficulties. She immediately identified internal attributions to account for Joanne's success at school. These were factors such as intelligence and self-motivation. Joanne had always been keen to learn and was interested in the world around her. Joanne's mother also identified her own role as a factor in her children's

success. She commented, 'I am devoted to my children and this security has helped the intelligence they had to blossom.' For the future, Joanne's mother mentioned her hopes that Joanne would go to university and have her own career and independence before she considered marriage and a family.

The Teacher's Perceptions

Joanne's teacher highly valued self-motivation and effort in his perceptions of teaching and learning. He perceived Joanne as being well-motivated, showing settled behaviour, having an even temper, displaying good self-discipline, having high ability and high self-esteem. He held Joanne in very positive regard.

Classroom Experience

Joanne sat with three other girls who also had above average attainment. The class was quiet and hardworking with a very pleasant atmosphere in which children were happy to approach the teacher for advice. The teacher was always welcoming and positive and led the children through a process of solving their own problems. Joanne's outstanding achievements were never made public. She was encouraged to work hard and compete against herself as were all the other children. Joanne's behaviour was exemplary, she concentrated for 84% of the time observed, being

distracted for only 2% of her time.

The Future Perspective

Joanne presented as a very successful and well-adjusted girl. She perceived herself as successful and was perceived by significant others as such. Her teacher was aware of her needs and helped her to extend her performance in a caring sensitive manner which was of benefit to all the children. It is likely that Joanne will go on to fulfill her mother's expectations.

Case Study 2. Nicholas (counselled failure-prone)

Nicholas was from a two-parent family in which he was the third boy in a family of six boys. Their ages ranged from eleven months to eighteen years. Nicholas had attended the school since nursery.

The Current Position

Nicholas was having difficulties with reading and had been given extra help for three years, this extra help had now stopped due to lack of resources. Nicholas had a reading age seventeen months behind his chronological age. He also had a very low score of 8 for self-esteem, the average for the failure-prone group being 12. Nicholas had a low score on the IAR which suggested that he explained reasons for

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Case Study 2. Nicholas (counselled failure-prone)

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school performance in terms of external factors. On the forced choice between effort and ability, both internal attributions, Nicholas slightly favoured effort.

The Child's Perceptions

At the beginning of the experimental period Nicholas claimed that he saw himself as successful due to his own effort. He claimed that significant others also shared this perception and he maintained this position at the end of the experimental period. But during one of the counselling sessions he very emotionally admitted that he found reading very difficult but he believed no one else knew this.

Friendship Patterns

Nicholas remained on the fringe of a fairly well-defined group of boys in his class. He was ranked ninth out of fourteen boys and joint fourteen out of twenty-six children. He did enjoy two mutual choices, that is, he chose a particular boy and was chosen by the same boy on two occasions. Nicholas was not a neglectee, even though he was in the fourth quartile.

The Parents' Perceptions

Nicholas's mother was very defensive at first in discussing Nicholas, she seemed to be relieved that Nicholas was at

least better than his brother. She felt that Nicholas was as good as all the other children in the class in his work, except in reading and she praised the school for providing well for Nicholas's needs. Overall she felt that Nicholas was not very intelligent but that he was a 'good boy' who would 'do alright' when he left school.

The Teacher's Perceptions

The teacher used effort as his main perception related to teaching and learning. Throughout the experimental period this teacher regarded both failure-prone children in his class as not showing enough self-motivation. This was particularly applied to Nicholas.

Classroom Experience

The whole class was organised into groups of four children. Nicholas sat with three other children who were described as having average attainment; they seemed to cooperate very well together. Nicholas always appeared happy in class; his low attainment was never made public and he seemed to concentrate very well. During the time he was observed he concentrated for 82% of his time which was almost as well as the success-oriented child in this class. He had the best concentration time of the whole failure-prone sample and better than some of the success-oriented children in other classes. The curriculum in the class was varied and

stimulating. There was always a class topic to which all the children were encouraged to contribute.

Counselling

Nicholas was very quiet and nervous during the first counselling sessions. He did become more talkative but he was never completely at ease. He liked the idea of the 'mountains' and he was able to set himself very precise objectives. Nicholas saw his future performance in school as wholly dependent on his teacher whom he seemed to idolise. He used external, stable and uncontrollable attributions to explain his past performance. Much effort was made during the counselling sessions to emphasise his own responsibility for his own learning. It took some weeks for Nicholas to accept this idea but during the last few sessions he was pleased to set himself objectives and know that he had reached them.

After six months counselling Nicholas had gained 9 months in his reading score which was a good achievement (compared with a mean gain of 8.6 months for the counselled group and 4.6 months for the non-counselled failure-prone group). Nicholas also improved his self-esteem score, gaining 6 points (compared to a mean gain of 4.25 for the counselled group and 0.25 for the non-counselled group). In the IAR, Nicholas showed a more modest gain of only 1 (compared with a mean score of 2.25 for the counselled group and 0.9 for the non-counselled group). This low IAR

score is possibly accounted for by the time it took for Nicholas to grasp the idea that he must be responsible for his own performance.

The Future Perspective

Nicholas had had extra help with reading for four years now and had made minimal gains. His extra tuition had ceased three months before this study commenced, due to a lack of resources. Over the experimental period, Nicholas made gains in reading of nine months which is probably the greatest gains he had made in previous similar periods. It could be that past attention to reading failure had made Nicholas self-conscious and anxious. The counselling had helped him to take more responsibility for his own learning and future counselling would help to continue this process of taking responsibility. This could be provided alongside classroom intervention planned by the teacher to give Nicholas short-term goals to achieve for himself.

Comparisons of Class A targeted children

Although there were many differences between the attainment of these two children, their experience of school was very similar. The teacher treated them in exactly the same way; they were not personally evaluated according to their level of performance. Now that remedial reading teaching had

stopped for Nicholas, his attainments were never made public just as Joanne's attainments were not made public either. Both children were encouraged to progress at their own pace. The suggestions outlined above may help to increase Nicholas's motivation and achievement within the positive ethos of this class.

Class B

The teacher of Class B was described earlier as a 'style changer'. This teacher-type is characterised by a high level of task supervision questions and a high level of statements of critical control. This style of teacher is regarded in the 'Oracle study' (Galton et al 1980) as having characteristics judged to be of least benefit to the act of teaching.

The atmosphere in the classroom was tense and anxious for all the children, especially the failure-prone children who suffered much ill-feeling. This teacher interacted with the children in a extremely negative way, using much sarcasm and verbal abuse. Several of the failure-prone children suffered demoralising experiences in this class.

This teacher used ability as her main construct related to teaching and learning. Five of the six failure-prone children were regarded as not bright, not capable and not

diligent, suggesting that this teacher perceived these children as not having ability. This is an internal, stable and uncontrollable attribution which implies that their situation cannot be changed.

Case Study 3 Andrew (success-oriented)

Andrew was from a two parent family and he had one younger brother at the same school. He had attended this school since he was four years old.

The Current Position

Andrew was doing very well at school, he had a reading age two and a half years in excess of his chronological age. He had a very high score on the self-esteem scale, missing only one point. On the IAR, Andrew had a high internal score; that is, he used mainly internal attributions to account for performance in school. When faced with a forced choice between ability and effort Andrew scored an equal balance between the two.

The Child's Perceptions

Andrew regarded his performance in school as successful due to his own effort. He regarded his teacher and peer group as perceiving him also as successful due to his own effort. He judged his parents as perceiving him as successful due

to ability. These perceptions did not alter over the six months.

Friendship Patterns

Andrew was the most popular boy in the class and in second position overall. He enjoyed many mutual choices.

The Parents' Perceptions

Andrew's mother was extremely happy with the school and felt that it had been very good in extending and enhancing her son's obvious ability. She identified internal factors contributing to Andrew's present level of performance in school; in particular his own ability and interest. She also emphasised her own role in extending and stimulating him at home. The family expected Andrew to progress into higher education and to pursue a professional career.

The Teacher's Perceptions

For this teacher Andrew was an ideal pupil. He was rated most favourable on every construct both before and after the experimental period.

Classroom Experience

Andrew sat at a group table with the three other children

described by this teacher as very successful. The unstructured observations showed that this was the only group of children who ever escaped criticism for talking in class. Andrew was never personally threatened as were the failure-prone children, but he was affected by the tension in the class. Often his group appeared to look sympathetically upon the plight of the failure-prone children. Andrew's work was often held up as an example of how work should be produced and Andrew always looked uneasy in these situations. The structured observations showed that Andrew concentrated for 96% of his time, a higher score than any of the other children in the sample.

The Future Perspective

Andrew will probably go on to fulfill the expectations described by his mother. He may find he enjoys school more when he moves on to another class where there is less critical control.

Case Study 4 Gayle (failure-prone counselled)

Gayle was eight years old and from a two-parent family with five children; three girls and two boys. She was the second child with one older sister who had just left the school. Her younger brother had just started the school. Gayle had attended this school since she joined the nursery.

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The Current Position

Gayle was 15 months behind in her reading according to the reading test. Of the six failure-prone children in this class, Gayle was failing least. On the self-esteem scale, Gayle had the lowest score of all the failure-prone children in the sample. The mean score was 12.1 and Gayle scored only 4. Out of the 20 choices on the IAR Gayle made nine internal attributions as opposed to 11 external attributions. When given a forced choice between the internal attributions of ability and effort Gayle chose ability more often as an explanation of performance in school.

The Child's Perceptions

Gayle perceived herself as a successful child and judged her parents as perceiving her as a success. She did however see her teacher and peer group as perceiving her as a failure. During the counselling sessions, Gayle revealed that she felt that she wasn't doing very well in this class and that the reason for this was to do with the teacher. The teacher didn't like her she maintained and wouldn't let her have enough reading books. If she had the books she felt that she would be able to progress. These external, stable and uncontrollable attributions although unproductive in terms of motivation would have least negative effect on Gayle's self-evaluation.

Friendship Patterns

Gayle was the least popular girl in this class, only one boy was less popular overall. Gayle was actually given three second choices out of a total of 12 choices all of which were for the friendship situation as opposed to the academic situation. She did not have any mutual choices on any of the tests, which made her one of the two neglectees in this class.

The Parents' Perceptions

Gayle's parents had a very positive perception of their daughter. At home she was described as a reliable and trustworthy girl. In school they felt that she was probably 'a little bit better' than the other children in the class. Gayle's mother did mention her daughter's current difficulties with reading but she firmly blamed the teacher for this problem. She claimed that the teacher picked on Gayle and made her school life very unpleasant. Gayle had been happy in school in her opinion until she came into this class. Gayle's mother felt that she would be a lot happier when she reached middle school.

The Teacher's Perceptions

The teacher perceived Gayle as being: not bright, not

capable and not diligent. She went on to describe Gayle as being the least able in the class, trying rarely and as an appalling reader. Gayle had in fact a reading age better than four of the other failure-prone children in this class who were not regarded as negatively.

Classroom Experience

At the beginning of the experimental period, Gayle was sitting on her own at a table facing out of the window with her back to the class. Her desk was adjacent to the teacher's desk but Gayle had her back to her desk and to the blackboard, which was used frequently. The other children sat in groups of four, with the exception of the failure-prone children who sat in twos along one side of the room. At the end of the experimental period Gayle was sitting at the back of the class still on her own but now she was facing the teacher and the board. Both the structured and unstructured observations showed that Gayle concentrated very little on her work and she spent much time gazing around the classroom. She concentrated for only 48% of the time which was typical for the failure-prone children in this class. This is in contrast to an average of 76% for the success-oriented group. Most often the work was too difficult for Gayle, she was frequently expected to compete with children who were reading at a level four years ahead of her. There was very little incentive to even begin to compete. Perhaps this was fortunate, as failure

after repeated effort, as the literature review suggests, can lead to depression and to learned helplessness. Although Gayle was just managing to avoid these effects she suffered much humiliation and ridicule. On one occasion after Gayle had been struggling to sound out her words at the front of the class with the whole class listening the teacher shouted, 'go away (pushing her) I can't bear to hear anymore, you will never learn to read, you're rubbish'. For Gayle this kind of abuse was commonplace.

Counselling

Gayle thoroughly enjoyed these sessions although her teacher openly begrudged her these weekly 'treats'. Gayle was using mainly external, stable and uncontrollable attributions to account for her difficulties in class. As the sessions progressed it became clear that it would be impossible to encourage Gayle toward internal, unstable and controllable attributions such as effort, as her dilemma in class was so complex. At first it was possible to accept her perception of the teacher but encourage her nevertheless to choose a certain piece of work in a given week to really put all her effort into. Gayle specified what this effort would entail: for example, neat writing, faster speed of working and trying to get it right. Unfortunately this did not work for several reasons -- most often the work was so unsuited to Gayle's level of attainment that she got it wrong. The situation became such

that failure after repeated effort was going to have an even worse effect on Gayle's self-esteem and future performance than the external stable and uncontrollable attributions she was using. The main thrust of these sessions became more devoted to accepting these attributions and as a consequence steering her away from internal stable and uncontrollable attributions, in this case lack of ability. Gayle never did come to use the 'mountains' in the way that the other children did. She was very clear in her thinking that when she got to middle school she would be happier with school.

After the six months counselling, Gayle's level of reading remained exactly the same. She did however improve significantly in her self-esteem score, although it did remain the lowest in the counselled group. Gayle's position on the IAR also did not alter. She continued to make more external attributions but her position on the forced choice between ability and effort scale did change; Gayle reversed her original position, now believing her performance to be more due to a lack of effort than ability.

The Future Perspective

Gayle's own perception of the perceptions of her parents, peers and teacher were very accurate. She did undergo some quite demoralising experiences at school and it can be seen how these experiences could move Gayle toward a state of

learned helplessness if the current situation continued. The counselling sessions which spanned most of the school year may have played a major role in preventing this situation. One major advantage was that Gayle's parents had positive perceptions of their daughter; she was not a failure in their estimation, a factor which must have had a significant bearing on Gayle's attempt to preserve her self-esteem. Gayle moved to the middle school the following year, where performance will depend very much on how she is perceived by the teachers and the opportunity she has to experience success. Without the expectation of success, Gayle will have no motivation to succeed. Perhaps during the years after she leaves school, Gayle may recover from the negative effects of self-devaluation experienced in the school system.

Comparisons of Class B targeted children

Andrew and Gayle represented to this teacher the most able and the least able respectively. Because the teacher held high ability in such high esteem, Gayle became the least worthy child in this class and Andrew the most worthy. As a consequence, Andrew became acclaimed and praised and Gayle ridiculed and demoralised. The day-to-day experiences of Gayle led her to a situation characteristic of learned helplessness. Because of the organisation of the class and the attitudes of the teacher she was unable even to begin to try as it was impossible for her to succeed. In

counselling, she could only be encouraged to externalise her failure. Andrew also experienced negative effects, he was often embarrassed that his work was used as an excuse to criticise other children. In this way, he too did not escape the tension and anxiety of this class, although he suffered to a much lesser extent than Gayle.

Class C

The teacher of Class C was described earlier as 'an individual monitor'. This teacher-type is characterised by: a high level of individual pupil contact, and a low level of class and group interaction, a low level of questioning and a high level of non-verbal interaction characterised mainly by marking pupil's work.

This classroom was fairly quiet but not silent. The teacher used a lot of control strategies to keep this class in order. In particular she made much use of positive reinforcement with the whole class. During the observation times she seemed tense and rarely smiled although she was neither dominant nor critical.

This teacher used constructs of effort, ability, self-esteem and aggression to perceive her children. Ability as a construct was not used to group the failure-prone children and they were more often distinguished in the analysis by lack of motivation and by

being aggressive. Ability although used as a construct seemed to be less important than effort. This suggests that this teacher believes that increased effort may have some bearing on the performance of the failure-prone children. Aggression was a recurrent construct important in this teacher's perception of this class. The way in which the teacher uses this construct is perhaps an example of an internal, unstable and controllable attribution which in her opinion contributed negatively to school performance.

Case Study 5 Simon (success-oriented)

Simon lived with his younger sister, mother and step-father. He had been attending the school since he was four. His sister was at the time in the Nursery.

The Current Position

Simon was reading at a level of over three years ahead of his chronological age which he maintained over the period of the study. He had a high score of 20 on the self-esteem scale missing only 4 points. He gained 3 of these points after the six months study period. The IAR showed that Simon regarded performance in school to be split almost equally between internal and external attributions both at the beginning and the end of the study period. On the forced choice between effort and ability he gave full weighting to ability at the beginning but he gave equal

weighting at the end of the study period.

The Child's Perceptions

Simon perceived himself as successful due to his own ability and he also perceived significant others as regarding him as successful due to ability. There was only one change at the end of the experimental period when he judged himself as successful due to his own effort rather than due to ability.

Friendship Patterns

Simon was a very popular boy in class and was in the first quartile. He scored 21 which put him in second position out of 17 boys and in joint second position overall. He had many mutual choices and was a member of the most popular group within the class.

The Parents' Perceptions

Simon's parents were very happy with his performance at school and felt that he had performed better than they had expected. Simon's mother recognised both her own role in encouraging and stimulating Simon and Simon's own intrinsic interest and capability. She identified several internal attributions to account for his success. Both parents hoped that their son would go on to higher education and gain

entry into a profession.

The Teacher's Perceptions

Simon's teacher perceived effort, ability self-evaluation and aggression to be important concepts relating to teaching and learning. She perceived Simon as not upset by a challenge, out-going, not spoilt, accepting of criticism, non-aggressive and well-motivated. He was very favourably perceived.

Classroom Experience

The children were grouped according to ability into four large groups of 6-8 children. The class was usually quiet but needed a lot of control by the teacher to keep it in order. All children worked at their own pace usually through text-books for both English and Maths. The teacher was positive and rewarding towards the pupils, often praising individual effort and attainment. Simon's group were often noisy and unsettled, they chatted and laughed together and had to be reminded often by the teacher to be quiet. This behaviour was reflected in the structured observations made of Simon. He concentrated for only 58% of the time although he was distracted from his work for only 2% of the time. He spent 38% of his time interacting with other children. This was the lowest ^{concentration} score of all the success-oriented sample. This may be because Simon was not

stretched enough in class. The curriculum was rather restricted to text-books, there were no other interesting topics for the children to develop. The only variation in this day-to-day routine was basic art work and television.

The Future Perspective

Simon will probably go on to fulfill his parents hopes but for now in school he could benefit from more interesting work. If the middle school provides a similar unimaginative curriculum Simon may have been prevented from reaching his full potential in the school system.

Case Study 6 Cory (failure-prone counselled)

Cory was an eight year old boy who came from a two-parent family. He had one younger sister at the same school. Cory had been at the school for only 2 years although he had been to another First school since he was 4 years old.

The Current Position

Cory had the greatest deficit in reading age of all the failure-prone children in the study, he was 25 months behind his chronological age. He had had remedial reading teaching for one year at this school but it had now ceased. His score for self-esteem was also low, 10 as compared with a mean of 12.1 for the rest of the group. On the IAR Cory

scored 12 external points as opposed to 8 internal points. This suggests that he attributes the reasons for school performance to external factors. When faced with a forced choice between ability and effort he judged it to be an equal balance between the two.

The Child's Perceptions

Cory judged his performance in school to be successful due to his own effort. Later during the counselling sessions Cory revealed that he was having problems but that these were because the school didn't teach him properly. He used many external stable and uncontrollable attributions to explain his difficulties in school. For example, it was because his dad had been ill and he couldn't concentrate at school. Cory regarded his parents, peers and teacher as regarding him as successful due to his own effort, this situation did not change over the six months.

Friendship Patterns

Cory was the least popular of the failure-prone children in this class but there were other children who were less popular. These children were members of the ethnic minorities. Cory had only two mutual choices both with the same child. He had a low overall score of 4 which put him 13th out of 17 boys and in joint 21st position out of 29 children. Although Cory received only a few choices he was

neither isolated in the class nor was he part of the main friendship group of boys.

The Parents' Perceptions

Cory's parents were quite critical about the school and blamed it for all Cory's problems. They maintained that Cory had done well at his last school and that he was probably just as capable as other children in his class. Cory had always been a nervous child they explained and his last school had always been sympathetic and made allowances for him, but this one had not. They did however report a noticeable change in Cory recently, they felt he was much more positive and at ease about coming to school, this was possibly due to counselling. Overall Cory's parents used the same pattern of external stable and uncontrollable attributions to explain his behaviour that Cory used himself.

The Teacher's Perceptions

The teacher perceived Cory positively as not being upset by a challenge, accepting criticism, outgoing and not spoilt. She also perceived him negatively as aggressive, untidy, anxious to please and implusive. This teacher did not use low ability to perceive the failure-prone children and this was therefore not applied to Cory. The teacher may also have been regarding Cory's difficulties as due to external

stable and uncontrollable attributions albeit different external, stable and uncontrollable attributions to those used by Cory and his parents. For example, social background, which might in her view account for his aggression and untidiness.

Classroom Experiences

This class was arranged in four large ability groups of 6-8 children. The general atmosphere was tense, the teacher had to concentrate the whole of her attention on this class all of the time. The children were kept quiet but all the time they had the potential to become unruly. Cory was often a leader in any unruly behaviour and he in particular had to be kept well under control. The teacher was very positive with him often rewarding him for his efforts. The children worked mainly from text books at their own level and although the overall curriculum was dull and uninspiring the children were never compared to each other, each child was treated as an individual. Cory cooperated on his work for less than half his time, the pupil record showed a concentration time of only 38% of the observed time. This was not untypical among the failure-prone children in this class. Cory was the only child in the whole of the failure-prone sample who showed disruptive behaviour, 8% of the observed time was spent in this way.

Counselling

Cory was very keen on the counselling sessions and in particular with the 'mountains'. He was very positive about himself and what he could achieve each week. He used many external stable and uncontrollable attributions to account for his performance and an effort was made throughout the counselling to encourage Cory to take responsibility for his own learning. There was no difficulty in helping him to accept that he could improve his performance by his own effort. Towards the end of the counselling time he really got involved in setting his own objectives for his work. Often these were to improve his writing which he thought was appalling or to complete more pages of his English and Maths books. He did become more hard-working and more positive generally. This may have been the change that his parents reported that they had noticed.

After 6 months counselling Cory did gain 12 months in reading which was one of the best improvements made in the counselled group. He also gained 3 points on his self-esteem score although this was less than the average gain for this group. Cory also made a small gain in using the IAR but it was again less than the average for the group. On the forced choice between ability and effort Cory scored 5 for effort and 1 for ability as opposed to a balance between the two scored at the beginning of the study period.

The Future Perspective

Although Cory made gains in his reading he was still well behind. He could be given years of 'remedial' help but the factor which was missing was Cory's own will to achieve. In the absence of self-motivation Cory was producing very little. The structure of these counselling sessions did help Cory to become more self-motivated and to realise that his own effort made a difference. These counselling sessions made some difference but they would need to continue for a very long time in order to make a lasting difference.

Comparisons of Class C targeted children

Cory and Simon had very diverse levels of attainment. Their reading levels were actually separated by five years. But their experiences in class were very similar. Both boys did not concentrate very well and although Cory was often disruptive the teacher had to pay extra attention to both of them. It is possible that they were both equally bored with the uninspiring curriculum of this class. The teacher's approach to both was similar. She attempted to assess where each was and give them work to move them forward from that level. She was not critical of Cory's low attainment nor did she praise Simon's high achievement. If anything she was more likely to be critical of Simon's pace of work expecting that he should produce better. This

teacher seemed quite sympathetic towards Cory. Being of worth in this class was not contingent upon achievement it was more likely to be contingent upon behaviour. Simon and Cory were equal in the extra teacher attention they required in order to behave even though the reasons for their misconduct may have been different.

Class D

The teacher of this class was in the same category as teacher C, that is, 'an individual monitor'.

This class was extremely noisy, often children yelled at each other across the room. The teacher rarely spoke loudly and very often he could not be heard above the noise of the class, he spent most of his time sitting at his desk marking children's work.

Teacher D rated constructs of social behaviour and motivation as important for learning and teaching. Ability was used as a construct but it had much less importance being the last construct of the second component. Lack of ability as a construct was not used to link the failure-prone children even though they had the lowest attainment of the children in this class. The way the teacher used these constructs suggests that he may use internal, unstable and controllable attributions to explain the low attainment of some pupils, in this case lack of

effort. His emphasis on social behaviour may also suggest that he was using external, stable and uncontrollable attributions also to explain performance.

Case Study 7 Scott (success-oriented)

Scott was the only child of a two parent family. He had been attending the school since he was four years old.

Current Position

Scott was reading at a level which was two years and nine months ahead of his chronological age. He maintained this level throughout the study period. Scott had a high score of 20 on the self-esteem scale. This score reduced by 2 points after six months. The IAR showed that Scott judged performance in school to be more due to internal than external attributions. This score also reduced slightly over six months. On the forced choice between ability and effort Scott gave a greater weighting to ability than effort but he changed after six months and gave effort the greater weighting.

The Child's Perceptions

Scott regarded himself as successful due to his own effort at the beginning and end of the study. He also perceived his teacher, peers and parents as regarding him as

successful due to his own effort.

Friendship Patterns

Scott was a popular boy in class, scoring 18 which made him 3rd among the boys and joint 5th in the class overall. He was in the 1st quartile.

The Parents' Perceptions

Scott's parents were not very happy with the school, they felt that it was not offering their son enough stimulation and competition. They gave internal attributions to explain Scott's success so far, factors such as 'he was always very bright' and 'he was always interested'. They realised that their son was very capable and they encouraged him at home. They expected him to do well in future in spite of the school, perhaps go to university and possibly read a subject such as law.

The Teacher's Perceptions

Scott was perceived by his teacher as: having good work presentation, being eager to take part in discussion, having good social behaviour, having good attitudes, showing confidence, being a hard worker showing high ability and being good at maths. He was favourably perceived.

Classroom Experience

Scott sat with five other children who were the most advanced group in the class. This group was particularly noisy in class and often the teacher took quite a time to quieten them. They rarely went up to the teacher to have their work explained as the other children did. They seemed to easily understand the work which was set. Scott often had to sit on his own to complete his work and it was whilst he was sitting alone that most of the systematic observations were made. The observations showed that he concentrated well on his own, that is, for 78% of the time being distracted for only 12% of the time. The general noise level and movement of children made this quite an achievement.

The Future Perspective

Scott had a lot of factors in his favour which would contribute to the kind of future his parents envisaged for him. They were probably quite accurate when they said that the school did not stimulate or extend Scott adequately. In spite of this it is likely that Scott would go on to have a successful career.

Case Study 8 Michael (failure-oriented counselled)

Michael was from a one parent family. He had a younger brother and sister who were both at the school. Michael was greatly influenced by his maternal grandfather who took a keen interest in him. Michael had attended this school since Nursery.

The Current Position

Michael was struggling with reading, he scored twenty-two months behind his chronological age on the reading test. He had a high score on the self-esteem scale scoring 18, the mean score for the whole failure-prone group was 12.1. On the IAR Michael had a high internal score, that is, he used mainly internal attributions to account for performance in school. When given a forced choice between ability and effort, both internal attributions Michael saw school performance as due more to effort than ability.

The Child's Perceptions

Even though Michael was well behind with his reading and maths he regarded himself as successful due to his own effort. He also judged his teachers, peer group, parent and grandfather as perceiving him as successful due to his own effort. Michael never altered these perceptions throughout the course of the counselling. He only on one occasion felt

that with more effort in class he could perhaps progress better.

Friendship Patterns

Michael was quite a popular boy in class although he was in the third quartile. He scored eight in the sociometric tests which put him in ninth position out of fourteen boys and joint nineteenth out of the overall class. Michael enjoyed five mutual choices, two of which were from the most successful boys in the class.

The Parent's Perceptions

Michael's mother was very keen to discuss Michael's difficulties with reading, writing and maths. She volunteered the information that Michael had these difficulties but she did feel that he was around average in the class. She did not appear too worried about Michael's difficulties explaining that he took after her. She had never been too clever at school but she managed her life well, she imagined that Michael would do the same. Her only hope was that Michael would manage to go into the Navy which was his dearest wish.

The Teacher's Perceptions

The teacher perceived Michael positively as having high

self-esteem and being eager to take part in discussion. The teacher did group some pupils according to the construct of trying hard but Michael was excluded from this group. Ability as a construct was not used to group the failure-prone children.

Counselling

Michael approached the counselling sessions with vigour and enthusiasm. He was very articulate with a clear and precise idea of his position and performance in class. He volunteered the information that he was behind with his work and maintained that this was because of all the playing that went on in his previous classes and now that he was doing proper work he had a lot of catching up to do. All of the reasons Michael gave for his problems fitted into the category of external, stable and uncontrollable attributions. One of the reasons he gave during some of the early counselling sessions was that he did not get on with his reading because he didn't like the reading books in this particular class so he didn't bother to read them. Michael very much welcomed the idea of the 'mountains' and even said that this was just what he needed to help him get on. Michael set himself very clear objectives each week and he did seem to strive to work hard. He also seemed very honest in his treatment of the 'mountains'. Sometimes he had slipped back down the slope but always the reason was

something external to himself, that is, external, stable and uncontrollable causes. Most often the setbacks were said to be due to feeling ill or toothache which prevented him from working. The main aim of the counselling sessions was to encourage Michael to take charge of his own learning and to realise the importance of his own effort. This was an idea which Michael resisted and he was upset sometimes when excuses such as toothache and feeling ill weren't accepted. He was not very keen to admit that these might be excuses for him not to bother and that the only person who was losing out was himself. These excuses did disappear toward the end of the counselling and Michael did seem to take a more serious view of his own progress in class.

After the six months counselling Michael had gained eleven months in his reading which was quite a pleasing gain. He had also improved his self-esteem score by 4 points which put him above the mean for the success-oriented group. Michael also improved his score on the IAR , he made mainly internal attributions for school performance again more than the mean for the success-oriented group. Similarly Michael's score on the ability and effort scale improved. Michael saw his performance in school due exclusively to his own effort even though he used external, stable and uncontrollable attributions at the beginning.

Classroom Experience

Michael sat with a group of children who had average and below average attainment. Michael seemed to identify more with the children who had above average attainment as he often went to join them at breaktimes. The systematic and unstructured observations showed that Michael concentrated for only 54% of his time as opposed to 28% of the time, when he was distracted. He was quiet in class and seemed to be able to blot out the excessive noise. All the work in class seemed to be at an individual level usually the children worked through text books at their own pace. Michael was quite happy to go up to the teacher for explanations which were given in a quiet encouraging manner. The curriculum in the class was dull and routine and it is possible that Michael was bored. He had many interests which were never exploited.

The Future Perspective

Michael appeared to have a good sense of self. This was reflected in the tests, his friendship patterns and in his teacher's perception of him. He had a very happy-go-lucky attitude to school and to life in general. He was aware of his short fall in attaining literacy skills but he was adjusting to this by using external stable and uncontrollable attributions to explain his performance. These attributions will have had benefits in preserving his

already positive self-esteem but such attributions would not help to improve levels of literacy. The counselling did succeed in making Michael recognise his own role in his own learning and it may have been during the counselling that Michael was confronted for the first time with the suggestion that his reasons for not working harder in class were just excuses and that the real reason was because he didn't try. Michael did accept these suggestions at the time and the final results did reflect a beginning by Michael to take responsibility for his own learning. This kind of approach to Michael's situation would need to continue in the future to show any lasting effect; otherwise he is likely to drift through school continuing to progress very little.

Comparisons of Class D targeted children

Although Scott and Michael had such different levels of achievement in school their levels of self-esteem as measured by the Lawseq were very similar. Michael achieved a higher score than Scott at the end of the experimental period. Both boys worked at their own pace through text-books for literacy skills. Michael struggled with his occasionally and often went to the teacher for help. In contrast Scott seemed to progress through his with ease. The observations of this class suggested that the success-oriented and failure-prone children were both unstimulated and uninspired by the dull routine curriculum

of this class. Scott often had to sit alone to do his work because of the disruption that was caused at his table by the success-oriented children. The general ethos of this class while not conducive to work and effort for all the children did not equate worthiness with the ability to achieve academically.

Summary

The success-oriented child and the failure-prone child in class A had quite different attainments but they had a very similar school experience. Neither child was personally evaluated according to their level of performance. The counselled child gained 9 months in reading score and 6 points on his self-esteem score. Their teacher was described earlier as a 'group instructor' which is a style of teaching judged to be the most beneficial to teaching and learning. This teacher used effort, which is an internal, unstable and controllable attribution, as the main perception related to teaching and learning.

In class B Andrew, the success-oriented child, and Gayle, the failure-oriented child, represented for the teacher the most able and the least able respectively. Their experience of school was very different. For Gayle it was a demoralising experience and for Andrew it brought praise and acclaim although he appeared to experience some anxiety at always being held up as a good example. Personal worth

in this class was equated with academic performance and as such Gayle came to be treated as not worthy. Gayle did not make any gains in reading over the counselling period. She did make good gains in her self-esteem score but it remained the lowest of all the counselled children. The teacher in class B was described earlier as a 'style changer' which is judged to be least beneficial to the act of teaching. This teacher used ability which is an internal, stable and uncontrollable attribution to perceive the processes of teaching and learning.

The attainments of the success-oriented child and the failure-prone child in class C were quite diverse. Their reading ages were separated by five years but their school experience was very similar. Both boys appeared to be equally bored by the uninspired curriculum of this class. Being of worth in this class was less likely to be contingent on achievement than it was to be contingent on behaviour. This counselled child made gains of 12 months on his reading score which was one of the best improvements made in the counselled group. He gained 3 points on the self-esteem score which was less than the average for the counselled group. The teacher in class C was described earlier as a 'an individual monitor'. This style is not very favourable as it is characterised mainly by a high level of non-verbal interaction usually directed towards marking individual pupils' work. This teacher used

The first part of the study was a pilot study to determine the feasibility of the study. The pilot study was conducted with 10 participants and the results showed that the study was feasible. The second part of the study was a main study with 30 participants. The results of the main study showed that the study was feasible and that the participants were able to complete the study. The results also showed that the study was a valid measure of the construct of interest. The third part of the study was a follow-up study to determine the long-term effects of the intervention. The results of the follow-up study showed that the intervention had a positive effect on the construct of interest.

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constructs of effort, ability, self-esteem and aggression to perceive her children. Ability as an internal, stable and uncontrollable attribution was not used to group the failure-prone children and seemed to have less importance for this teacher than effort which is an internal, unstable and controllable attribution.

In class D, Scott, the success-oriented child and Michael, the failure-prone child had quite different levels of achievement but their self-esteem scores were almost identical. Michael struggled with his work whereas Scott did his with ease. Both boys seemed to be unstimulated and uninspired by the dull curriculum of this class. Michael gained 11 months in his reading score which was higher than the mean for the group and 4 points in his self-esteem score which put him above the mean for the success-oriented group. The teacher of class D had a teaching style the same as the teacher in class C that is, an 'individual monitor'. Teacher D rated constructs of social behaviour and motivation as important for teaching and learning. Effort was used as an internal, unstable and controllable attribution but social behaviour was important suggesting that this teacher also used external, stable and uncontrollable attributions to explain performance in his class.

The effects of counselling

The statistical analysis of the effects of counselling with the failure-prone children in group 3, compared with the control group in group 2, showed that the counselled group made a significant improvement in their self-esteem scores. It would be expected that these gains in self-esteem would take some time to influence the classroom performance and achievement of the counselled children. Nevertheless the statistical comparison between the reading scores of the counselled group and the control group showed a trend toward improved reading scores on behalf of the counselled children even when the conservative Scheffe's t-test was used. A similar trend emerged for the increase in use of internal attributions by the counselled group compared to the control group.

The counselling sessions, some of which are outlined in the case studies, were very successful with most of the children. The aim of the counselling was to enable the children to take more personal responsibility for their work. In order to do this the children had to move along a continuum from external, stable and uncontrollable attributions (lack of ability) at the most negative end towards internal, unstable and controllable attributions

The effects of counselling

The statistical analysis of the effects of counselling with the failure-prone children in group 2, compared with the control group in group 3, showed that the counselled group made a significant improvement in their self-esteem scores. It would be expected that these gains in self-esteem would take some time to influence the classroom performance and achievement of the counselled children. Nevertheless the statistical comparison between the reading scores of the counselled group and the control group showed a trend toward improved reading scores on behalf of the counselled children even when the conservative Scheffé's t-test was used. A similar trend emerged for the increase in use of internal attributions by the counselled group compared to the control group.

The counselling sessions, some of which are outlined in the case studies, were very successful with most of the children. The aim of the counselling was to enable the children to take more personal responsibility for their work. In order to do this the children had to move along a continuum from external, stable and uncontrollable attributions (lack of ability) at the most negative end towards internal, unstable and controllable attributions

(effort) at the opposite end. All the children with the exception of two were able to use attributions of their own effort to account for their work at some point during the counselling. The two children who were not able to use effort attributions were exposed to a curriculum which was consistently inappropriate for their needs. The tasks were so unsuited to their needs that to allow these children to fail after increased effort would only have created a greater negative effect on their low self-esteem. These two children were encouraged to use external, unstable and uncontrollable attributions (e.g. difficulty of the task, mood of the teacher, bad luck) in preference to external, stable and uncontrollable attributions, such as lack of ability.

The process of counselling and hence the results of the counselling probably would have had a more powerful effect if the curriculum to which these children were exposed had been more suitable for their needs. The study did highlight the extent to which the curriculum provided unsuitable learning experiences for a large number of children. This particular aspect of classroom experience will be returned to later in this chapter.

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increase made by the counselled group levelled off after the counselling had ceased and both groups appeared to be increasing their reading scores at about the same rate. The delayed post-test was carried out after the children had been in their new 'middle schools' for two and a half months. All of these children were back in the same position that they had been in their previous schools. That is, they were perceived as 'failure-prone' children and as a consequence they not only had low reading attainment but they also had low self-esteem both of which were represented in their scores. It was unlikely that this situation would alter for this group of children. It is interesting that it was counselling and not direct intervention with reading which was able to produce not only higher self-esteem scores but also a trend towards better reading scores for the counselled group. In the absence of counselling the gains disappeared indicating that counselling may be a worthwhile form of intervention with these children but that it may need to be provided for a longer period of time.

The evidence suggests that attributional counselling had some advantages in improving the potential of some children, in this case, the reading scores and especially the self-esteem scores of the failure-prone children. The counselling helped most of the children change how they perceived themselves. Some of the children were able to grasp the idea that becoming more competent was a process

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over which they could have control and that being incompetent did not have to be a static state about which they could do nothing.

This achievement to reflect upon one's own self-control is, according to Feuerstein (as described by Sharron 1987), a crucial objective of the process by which individuals are enabled to reach their potential. Feuerstein has presented quite new ways of assessing children's potential and of fostering their cognitive development. For Feuerstein the awareness of one's own capacity to affect the world may increase the individual's internal locus of control and lead to greater readiness to accept responsibilities.

If children are to be enabled to fulfil their potential then they need to have a realistic idea of what they can do and how much effort it takes to achieve certain goals. The experience of failure for most of these children was not only obscuring their potential but it was transmitting messages of unworthiness and in some cases helplessness.

The experience of failure

The study highlighted the experience of failure for many of these failure-prone children. The study of friendship patterns of the success-oriented children and the failure-prone children showed that the failure-prone children were much less popular. Five of the sixteen

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failure-prone children were neglectees. Friendship patterns varied between classes. In Class B the failure-prone children were significantly less popular than the success-oriented children. In contrast, in class D differences were much less obvious, perhaps due to the fact that there was much less competition and academic pressure than in class B. The extent to which the low achievement of the failure-prone children is exposed in a class and the extent to which their achievement is devalued will have some bearing on the friendship patterns which develop. If a pupil is devalued by a teacher it would seem unlikely that other more valued pupils will choose that pupil as a friend. There was some evidence to support this in the study; only one of the failure-prone children in class D was chosen by a success-oriented child to be his partner in the 'friendship' option of the sociometric test. The children were not only separated by achievement but by friendship patterns also. In addition the one teacher who regarded ability as her most important construct also had within her class two children who did not receive any choices on the sociometric tests. These two children were regarded by this teacher as the least able suggesting that her attitude towards them as least valued members of the class was also represented in the attitude of the pupils. This is one of the complexities of the experience of failure for these pupils.

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features. Even though in the view of the school the two groups of children in this study had quite diverse achievements there was a considerable amount of agreement between the parents. Seventy-five per cent of the parents of the failure-prone and the success-oriented children felt that their child had done as well as expected. Their career choices were quite different: the parents of the failure-prone children were much less ambitious than the parents of the success-oriented children. There may have been social class differences which were not highlighted by the interview schedule but would be seen to account for these differences from a sociological perspective. This may be the case but such an explanation would obscure the important issue which this part of the investigation was intended to present. This is that the majority of the parents of the failure-prone children did not regard their children as failing at all. The perception of failure was part of the value system of the school only. We can assume that these children were valued unconditionally at home and enjoyed positive regard.

This would suggest that it is possible that for a large group of children in our schools who do not achieve the expectations of the school, the term special educational needs only has meaning within the school system. If this label creates a set of expectations which leads to a devaluing process within the school this can extend to a loss of self-control, helplessness and degrees of

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maladjustment which may influence the individual in school and outside of school and in the years after compulsory schooling has ended. The experience of positive regard at home may help to offset the effects of the devaluing process, but parents themselves can become part of the devaluing process and schools may find whole families alienated from the school system.

The ways in which teachers attributed the success and failure of their pupils was explored using the repertory grid method. Teachers A, C and D used internal, unstable and uncontrollable factors to account for the performance of children. This suggests that these three teachers did not perceive performance to be due to fixed ability, they were more likely to assume that the performance of the failure-prone children could be improved by their own effort. Teacher B used mainly internal, stable and uncontrollable attributions to account for performance, suggesting that performance was due to fixed ability. The two children in the counselled group referred to earlier who made least progress and who were unable to take a full part in the counselling process were from this teacher's class. The counselling may have prevented these two children from developing characteristics of learned helplessness. It is likely that the perceptions of the teacher may have had some bearing on the performance of these pupils. The sample is too small to enable this to be any more than a suggestion.

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The curriculum provided for the failure-prone children was uninspiring and inappropriate in all four classes. In class B the failure-prone children were most exposed to competition and failure. There was a range within this class on measured reading scores of five years yet much class teaching was conducted. In many tasks the children were required to do the same work and their results were often compared and made public. For the failure-prone children they often scored nil while the success-oriented children scored full marks. In other areas of the curriculum some text-books were provided but these were often not suited to the level of attainment of the children but to the expectation that 8 and 9 year olds ought to be able to do them. In class D the work was non-competitive and children were not publicly ridiculed but the curriculum was very dull and routine for all the pupils. The day consisted of movement through three tasks: English, Maths and Art and Craft. English and Maths were based entirely on text-books with children working through at their own pace. The failure-prone children constantly required explanation while some of the success-oriented children were often bored. The work in class C was a little more varied but it followed very much the same pattern as the work in class D. There was much more effort made by the teacher to encourage and support the efforts of the failure-prone children. Finally in class A the work was much more varied and interesting and children were often able to contribute to class work at their own level.

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However there was again use of common class text-books which did not cater for the needs of the failure-prone children. The systematic observations of the children in all four classes showed that the failure-prone children spent significantly less time co-operating on the learning task than their success-oriented peer group. Whether it is poor skills of cooperating on tasks which precipitates low achievement or the lack of success which precipitates uncooperative behaviour is another complexity of the experience of failure.

For the failure-prone children and the success-oriented children in all four classes there was quite a dynamic interaction between teacher, pupil and curriculum creating quite a complex and unique experience for every pupil. It was nevertheless the failure-prone children who were undergoing the most negative effects of this dynamism. The main source of their negative experience was their failure to cope with the demands of the curriculum.

A needs-based curriculum v a predetermined curriculum

The study so far has established that counselling based on attributional retraining can have success in raising the self-esteem and the reading scores of some children. The fact that this counselling led to a worthwhile response in the first place raises questions about the kinds of experiences the schools had provided up to this point. The

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failure-prone children had to a large extent been allowed to experience failure in school: the curriculum had failed to meet their needs. In all four classes focussed on in this study the teachers had attempted to provide a pre-determined curriculum rather than a needs-based curriculum. That is , the curriculum was not designed to meet the needs of the pupils, the pupils were expected to match up to the expectations of the pre-determined curriculum. It is in this way that failure to learn is identified and special educational needs are broadly defined. Special educational needs are in this way socially constructed because they are defined by a pupil's failure to meet the stated requirements of the educational system.

It is the failure of large numbers of children to learn within a pre-determined curriculum which has not been designed to meet their needs which creates the belief that 40%-50% of children in certain schools have special educational needs. The problem is a mismatch between pupil and curriculum. Within a needs-based curriculum the concept of special educational needs shifts somewhat, if it does not disappear entirely. Teachers who try to teach within a pre-determined curriculum become confused and misled when considering pupils who do not reach their requirements. As a consequence fundamental human needs of pupils, such as self-worth, are challenged and threatened in many of those pupils who are regarded as having special educational needs. The traditional curriculum values only those pupils

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who achieve academically and devalues those who fail to achieve. These pupils then display low self-esteem, poor peer relations, inadequate attention and learning skills and continued failure. These were all aspects of the failure-prone children who were subjects of this study.

Schools need to provide a curriculum for all children within which they have some chance of succeeding and within which they can develop some positive expectation for the future. If a needs-based curriculum is to develop, schools will require methods of monitoring the development of all the pupils as they move through the school so that suitable curricular responses can be made. In this way the curricular needs of the 18% of children with special educational needs will be met alongside other children. This approach would develop an individual needs-based curriculum within which the notion of special educational needs would fade and with it our energetic attempts to identify pupils with special educational needs. Individual needs would not only be centred on academic aspects of the curriculum but also on more affective or personal aspects. It may be advisable to include a counselling programme as an integral part of the needs-based curriculum. It could function with a different model than that used in this study. An alternative approach may be based on a Rogerian model of counselling rather than a cognitive-behavioural model and may use patterns of individual and group counselling in which pupils can develop patterns of mutual

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support.

Much of this needs-based curriculum will benefit from the work on attribution theory. It is important for pupils to learn to attribute their performance to internal, unstable and controllable causes and in this way their motivation will be optimised and they will remain in control of their own learning. A curriculum based solely on providing successful experiences may fail in the long term if pupils do not attribute their achievements to factors within themselves.

In the short-term, approaches based on counselling have been seen to improve the self-esteem and the performance of ^{some} children who are failing but for the long term we need to evolve a needs-based curriculum which ensures the progress of all children both in terms of attainment and self-esteem. Most schools describe their most important aims in terms of self-fulfilment, self-confidence and self-worth but few make realistic attempts to achieve it on behalf of all their pupils.

Implications for further study

The study has raised several important issues which will require future investigation if the aims of schools as outlined above are to be realistically pursued. These include the following:

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1. The contribution of attribution theory to patterns of counselling and to curriculum planning for children with special educational needs and ultimately to the needs of all children. Much recent development in curriculum planning for children with special educational needs has been based on the attainment of a set of appropriate objectives which ensure successful learning experiences. Attribution theory would influence this practice by placing importance on the need for children to take responsibility for their successes and failures.

2. The implications of planning for a need-based curriculum. This would not only involve many practical issues such as how to monitor development, what to monitor and how often but it also raises many philosophical issues which would be much more difficult to resolve.

3. One of these philosophical issues which needs future consideration is the attitudes of teachers towards children with lower attainments and their parents. There are many teachers who believe that children who do not achieve some arbitrarily established level of performance should not be educated alongside their peer group.

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raise questions. The writer was theorist, observer and experimenter. It might have been beneficial to have had an independent observer as there is always the possibility that the observer is biased. On the other hand as an informed observer the writer was able to see significant things in classrooms especially during the unstructured observations which were able to be reported. It might also have been beneficial to have an independent experimenter to carry out the pre- and post tests on reading, self-esteem and the intellectual achievement responsibility scale (IAR) for the same reasons.

The IAR was not completely satisfactory for the children in the study although it was designed for their age group. For the counselled children their attributional style was more easily assessed during the first few counselling sessions. In future studies it may be necessary to construct an instrument to sample or measure causal attributions of young children, if the study requires a more scientific approach. For the purposes of this study the attributional style of the counselled children was judged to be accurately ascertained.

An important addition to the design of the study would have been a third group of children who received counselling as well as the benefits of a needs-based curriculum. At the outset of the study it had not been realised that the curriculum would be so unsuitable for these children. This

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would have provided interesting additional information but it would have been difficult to conduct this in the time available.

The present study showed the importance and strength of self-concept in the classroom. Even children who were not receiving direct intervention with their work and who were actually doing very unsuitable work improved their performance as a result of counselling. The interpersonal relationships in class which contributed to the 'hidden curriculum' again were seen to have quite a significant effect on pupil performance. The evidence showed a complex picture of failure in class which went far beyond notions of 'slow learning' or 'learning difficulties' per se. Perhaps the most interesting contribution of the study was the evidence it provided to support a different perspective on special educational needs.

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Summary of the investigation

The main subjects of this study were three groups of eight children from four first school classes, their parents and their four teachers. Two groups of children were identified as failure-prone and one group of children was identified as success-oriented. The failure-prone children and the success-oriented children were compared using measures of self-esteem and intellectual achievement responsibility. An investigation of peer relations was made using several sociomatrix tests, the perceptions of parents were obtained through structured interviews and the perceptions of teachers were explored using the repertory grid method.

The information was used as a basis for (a) an observational study of the teacher and the children in each classroom using systematic and unstructured approaches, and (b) counselling and attributional re-training with a group of failure-prone children. The counselled failure-prone group were compared to the non-counselled group on measures of self-esteem, intellectual achievement responsibility and reading attainment after a period of six months. A delayed post-test was carried out four months later using the self-esteem and reading test measures only. The results of the study are concerned with the effects of counselling and

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the experience of failure as it occurs in classrooms.

Summary of the results

1. The success-oriented children had self-esteem scores which were highly significantly greater than the scores for the failure-prone children.
2. The success-oriented children used significantly more internal attributions than the failure-prone children.
3. The failure-prone children emerged as a group who saw themselves as not as worthy and not as valued as their more highly attaining peer-group.
4. The success-oriented children spent a significantly greater amount of time co-operating on task than the failure-prone children.
5. The failure-prone children were much less popular than the success-oriented children. Five of the sixteen failure-prone children were neglectees. The patterns of friendship did vary between the classes.
6. Seventy-five percent of the parents of both the failure-prone and the success-oriented children regarded their child as doing as well as they had expected. Even though the 'career choices' of the parents of the failure-prone children were much less ambitious the important implication was that the children who were perceived as failing at school did not experience this perception at home. It was assumed that these children were valued unconditionally at

Summary of the results

1. The success-oriented children had self-esteem scores which were highly significantly greater than the scores for the failure-prone children.
2. The success-oriented children made significantly more internal attributions than the failure-prone children.
3. The failure-prone children emerged as a group who saw themselves as not as worthy and not as valued as their more highly attaining peer-group.
4. The success-oriented children spent a significantly greater amount of time co-operating on task than the failure-prone children.
5. The failure-prone children were much less popular than the success-oriented children. Five of the sixteen failure-prone children were neglected. The patterns of friendship did vary between the classes.
6. Seventy-five percent of the parents of both the failure-prone and the success-oriented children regarded their child as doing as well as they had expected. Even though the 'career choices' of the parents of the failure-prone children were much less ambitious the important implication was that the children who were perceived as failing at school did not experience this perception at home. It was assumed that these children were valued unconditionally at

home, unlike school which was dominated by the ability to achieve academically.

7. After six months counselling the counselled group when compared with the non-counselled group showed a trend toward both higher reading test scores and the use of more internal attributions. They also showed significantly improved self-esteem scores.
8. The delayed post-test showed that the gains made in self-esteem and reading scores were not sustained.
9. The observational data showed that the four teachers in the sample had quite different styles of teaching. Teacher A was a 'group instructor', (regarded as the most beneficial to the act of teaching) teacher B was a 'style changer', (regarded as the least beneficial to the act of teaching) and teachers C and D were both 'individual monitors'.
10. Teachers A, C and D used internal, unstable and controllable attributions (effort) as their major perception of teaching and learning while Teacher B used internal, stable and uncontrollable attributions (ability).
11. There was some evidence to suggest that the teaching style of the teachers was linked to how they perceived teaching and learning especially in relation to effort and ability attributions.
12. The curriculum of all four classes was not particularly well-planned for the needs of these failure-prone children. Even if teachers perceived

home, unlike school which was dominated by the ability

to achieve academically.

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11. There was some evidence to suggest that the teaching style of the teachers was linked to how they perceived teaching and learning especially in relation to effort and ability attributions.

12. The curriculum of all four classes was not particularly well-planned for the needs of these failure-prone children. Even if teachers perceived

effort as a major attribution, they provided work which was often so uninspiring that children did not try with any degree of consistency.

Conclusions

The experience of school for some of these failure-prone children transmitted messages of unworthiness and helplessness, for others —it was quite a dull routine experience. The study showed that self-esteem and achievement had improved after six months counselling but that this improvement was not sustained after counselling had ceased.

The curriculum provided for the failure-prone children was in almost every case inappropriate for their needs. A needs-based curriculum would be necessary if such pupils are to progress in terms of achievement and self-esteem. Such a curriculum would be based not only on providing successful experiences but would emphasise the need for pupils to take responsibility for their own learning as outlined in attribution theory. Such a shift in emphasis would require a fundamental change in the attitudes of many teachers. These changes in teacher attitude and in curriculum planning would also represent a fundamental philosophical shift in how educationalists view their own role and how they view the range of pupil performance in school.

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The wider concept of special educational needs promoted by the Warnock Report and represented in the 1981 Education Act would, within this redefinition of a needs-based curriculum, become quite a meaningless concept and in some contexts a wholly unhelpful one. The term special educational needs was used to describe twenty percent of the school population who would be unable to benefit from the 'ordinary school curriculum'. Eighteen percent were already in our schools prior to the implementation of the Act. The model presented in this study implies that it is the curriculum itself which constructs this eighteen percent and a redefinition of the curriculum is required to take account of their individual needs.

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Appendix 1 LAWSEQ Pupil Questionnaire (Lawerence 1981)

1. Do you think that your parents usually like to hear about your ideas?
2. Do you often feel lonely at school?
3. Do other children often fall out with you?
- *4. Do you like team games?
5. Do you think that other children often say nasty things about you?
6. When you have to say things in front of teachers, do you usually feel shy ?
- *7. Do you like writing stories or doing creative writing?
8. Do you often feel sad because you have nobody to play with at school?
- *9. Are you good at mathematics?
10. Are there lots of things about yourself you would like to change?
11. When you have to say things in front of other children do you usually feel foolish?
- *12. Do you find it difficult to do things like woodwork or knitting?
13. When you want to tell a teacher something, do you usually feel foolish?
14. Do you often have to find new friends because your old friends are playing with someone else?
15. Do you usually feel foolish when you talk to your parents?
16. Do other people often think that you tell lies?

1. Do you think that your parents usually like to hear about your ideas?

2. Do you often feel lonely at school?

3. Do other children often fall out with you?

*4. Do you like team games?

5. Do you think that other children often say nasty things about you?

6. When you have to say things in front of teachers, do you usually feel shy?

*7. Do you like writing stories or doing creative writing?

8. Do you often feel sad because you have nobody to play with at school?

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10. Are there lots of things about yourself you would like to change?

11. When you have to say things in front of other children do you usually feel foolish?

*12. Do you find it difficult to do things like woodwork or knitting?

13. When you want to tell a teacher something, do you usually feel foolish?

14. Do you often have to find new friends because your old friends are playing with someone else?

15. Do you usually feel foolish when you talk to your parents?

16. Do other people often think that you tell lies?

Scoring

Questions 4,7,9,12 are distractors.

Score +2 for 'yes' to question 1

Score +2 for 'no' to remaining questions

Score +1 for 'don't know' answers

Score 0 for all other possibilities

Maximum score in the direction of high self-esteem is +24

Scoring

Questions 4, 5, 9, 13 are distractors.

Score +2 for 'yes' to question 1

Score +2 for 'no' to remaining questions

Score +1 for 'don't know' answers

Score 0 for all other possibilities

Maximum score in the direction of high self-esteem is 42

Appendix 2 The Intellectual Achievement Responsibility
Scale Crandall et al (1965)(modified version)

1. If a teacher gives you a gold star, would it probably be;
(a) because she likes you, or
(b) because of the work you did?
2. If you play a game with another boy/girl and you lose,
is it;
(a) because the other boy/girl is good at the game, or
(b) because you don't play very well?
3. Suppose your parents say you are doing well in school.
Do they say that;
(a) because your school work is good, or
(b) because they are in a good mood?
4. If you can't remember all the words in your reading book
is it;
(a) because the book is very hard, or
(b) you didn't try hard enough to remember all the
words?
5. When you have trouble understanding something in school,
is it;
(a) because the teacher didn't explain it clearly, or
(b) you didn't listen carefully?
6. If a teacher says 'your work is fine' is it;
(a) because he/she usually says that to help children, or
(b) because your work is really fine?
7. Suppose your parents say you're being silly, do they say
that ;

Scale Grandall et al (1965)(modified version)

1. If a teacher gives you a good mark, would it probably be:

(a) because she likes you, or

(b) because of the work you did?

2. If you play a game with another boy/girl and you lose,

is it:

(a) because the other boy/girl is good at the game, or

(b) because you don't play very well?

3. Suppose your parents say you are doing well in school,

do they say that:

(a) because your school work is good, or

(b) because they are in a good mood?

4. If you can't remember all the words in your reading book

is it:

(a) because the book is very hard, or

(b) you didn't try hard enough to remember all the

words?

5. When you have trouble understanding something in school,

is it:

(a) because the teacher didn't explain it clearly, or

(b) you didn't listen carefully?

6. If a teacher says 'your work is fine', is it:

(a) because he/she usually says that to help children, or

(b) because your work is really fine?

7. Suppose your parents say you're being silly, do they say

that:

- (a) because of something you did, or
(b) because they are in a bad mood?
8. When you find it easy to do your maths in school, is it;
(a) because the teacher gave you easy maths, or
(b) because you worked hard on it at home?
9. If a boy/girl in your class says you are clever, is it;
(a) because your work is really good, or
(b) because he/she likes you?
10. When you read a story and can't remember much of it, is it;
(a) because the story wasn't well written, or
(b) because you weren't interested in it?
11. If a teacher is cross with you about your work, is it;
(a) because he/she picks on you, or
(b) because your work is not good?
12. If your parents tell you that you are clever, is it;
(a) because they are in a good mood, or
(b) because of something you did?
13. If you find it hard to do your maths at school, is it;
(a) because you didn't work hard enough, or
(b) because the teacher gave you work which was too hard?
14. If a boy/girl in your class tells you that you are stupid, is it;
(a) because he/she is mad at you, or
(b) because you are not trying in class?
15. When you learn something quickly in class, is it
(a) because you paid attention, or
(b) because the teacher explained it clearly?

- (a) because of something you did, or
 (b) because they are in a bad mood?
8. When you find it easy to do your maths in school, is it:
 (a) because the teacher gave you easy maths, or
 (b) because you worked hard on it at home?
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14. If a boy/girl in your class tells you that you are stupid, is it:
 (a) because he/she is mad at you, or
 (b) because you are not trying in class?
15. When you learn something quickly in class, is it:
 (a) because you paid attention, or
 (b) because the teacher explained it clearly?

- 16.If a teacher says to you 'try to do better', is it;
 (a) because he/she says it to get you to try harder, or
 (b) because your work is not as good as usual?
- 17.Suppose your parents say you're not doing very well
 with your school work, is it
 (a) because your work isn't good, or
 (b) because they're in a bad mood?
- 18.When you do well on a spelling test in school, is it;
 (a) because you worked hard on the spellings, or
 (b) because it was an easy test?
- 19.If you play a game with another boy/girl and you win, is
 it; (a) because the other boy/girl wasn't very good at
 the game, or
 (b) because you played very well?
- 20.When you remember something you heard in class, is it;
 (a) because you tried hard to remember, or
 (b) because the teacher explained it well.

Scoring of IAR

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. (a) external (b) internal | 11.(a)external (b)internal |
| 2. (a) internal (b) external | 12.(a)external (b)internal |
| 3. (a) internal (b) external | 13.(a)internal (b)external |
| 4. (a) external (b) internal | 14.(a)external (b)internal |
| 5. (a) external (b) internal | 15.(a)internal (b)external |
| 6. (a) external (b) internal | 16.(a)external (b)internal |
| 7. (a) internal (b) external | 17.(a)internal (b)external |
| 8. (a) external (b) internal | 18.(a)internal (b)external |
| 9. (a) internal (b) external | 19.(a)internal (b)external |
| 10.(a) external (b) internal | 20.(a)internal (b)external |

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- (a) because he/she says it to get you to try harder, or
 - (b) because your work is not as good as usual?
17. Suppose your parent says you're not doing very well with your school work, is it:
- (a) because your work isn't good, or
 - (b) because they're in a bad mood?
18. When you do well on a spelling test in school, is it:
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 - (b) because it was an easy test?
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- (a) because the other boy/girl wasn't very good at the game, or
 - (b) because you played very well?
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- (a) because you tried hard to remember, or
 - (b) because the teacher explained it well?

Scoring of IAR

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. (a) external (b) internal | 11. (a) external (b) internal |
| 2. (a) internal (b) external | 12. (a) external (b) internal |
| 3. (a) internal (b) external | 13. (a) internal (b) external |
| 4. (a) external (b) internal | 14. (a) external (b) internal |
| 5. (a) external (b) internal | 15. (a) internal (b) external |
| 6. (a) external (b) internal | 16. (a) external (b) internal |
| 7. (a) internal (b) external | 17. (a) internal (b) external |
| 8. (a) external (b) internal | 18. (a) internal (b) external |
| 9. (a) internal (b) external | 19. (a) internal (b) external |
| 10. (a) external (b) internal | 20. (a) internal (b) external |

Appendix 3a The Effort/Ability Scale

Part 1

1. A girl has started a new reading book, she can read only two words, do you think it's because;
 - (a) she isn't trying very hard, or
 - (b) she can't read it?
2. A boy who likes books very much only ever looks at the pictures, he doesn't read them, do you think that's because;
 - (a) he won't have a go, or
 - (b) he isn't able to read them?
3. Another boy has ten sums to do, he only gets one right, do you think that's because;
 - (a) he is not very good at maths, or
 - (b) he hasn't tried very hard?
4. A girl has to learn five spellings, but when her teacher asks her to write them down she only gets one right, do you think that's because;
 - (a) she hasn't worked very hard, or
 - (b) she isn't good at spelling?
5. A boy has started a new reading book, he doesn't like it because he gets a lot of words wrong, do you think that's because;
 - (a) he can't read them, or
 - (b) he isn't trying hard enough?

Part 1

1. A girl has started a new reading book, she can read only two words, do you think it's because;

- (a) she isn't trying very hard, or
- (b) she can't read it?

2. A boy who likes books very much only ever looks at the pictures, he doesn't read them, do you think that's because;

- (a) he won't have a go, or
- (b) he isn't able to read them?

3. Another boy has ten sums to do, he only gets one right, do you think that's because;

- (a) he is not very good at maths, or
- (b) he hasn't tried very hard?

4. A girl has to learn five spellings, but when her teacher asks her to write them down she only gets one right, do you think that's because;

- (a) she hasn't worked very hard, or
- (b) she isn't good at spelling?

5. A boy has started a new reading book, he doesn't like it because he gets a lot of words wrong, do you think that's because;

- (a) he can't read them, or
- (b) he isn't trying hard enough?

6. Another boy has had the same reading book all term, he doesn't know the words, do you think that's because;
- (a) he isn't very good at reading, or
 - (b) he won't have a go?

Part 2

Using stick figures of either two girls or two boys according to the sex of the child being questioned, present the following situations:

1. Perception of self

(a) These two girls are like two of the girls in my class. This girl (indicating) does well with reading and this girl (indicating) doesn't do so well with reading. Which girl are you most like, this girl, (indicating) or this girl (indicating).

(b) do you do well/not very well because you can read very well/can't read very well or because you try hard/don't try hard?

2. Perception of teacher

(a) does your teacher think you are like this girl who does well with reading or like this girl who doesn't do very well with reading?

(b) does your teacher think that because you try hard/don't

Another boy has had the same reading book all term, he

doesn't know the words, do you think that's because:

(a) he isn't very good at reading, or

(b) he won't have a dog

Part 2

Using stick figures of either two girls or two boys
according to the sex of the child being questioned, present

the following situations:

1. Perception of self

(a) These two girls are like two of the girls in my class.

This girl (indicating) does well with reading and this girl

(indicating) doesn't do so well with reading. Which girl

are you most like, this girl, (indicating) or this

girl (indicating).

(b) do you do well/not very well because you can read very

well/can't read very well or because you try hard/can't try

hard?

2. Perception of teacher

(a) does your teacher think you are like this girl who does

well with reading or like this girl who doesn't do very

well with reading?

(b) does your teacher think that because you try hard/can't

try hard or does she think you are good at reading/arn't good at reading?

3.Perception of peers

(a) Do the children in your class think that you are like this girl who does well with her reading or this girl who doesn't do very well with her reading?

(b) Do the children in your class think you read well/don't read very well because you try hard/don't try hard or because you are just good at reading/arn't able to do any better?

4.Perception of parents

(a) Do your parents think that you are like this girl who does well with her reading or like this girl who doesn't do very well with her reading?

(b) Do your parents think you read well/have problems with reading because you are clever with reading/arn't able to do better or because you work really hard with your reading books/don't try hard enough with your reading books?

Scoring

Part 1. Questions 1-6 Ability_____ Effort_____

Score one point for each response.

try hard or does she think you are good at reading?

good at reading?

3. Perception of peers

(a) Do the children in your class think that you are like this girl who does well with her reading or this girl who

doesn't do very well with her reading?

(b) Do the children in your class think you read well?

read very well because you try hard? Or

because you are just good at reading? Able to do any

better?

4. Perception of parents

(a) Do your parents think that you are like this girl who does well with her reading or like this girl who doesn't do

very well with her reading?

(b) Do your parents think you read well? Have problems with

reading because you are clever with reading? Able to

do better or because you work really hard with your reading

books? Or try hard enough with your reading books?

Scoring

Part 1. Questions 1-6 Ability Error

Score one point for each response.

Part 2. Tick the response below:

Self: failure-prone_____ success-oriented_____
ability_____ effort_____

Teacher: failure-prone_____ success-oriented_____
ability_____ effort_____

Peers: failure-prone_____ success-oriented_____
ability_____ effort_____

Parents: failure-prone_____ success-oriented_____
ability_____ effort_____

Part A. Tick the response below:

Self: failure-prone _____ success-oriented _____

Ability _____ effort _____

Teacher: failure-prone _____ success-oriented _____

Ability _____ effort _____

Peers: failure-prone _____ success-oriented _____

Ability _____ effort _____

Parents: failure-prone _____ success-oriented _____

Ability _____ effort _____

Appendix 3b Results of Effort v Ability Scale

key: s/a = successful due to ability
 --- = successful due to effort
 f/a = failure due to lack of ability
 f/e = failure due to lack of effort

January

Group 1

Self	Teacher	Peers	Parents
--	--	--	--
s/a	--	s/a	s/a
--	s/a	--	s/a
--	--	s/a	--
--	--	--	--
s/a	s/a	s/a	s/a
--	--	--	s/a
--	--	--	--

July

--	--	--	s/a
s/a	--	s/a	s/a
--	--	--	s/a
--	--	--	s/a
--	--	--	--
--	s/a	s/a	s/a
--	--	--	s/a
--	--	--	--

Key: S\A = successful due to ability
 -- = unsuccessful due to effort
 S\A = failure due to lack of ability
 S\A = failure due to lack of effort

January

Group 1

Self	Teacher	Peers	Parents
--	--	--	--
S\A	--	S\A	S\A
--	S\A	--	S\A
--	--	S\A	--
--	--	--	--
S\A	S\A	S\A	S\A
--	--	--	S\A
--	--	--	---

July

---	---	---	S\A
S\A	--	S\A	S\A
---	---	---	S\A
---	---	---	S\A
---	---	---	---
---	S\A	S\A	S\A
---	---	---	S\A
---	---	---	---

Group 2

January

Self	Teacher	Peers	Parents
s/a	--	f/e	--
--	--	no reply	--
s/a	s/a	f/e	s/a
s/a	f/e	f/e	--
--	--	f/e	--
f/e	f/e	f/e	--
--	s/a	--	--
s/a	s/a	s/a	--

July

f/e	f/e	--	--
s/a	s/a	s/a	s/a
s/a	f/e	f/a	f/e
--	f/e	f/e	s/a
s/a	--	f/a	s/a
f/a	f/a	f/a	s/a
--	s/a	s/a	s/a
--	--	f/e	--

DATE	RECEIVED	RECEIVED	RECEIVED
1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1
1/2	1/2	1/2	1/2
1/3	1/3	1/3	1/3
1/4	1/4	1/4	1/4
1/5	1/5	1/5	1/5
1/6	1/6	1/6	1/6
1/7	1/7	1/7	1/7
1/8	1/8	1/8	1/8
1/9	1/9	1/9	1/9
1/10	1/10	1/10	1/10
1/11	1/11	1/11	1/11
1/12	1/12	1/12	1/12
1/13	1/13	1/13	1/13
1/14	1/14	1/14	1/14
1/15	1/15	1/15	1/15
1/16	1/16	1/16	1/16
1/17	1/17	1/17	1/17
1/18	1/18	1/18	1/18
1/19	1/19	1/19	1/19
1/20	1/20	1/20	1/20
1/21	1/21	1/21	1/21
1/22	1/22	1/22	1/22
1/23	1/23	1/23	1/23
1/24	1/24	1/24	1/24
1/25	1/25	1/25	1/25
1/26	1/26	1/26	1/26
1/27	1/27	1/27	1/27
1/28	1/28	1/28	1/28
1/29	1/29	1/29	1/29
1/30	1/30	1/30	1/30
1/31	1/31	1/31	1/31

July

7/1	7/1	7/1	7/1
7/2	7/2	7/2	7/2
7/3	7/3	7/3	7/3
7/4	7/4	7/4	7/4
7/5	7/5	7/5	7/5
7/6	7/6	7/6	7/6
7/7	7/7	7/7	7/7
7/8	7/8	7/8	7/8
7/9	7/9	7/9	7/9
7/10	7/10	7/10	7/10
7/11	7/11	7/11	7/11
7/12	7/12	7/12	7/12
7/13	7/13	7/13	7/13
7/14	7/14	7/14	7/14
7/15	7/15	7/15	7/15
7/16	7/16	7/16	7/16
7/17	7/17	7/17	7/17
7/18	7/18	7/18	7/18
7/19	7/19	7/19	7/19
7/20	7/20	7/20	7/20
7/21	7/21	7/21	7/21
7/22	7/22	7/22	7/22
7/23	7/23	7/23	7/23
7/24	7/24	7/24	7/24
7/25	7/25	7/25	7/25
7/26	7/26	7/26	7/26
7/27	7/27	7/27	7/27
7/28	7/28	7/28	7/28
7/29	7/29	7/29	7/29
7/30	7/30	7/30	7/30
7/31	7/31	7/31	7/31

Group 3

January

Self	Teacher	Peers	Parents
--	--	s/a	--
s/a	s/a	--	--
--	f/e	s/a	--
--	f/e	f/e	--
--	--	--	--
s/a	s/a	--	s/a
--	s/a	s/a	s/a
--	--	--	--

July

--	--	--	--
s/a	f/a	--	f/e (dad) -- (mum)
--	f/e	f/e	--
--	f/a	f/a	--
--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--

Self	Teacher	Peers	Parents
--	--	s/a	--
s/a	s/a	--	--
--	f/e	s/a	--
--	f/e	f/e	--
--	--	--	--
s/a	s/a	--	s/a
--	s/a	s/a	s/a
--	--	--	--

July

--	--	--	--
s/a	f/a	--	f/e (dad) -- (mom)
--	f/e	f/e	--
--	f/a	f/a	--
--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--
--	--	--	--

Appendix 4 The Parental Questionnaire/Interview Schedule

Name: _____ Mother/Father of _____ Date _____

1. At what age did _____ start this school?

Circle: 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 years.

2. Which other schools did he/she attend?

Record:

3. Have you any other children?

Record:

4. How old are they?

Record:

5. Have they/has he/she been to this school/will they/he/she be coming to this school?

Circle: yes/no and/or record any elaboration given to this question.

6. Has _____ been happy at school?

Circle: yes/no/not always

7. Have you been happy with _____ at this school?

Circle: yes/no/not always

8. What particular things have made you feel happy/not happy /not always happy?

Name: _____ Mother\Father of _____ Date _____

1. At what age did _____ start this school?

Circle: 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 years.

2. Which other schools did he/she attend?

Record:

3. Have you any other children?

Record:

4. How old are they?

Record:

5. Have they/has he/she been to this school? Will they/has he

be coming to this school?

Circle: yes/no and/or record any elaboration given to

this question.

6. Has _____ been happy at school?

Circle: yes/no/not always

7. Have you been happy with _____ at this school?

Circle: yes/no/not always

8. What particular things have made you feel happy/not happy

not always happy?

Tick type of reason/elaboration of ideas:

practical/nearby

teachers (personality/skill)

headteacher (personality/skill)

friends/relatives at the school

good/bad reputation

curricular reasons

child's progress

child's attitude

9. Has ____ got on at school in the way you would have expected? Circle: yes/no/not always

10. Do you feel that ____ has done better than most of his/her classmates or about the same or not as well as most of them. Circle: better/the same as/not as well as.

11. (This question draws together the responses made so far and goes on to ask an open-ended question. The following is an example).

The interviewer makes the following statement: you have been happy with ____ at this school, he has done as well as you expected and you feel he has done better than most of his classmates. Then goes on to ask the following question; what do you think has led ____ to perform in school in this way? Record answer as fully as possible.

12. What do you think ____ will be doing when he/she is eighteen? Record:

13. Is that what you would like him/her to be doing? Record:

Tick type of reason/elaboration of ideas:

practical\hearty

teachers (personality\skill)

headteacher (personality\skill)

friends\relatives at the school

poor\bad reputation

curricular reasons

child's progress

child's attitude

9. Has ... got on at school in the way you would have

expected? Circle: yes\no\always

10. Do you feel that ... has done better than most of

his\her classmates or about the same or not as well as

most of them. Circle: better\the same as\not as well as.

11. (This question draws together the responses made so far

and does on to ask an open-ended question. The following

is an example).

The interviewer makes the following statement: You have

been happy with ... at this school, he has done as well as

you expected and you feel he has done better than most of

his classmates. Then does on to ask the following question:

What do you think has led ... to perform in school in this

way? Record answer as fully as possible.

12. What do you think ... will be doing when he/she is

eighteen? Record:

13. Is that what you would like him/her to be doing? Record:

Appendix 5a Analysis of Variance of reading age scores
(Jan)

source	ss	df	ms	f ratio	prob.
groups	8104.5	2	4052.3	150.9	p<0.001**
reading age	36.8	1	36.8	4.2	p<0.05*
grpsxr.age	6944	2	3472	396.9	p<0.001**
error between	563.8	21	26.8		
error within	184.3	21	8.8		
TOTAL	15833.3	47			

Appendix 5b Scheffe's t-test for interaction between
chronological age and groups

Group 1 v 2 $t = 2/1.5 = 1.33$

Group 2 v 3 $t = 2/1.5 = 1.33$

Group 2 v 3 $t = 0/1.5 = 0.00$

critical values 3.49 (5% level) 4.18 (1% level)

Appendix 2a Analysis of Variance of Reading age scores

(Jan)

source	ss	df	ms	f ratio	prob.
groups	8104.5	2	4052.3	150.9	<.001*
reading age	36.8	1	36.8	1.3	<.05*
groups x reading age	694	2	347	13.2	<.001*
error between	523.8	21	24.9		
error within	184.3	21	8.8		
TOTAL	15833.3	44			

Appendix 2b Scheffe's f-test for interaction between chronological age and groups

Group 1 v 2 f = 271.5 = 1.33
 Group 2 v 3 f = 271.5 = 1.33
 Group 3 v 3 f = 071.5 = 0.00

critical values (.99 level) 4.18 (1% level)

Appendix 5c Scheffe's t-test for interaction between
reading age and groups

Group 1 v 2 t = 27/1.84 = 14.67 **

Group 1 v 3 t = 28/1.84 = 15.21 **

Group 2 v 3 t = 1/1.84 = 0.54

critical values 2.53 (5% level) 3.2 (1% level)

group 1 v 2 t = 2.41 = 18.1% *
group 1 v 3 t = 1.21 = 8.1% *
group 2 v 3 t = 1.11 = 0.9%

critical values 2.3 (level #1) 2.3 (level #2)

Appendix 6a Analysis of variance of self-esteem scores
(Jan)

source	ss	df	ms	f ratio	prob.
groups	369.1	2	185.5	12.2	p<0.001**
error between	316.8	21	15.1		
TOTAL	685.9	23			

Appendix 6b Scheffe's t-test for the interaction between
self-esteem scores and groups

Group 1 v 2 $t = 8.12/1.94 = 4.19$ **

Group 1 v 3 $t = 8.5/1.94 = 4.38$ **

Group 2 v 3 $t = 0.38/1.94 = 0.2$

critical values 2.53 (5% level) 3.2 (1% level)

Appendix 6a Analysis of variance of self-esteem scores

(Jan)

source	ss	df	ms	f ratio	prob.
groups	189.1	2	94.55	18.2	**100.00
error between	316.8	21	15.1		
TOTAL	505.9	23			

Appendix 6b Scheffe's t-test for the interaction between self-esteem scores and groups

Group 1 v 2 t = 8.12 \ 1.94 = 4.19 **

Group 1 v 3 t = 8.57 \ 1.94 = 4.38 **

Group 2 v 3 t = 0.38 \ 1.94 = 0.2

critical values 2.53 (5% level) 3.3 (1% level)

Appendix 7a Analysis of variance of IAR scores (Jan)

source	ss	df	ms	f ratio	prob.
groups	81.25	2	40.625	5.18	p<0.05*
error within	164.75	21	7.845		
TOTAL	246.00	23			

Appendix 7b Scheffe's t-test for the interaction between IAR scores and groups

Group 1 v 2 $t = 3.13/1.4 = 2.24$

Group 1 v 3 $t = 4.38/1.4 = 3.13 *$

Group 2 v 3 $t = 1.25/1.4 = 0.89$

critical values 2.63 (5% level) 3.4 (1% level)

Appendix Va Analysis of variance of IAR scores (Jan)

source	ss	df	ms	f ratio	prop.
groups	81.25	2	40.625	5.18	0.054
error within	164.75	21	7.845		
TOTAL	246.00	23			

Appendix Vb Scheffe's t-test for the interaction between IAR scores and groups

Group 1 v 2 t = 3.13 v 1.4 = 2.24
Group 1 v 3 t = 4.38 v 1.4 = 3.13 *
Group 2 v 3 t = 1.25 v 1.4 = 0.89

critical values 2.63 (5% level) 3.4 (1% level)

Appendix 8 Analysis of variance of reading age scores (June / Nov)

source	ss	df	ms	f	prob
A groups	9.187	1	9.187	0.128	p>0.05
Between	1002.125	14	71.580		
B occasions	776.167	2	388.083	35.87	p<0.001**
A B	33.500	2	16.750	1.54	p>0.05
Within	303.000	28	10.821		
Total	2123.979	47			

Appendix 9a Analysis of variance of self-esteem scores
(June/Nov)

source	ss	df	ms	f	prob.
A	10.083	1	10.083	0.3	p>0.05
Between	475.833	14	33.988		
B	37.791	2	18.896	2.26	p>0.05
A B	57.542	2	28.771	3.43	p<0.05*
Within	234.667	28	8.381		
Total	815.917	47			

Appendix 9b Scheffe's t-test for the interaction between
self-esteem scores, groups and time period

	group 2	group 3
Jan:	t = 0/1.41	t = 0.00
June:	t = 4/1.41	t = 2.84
Nov:	t = 0/1.41	t = 0.00

critical values 3.49 (5% level) 4.18 (1% level)

Appendix 10 Analysis of variance of IAR scores (Jan/June)

source	ss	df	ms	f	prob.
A	2.531	1	2.531	0.189	p>0.05
Between	187.938	14	13.424		
B	19.531	1	19.531	5.92	p<0.05*
A B	3.781	1	3.781	1.16	p>0.05
Within	59.125	21	2.815		
Total	423.667	47			

Appendix 11 Extracts from the counselling diary

The first child is using external, stable and uncontrollable attributions and responds well to using internal, unstable and controllable attributions.

Counsellor: Can you tell me about your class, where the children sit and the sort of things you do?

David: We have three groups in the class, reds who are the best, blues who are a bit younger and yellows who aren't much good at their work. I'm in yellow.

Counsellor: Does that mean that you're not much good at your work?

David: Sort off -- I was good at reading in my last class and my mum was pleased with me then but now I'm not. Its because the words are all too hard and the teacher shouts at me. The teacher in the last class liked me better. I sometimes do good work in this class when it's easy.

David was identifying external, stable and uncontrollable causes, that is, the difficulty and the ease of the task and the teacher's dislike of him to explain his lack of success in class. These external reasons may have ensured a less negative effect on his self-esteem than

internal attributions such as lack of ability. The aim will be to promote his own effort as a factor which could improve his performance in class.

This second child has internalised her failure and seems quite personally threatened by school.

Counsellor: You are very quiet Gayle can you tell me what you have been doing?

Gayle: (in tears) I'm fed-up' with school --- nobody likes me and nobody helps me.

Counsellor: Can you tell me what has happened?

Gayle: Mrs. D. made me read the last two pages of my reading book to the class so they could hear that I can't read -- they all laughed at me. Mrs. D. said I couldn't have another book until I can read this one. I try and try but I can't remember the words.

Counsellor: Why do you think you can't read it?

Gayle: 'Cause I'm just not very good at things.

Counsellor: Perhaps the book is much too hard, do you think you could have a book that you can almost read then you

could learn a few words at a time. Do you think that would help?

Gayle: Yes, but Mrs.D. says I have to learn this one.

Counsellor: Have you told your Mummy and Daddy about this?

Gayle: Yes --- they said that when I get to Angela's school they will give me better work and I will be alright. Angela likes her teacher.

Counsellor: Do you think you will do better there?

Gayle: Yes because Angela says that the teachers help you there. Angela really loves me --I have been playing with her --I'll be going to the middle school with her soon --after the summer holidays.

Gayle's experience of school is very unpleasant, she has become the butt of many classroom jokes. She is probably quite accurate in her perception of the class teacher and her style of teaching. Mrs. D. does treat Gayle very negatively and is clearly giving her work which is highly unsuitable. Gayle is having to compete, on occasions with children who are reading five years in advance of her. In this situation it is only possible to encourage Gayle to externalise her failure and to accept her pleas that there is little she can do in her present predicament. Promoting

effort may be highly unsuitable as it may only reinforce internal stable and uncontrollable attributions, which is a lack of ability, a believe which would have most negative effect on her self-esteem.

The final extract from the diary concerns Nicholas. Nicholas was using internal, unstable and controllable attributions at the beginning of counselling. But he was completely dependent on his teacher. Much of the counselling effort was to encourage him to take personal responsibility for his own learning.

Counsellor: (Nicholas is showing his work) What do you think about it?

Nicholas: I think it is nt very neat --Mr. D. didn't like it -- he wasn't very pleased.

Counsellor: What are you going to do about that?

Nicholas: Do it neater.

Counsellor: How will you do that?

Nicholas: Mr. D. will make me.

Counsellor: Will Mr. D. do it for you then?

Nicholas: No I will do it.

Counsellor: So who will make it neater?

Nicholas: I will (smiling broadly).

Counsellor: How will you feel when it is written better?

Nicholas: Pleased .

Counsellor: Will you feel pleased with yourself for making a big effort to get it looking good?

Nicholas: Yes.

Counsellor: Will you need Mr. D. to make you do it better?

Nicholas: No.

Counsellor: Will you tell me what happens when I come next week?

Nicholas: Yes.

Much of the emphasis of the sessions must be concentrated on helping Nicholas to realise his own responsibility in improving his standards. He likes his 'mountain' so that might help motivate him --- should encourage him to verbalise phrases such as 'I tried really hard and I did my writing really neat'.

Appendix 12 Sociometric Test Results

Class A Target children:

child B = non-counselled failure-prone

child N = counselled failure-prone

child U = success-oriented

(each target child is marked with a *)

Table 19

The number of choices given to each pupil in class
A on three sociometric tests each with two criterion

<1st criterion> <2nd criterion>

	no. of choices	boys	girls	boys	girls
test 1	5+	DL		GLM	U*
	4		QWZ	D	
	3	F	OTU*	C	TYZ
	2	EGMN*	RY	FN*	QWX
	1	C	PSVX	AEI	OV
	0	AB*HIJK		B*HJK	PRS

test 2	2+	DF	U*Y	D	U*
	4				
	3	CE		CEF	OY
	2	G	RZ	G	T
	1	AB*HLN*	STV	AB*HKM	SVZ
	0	IJKM-	O	IJLN*	R

test 3	5+	D	Y	D	OU*
	4	M	TU*		Y
	3			KM	Z
	2	EFKL	QXSZ	ACFGL	T
	1	CGH	OPV	EHN*	RSV
	0	AB*IJN*	RW	B*IJ	PQXW

Table 20

The total number of choices for the six sociometric tests in class A

BOYS	40	17	16	15	14	13	12	6	6	5	4	2	1	0
	D	F	L	M	G	C	E	K	N*	A	H	B*	I	J
GIRLS	34*	23	15	15	13	8	6	6	6	5	5	2		
	U	Y	T	Z	O	Q	S	V	W	R	X	P		

Class B

Target children: child C,Q,X = non-counselled failure-prone

child B,M,W = counselled failure-prone

child J,K,P = success-oriented

(target children marked with *)

Table 21

The number of choices given to each pupil in Class B on three sociometric tests each with two criteria

		<1st criterion>		<2nd criterion>	
		no. of boys	girls	boys	girls
		choices			
test 1	5+				
	4		P*	G	P*S
	3	DFGJ*K*	ST	A	NT
	2	CE	NOUV	DHIJ*K*M*	O
	1	AHILY	Q*W*X*	B*ELY	Q*UW*X*
	0	B*M*		C*F	V

test 2	5+	J*	P*T		P*
	4	HL	S		T
	3	K*	UV	GHJ*E*LM**	S
	2	DM*	N	EF	Q*X*OU
	1	FGY	OQ*X*	Y	NVW
	0	AB*C*E	W*	AB*C*D	

test 3	5+	K*	P*	J*	P*
	4	IJ*	S	K*L	T
	3		TU	M**	Q*S
	2	AC*GHM*Y	O	F	NO
	1	EFL	NVX*	AC*DEGHIY	UVX*
	0	B*D	Q*W*	B*	W*

Table 22 The total number of choices for the six sociometric tests in Class B.

BOYS 22 20 14 14 13 12 9 8 8 7 7 7 5 1
 J* K* G L H M* F D I Y A E C* B*

GIRLS 29 22 21 12 11 11 8 8 7 3
 P* T S U N O V Q* X* W*

Class C Target children:

children C and J = non-counselled failure-prone

children B and G = counselled failure-prone

children S and K = success-oriented

(target children are indicated by a *)

Table 23 The number of sociometric choices given to each pupil in class C on three sociometric tests each with two criteria.

		<1st criterion>		<2nd criterion>	
no. of choices		boys	girls	boys	girls
test 1	5+	L		E	P
	4			I	
	3	E K*	PV	K*O	
	2	C*FG*HJ*O	RS*	C*FJ*	T
	1	B*DIM	QTW	B*DG*N	QS*UW
	0	ANYZ	UXA2B2C2	AHLMZY	RVXA2B2C2

test 2	5+	F		EK*	
	4	EK*	TC2		T
	3	G*L	R	C*FO	PS*B2
	2	HJ*M	PA2	HJ*LMY	RUX
	1	AB*C*INO	QS*UXB2	B*G*I	QWC2
	0	DYZ	VW	ADNZ	VA2

test 3	5+	L	T	Z	S*T
	4	EFI	P	FI	
	3	J*K*Z	S*	C*EG*K*LO	
	2	C*O	RA2B2C2	J*	PRUA2C2
	1	G*NY	UW		V
	0	AB*DHM	QVX	AB*DHMNY	QWXB2

Table 24

The total number of choices for the six sociometric tests in Class C.

BOYS	24	21	20	18	15	14	13	13	11	8	6	5	4	3	3	2	1
	E	K*	F	L	I	O	J*	C*	G*	Z	H	M	B*	N	Y	D	A
GIRLS	21	19	15	11	9	7	6	6	4	4	4	3					
	T	P	S*	R	C	U	A2	B2	Q	V	W	X					

Class D Target children:

children B and V = non-counselled failure-prone

children A and T = counselled failure-prone

children E and H = success-oriented

(target children are indicated by a *)

Table 25

The number of choices given to each pupil in class D on three sociometric tests each with two criteria.

		<1st criterion>		<2nd criterion>	
	No. of choices	boys	girls	boys	girls
test 1	5+	D	A2	H*K	
	4		O		QA2
	3	H*JK	QY	CF	O
	2	A*CF	SUWX	DILM	RSUWXYZ
	1	B*E*GIMN	PRT*V*ZO	E*GJ	PT*V*
	0	L	B2	A*B*N	B2

test 2	5+	G	Q	G	T*
	4	J			Q
	3	DK	T*	DIJ	WY
	2	CFH*IL	OSUW	CFH*KL	SUZ
	1	A*B*E*	RV*XYZA2	A*N	OPRA2
	0	MN	PB2	B*E*M	V*YB2

test 3	5+		T*A2		UA2
	4	J	S	J	
	3	DH*I	QU	DE*FH*I	T*
	2	A*CE*F	O	A*CM	OQSYZ
	1	LMN	RXYZB2		V*XB2
	0	B*G	PV*W	B*GLN	PRW

Table 26

The total number of choices for the six sociometric tests in Class D.

BOYS	20	19	18	14	14	13	13	12	8	8	7	6	3	2
	D	J	H* F	I	C	K	G	E* A*	L	M	N	B*		
GIRLS	23	22	18	17	14	14	10	9	9	9	6	4	3	2
	Q	A2	T* U	O	S	X	W	Y	Z	R	V* P	B2		

Appendix 13 The attributional style of the remaining
counselled failure-prone children

Class B

A second counselled failure-prone child in class B was Damion. Damion used many internal, stable and uncontrollable attributions during the counselling sessions. He did manage to accept some external, stable and uncontrollable attributions during the course of counselling but in a similar way to Gayle he was unable to use internal, unstable and controllable attributions. This was entirely due to the situation in his class in which Damion was given work which was impossible for him to attempt with any expectation of success. He was on the verge of developing a 'learned helplessness' state, it was possibly the counselling which helped prevent this situation developing. Damion gained only 7 months in reading which was below average for the counselled group but above average for the non-counselled group. He gained 6 points on the self-esteem score which was above average for both groups but lost one point on the IAR.

The final counselled failure-prone child in class B was David. David used mainly external, unstable and uncontrollable attributions at the beginning of the counselling. These were mainly things to do with his

unsettled homebackground. David was very happy to come to the sessions and he very readily accepted the idea of the 'mountains'. David was able to use more internal, unstable and controllable attributions during the course of counselling. By the end of the experimental period he was able to set himself realistic goals and achieve them. David gained twelve months in his score on the reading test by the end of the experimental period, this was well above the average for the counselled group. David started with a high self-esteem score and increased it by two points to 20. He also increased his score on the IAR by 8 points which was much higher than the mean of 2.25 for the counselled group.

Class C

Alan was the remaining counselled failure-prone child in this class. Alan was very unforthcoming during the first few sessions of counselling. He used many external, stable and uncontrollable attributions to account for his performance in class which he informed the counsellor was not very good. He gave two sets of reasons to explain his failure; firstly, the recent death of his mother and secondly, the fact that the work in class was too easy so he didn't try. The work was actually not too easy although it was quite tedious being based mainly on text books. Alan was probably using these attributions as a defence. Throughout the course of counselling Alan enjoyed the idea of the 'mountains' he realised only very gradually that his

own effort was having an effect. During the last few counselling sessions Alan was able to verbalise internal, unstable and controllable attributions when he talked about why he had succeeded with his work. At the beginning of the experimental period Alan had gained only six months on his reading test score which below the average for the counselled group. He did however show a gain of six points on his self-esteem score which was above the average for the counselled group and a gain of 5 points on the IAR which was above average for the counselled group.

Class D

The remaining counselled failure-prone child in class D was Cherie. Cherie had a very clear idea of her position in class. She said she was the worst reader and was on the lowest maths book. Her reasons were mainly internal, unstable and controllable, for example, she said, 'I like to chatter a lot and talk about horror films, I don't work hard enough'. She also used external, stable and uncontrollable attributions, for example, the noise in the classroom made it hard to concentrate. Cherie enjoyed the counselling sessions and easily got used to the idea of the 'mountains'. Of all the counselled children Cherie probably had the least interest in improving her classroom performance and it was this which made the counselling process difficult. After the experimental period Cherie had gained 6 months in reading which was probably quite good

when compared to her usual progress. It was above the mean for the non-counselled group. She gained 3 points on the self-esteem scale which was below the mean for the group and 1 on the IAR again below the mean for the group.

BSHS

NO. GRIDS = 1

NO. CONDUCTS = 21

NO. ELEMENTS = 28

DATA-FORMAT = (SURF1.0)

GRID 1

USHS

HAW DATA	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
2	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
3	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
4	2.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
5	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
6	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
7	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
8	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00
9	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
10	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
11	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00
12	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
13	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
14	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00
15	4.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00
16	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	1.00
17	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00
18	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	3.00
19	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	4.00
20	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00
21	3.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	5.00
22	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00

23	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
24	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
25	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00
26	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	4.00	2.00
27	5.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	2.00
28	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	2.00

LAH DATA

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
2	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00
3	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00
4	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
5	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
6	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
7	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00
8	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
9	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	1.00
10	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
11	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	2.00	3.00	3.00
12	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00
13	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	1.00
14	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
15	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
16	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	2.00
17	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
18	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	1.00
19	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
20	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	5.00
21	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
22	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
23	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	3.00	3.00
24	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	3.00

26	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
27	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
28	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	4.00

RAW DATA	21
1	1.00
2	1.00
3	1.00
4	1.00
5	1.00
6	1.00
7	1.00
8	2.00
9	1.00
10	1.00
11	2.00
12	3.00
13	2.00
14	1.00
15	1.00
16	2.00
17	2.00
18	1.00
19	3.00
20	1.00
21	3.00
22	2.00
23	2.00
24	2.00
25	3.00
26	2.00
27	4.00
28	4.00

TABLE OF RESULTS FOR ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUCTS
 TOP RIGHT SEGMENT IS CORRELATION-MATRIX FOR CONSTRUCTS
 DIAGONAL IS SUMMED RELATIONSHIP SCORE FOR EACH CONSTRUCT
 BOTTOM LEFT SEGMENT IS RELATIONSHIP SCORE FOR EACH CONSTRUCT
 APPROX. P-VALUES (2-TAILED): * = 5%, ** = 1% NN = D.F. < 1.

CONSTRUCT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	583.00	0.91**	0.86**	0.45*	0.65**	0.72**	0.73**	0.57**	0.59**	0.41*
2	82.00	537.94	0.79**	0.44*	0.68**	0.67**	0.61**	0.48**	0.49**	0.58**
3	73.80	62.01	602.88	0.48**	0.69**	0.79**	0.90**	0.61**	0.60**	0.20
4	20.55	18.94	22.92	216.17	0.34	0.48**	0.56**	0.21	0.28	0.13
5	41.81	46.05	47.57	11.33	547.36	0.87**	0.70**	0.46*	0.50**	0.50**
6	52.50	44.91	62.90	22.99	76.41	625.16	0.83**	0.63**	0.65**	0.34
7	52.98	37.61	81.29	31.22	48.87	68.72	558.08	0.59**	0.59**	0.04
8	32.61	23.07	37.14	4.53	21.40	39.15	34.55	421.72	0.95**	0.10
9	35.05	23.58	36.09	7.91	24.73	41.75	34.55	90.32	427.00	0.10
10	16.73	33.13	4.11	1.57	25.41	11.32	0.13	1.00	1.08	316.39
11	7.35	7.66	4.29	5.77	23.70	11.56	1.06	2.65	3.04	38.75
12	5.82	15.40	0.03	0.84	3.74	0.05	1.65	0.00	0.05	37.46
13	35.05	40.28	26.33	13.98	30.78	23.39	19.25	0.10	0.79	28.25
14	18.41	32.70	4.80	6.30	25.38	11.48	1.55	1.99	4.00	61.54
15	3.11	2.81	4.31	2.28	33.54	20.89	4.12	5.58	4.53	20.20
16	17.60	11.56	18.04	16.49	17.89	17.60	23.10	14.62	13.93	0.71
17	16.16	1.85	18.79	11.82	0.43	11.57	29.67	19.53	19.18	19.31
18	1.01	1.57	6.59	0.00	0.02	3.81	6.11	8.59	10.99	10.62
19	18.18	5.54	3.25	3.99	0.65	7.45	4.88	22.93	23.36	1.69
20	31.87	19.89	30.93	6.73	24.62	35.46	25.94	27.87	28.40	1.96
21	28.43	27.30	52.68	6.00	42.97	61.24	50.84	33.99	23.67	1.41
CONSTRUCT	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	0.27	0.24	0.59**	0.43*	0.18	0.42*	0.40*	0.10	0.32	0.56**
2	0.28	0.39*	0.63**	0.57**	0.17	0.34	0.14	-0.13	0.24	0.45*
3	0.21	-0.02	0.51**	0.22	0.21	0.42*	0.43*	0.26	0.29	0.56**

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5	0.49**	0.19	0.55**	0.50**	0.58**	0.42*	0.07	0.01	0.08	0.50**
6	0.34	0.02	0.48**	0.34	0.46*	0.42*	0.34	0.20	0.27	0.60**
7	0.10	-0.13	0.44*	0.12	0.20	0.48**	0.50**	0.25	0.22	0.51**
8	0.16	0.01	0.03	0.14	0.24	0.38*	0.44*	0.29	0.48**	0.53**
9	0.17	0.02	0.09	0.20	0.21	0.37*	0.44*	0.33	0.48**	0.53**
10	0.62**	0.61**	0.53**	0.78**	0.45*	0.08	-0.44*	-0.33	-0.13	0.14
11	220.85	0.27	0.54**	0.51**	0.65**	0.24	-0.21	-0.08	-0.16	0.12
12	7.49	198.59	0.29	0.74**	0.03	-0.12	-0.40*	-0.58**	-0.28	0.07
13	29.25	8.53	326.87	0.64**	0.41*	0.24	0.05	-0.06	-0.05	0.15
14	25.93	54.74	40.91	325.60	0.33	0.18	-0.32	-0.30	-0.07	0.14
15	42.35	0.12	16.94	10.98	205.05	0.05	-0.28	-0.05	-0.24	0.32
16	5.76	1.40	5.82	3.10	0.22	227.54	0.51**	0.13	0.38*	0.34
17	4.37	15.74	0.30	10.21	8.04	26.23	278.56	0.48**	0.51**	0.28
18	0.58	34.01	0.36	9.18	0.25	1.57	22.92	151.13	0.52**	-0.06
19	2.66	7.64	0.22	0.46	5.82	14.79	26.21	26.98	194.62	0.31
20	1.43	0.53	2.22	1.88	10.03	11.61	7.95	0.33	9.81	296.26
21	3.16	3.35	4.11	0.07	8.92	5.55	8.30	5.65	11.10	16.80

CONSTRUCT

1	0.53**
2	0.52**
3	0.73**
4	0.24
5	0.66**
6	0.78**
7	0.71**
8	0.58**
9	0.49**
10	0.12
11	0.18
12	-0.18
13	0.20
14	-0.03

15	0.30
16	0.24
17	0.29
18	0.24
19	0.33
20	0.41*
21	395.52

CONSTRICTS IN ORDER OF CONTRIBUTION TO VARIANCE
 6 3 1 7 5 2 9 8 21 13 14 10 20 17 11 16 4 15 12 19 18

COMPONENT 1 - PRINCIPAL CONSTRICT IS NO. 6
 INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE CONSTRICTS:
 3 1 7 5 2 9 8 21 13 20 16 4 15

COMPONENT 2 - PRINCIPAL CONSTRICT IS NO. 14
 INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE CONSTRICTS:
 1 5 2 13 10 11 12

COMPONENT 3 - PRINCIPAL CONSTRICT IS NO. 17
 INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE CONSTRICTS:
 3 1 7 9 8 10 16 12 19 18

TABLE OF RESULTS FOR ANALYSIS OF ELEMENTS
 TOP RIGHT SEGMENT IS CORRELATION-MATRIX FOR ELEMENTS
 DIAGONAL IS SUMMED RELATIONSHIP SCORE FOR EACH ELEMENT
 BOTTOM LEFT SEGMENT IS RELATIONSHIP SCORE FOR EACH ELEMENT
 APPROX. P-VALUES (2-TAILED): *=5%, **=1% NN=D.F. <1.

ELEMENT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	276.51	0.81**	0.48*	0.47*	0.06	0.33	0.18	0.30	0.26	0.28
2	65.81	495.42	0.32	0.68**	0.50*	0.51*	0.32	0.66**	0.45*	0.41
3	22.80	10.49	260.09	0.48*	0.08	0.43*	0.06	0.21	0.29	0.58**
4	22.45	46.91	23.35	442.87	0.41	0.69**	0.09	0.52*	0.26	0.47*
5	0.38	24.52	0.71	16.52	451.67	0.55**	0.21	0.70**	0.43*	0.37
6	11.14	26.38	18.47	47.48	30.17	478.62	0.34	0.44*	0.25	0.41
7	3.09	10.16	0.42	0.84	4.50	11.41	183.62	0.14	0.12	0.35
8	9.21	43.62	4.62	27.32	49.43	19.36	1.83	437.10	0.29	0.16
9	6.79	20.42	8.51	6.85	10.56	6.23	1.45	8.70	288.37	0.68**
10	7.89	16.85	33.08	21.85	13.59	16.41	12.38	2.62	46.60	369.42
11	5.48	21.03	5.39	13.90	57.70	12.51	0.03	50.04	12.03	4.19
12	0.53	0.22	13.98	1.67	0.00	0.13	0.59	1.54	5.28	2.69
13	12.12	45.34	0.09	19.02	12.45	2.58	15.02	27.84	17.34	13.82
14	3.64	27.63	21.59	38.77	40.12	53.85	18.06	19.38	14.48	33.67
15	0.10	0.99	7.99	1.66	3.76	27.32	19.66	2.03	10.96	13.44
16	3.03	17.71	0.38	4.75	16.26	0.84	9.61	41.26	0.27	0.86
17	6.17	14.46	4.83	20.00	35.20	64.31	2.75	11.81	7.76	7.03
18	1.75	18.23	10.40	53.95	24.55	50.81	0.43	12.70	19.12	37.08
19	0.56	5.77	0.43	0.15	0.81	5.25	17.97	5.25	2.21	1.22
20	2.67	1.53	4.16	9.04	0.02	4.91	2.69	7.07	2.49	1.05
21	4.33	0.24	0.06	0.07	7.95	18.79	7.24	4.70	4.23	3.21
22	5.75	21.24	17.44	31.72	25.76	35.48	0.17	18.10	49.46	38.90
23	1.85	12.61	11.21	15.96	12.69	0.46	2.41	11.48	0.77	0.78
24	0.15	0.73	2.08	1.05	0.90	0.03	17.48	4.52	0.34	2.59
25	0.28	0.42	0.04	8.91	27.98	0.24	1.04	34.36	0.10	0.32
26	1.47	0.13	13.11	4.56	17.37	0.00	1.26	17.58	11.54	26.24

ELLEMENT	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
27	40.23	14.86	16.62	1.70	1.96	7.72	9.47	0.11	1.18	2.59
28	36.83	19.09	5.03	2.40	3.00	6.33	11.67	0.62	4.69	8.48
1	0.23	-0.07	0.35	0.19	0.03	0.17	0.25	0.13	0.07	0.16
2	0.40*	0.05	0.67**	0.53*	0.10	0.42	0.38	0.43	0.24	-0.12
3	0.23	-0.37	-0.03	0.46*	0.28	-0.06	0.22	0.32	0.07	0.20
4	0.37	-0.13	0.44*	0.62**	0.13	0.22	0.45*	0.73**	0.04	-0.30
5	0.76**	0.00	0.35	0.63**	0.19	0.40	0.59**	0.50*	0.09	-0.01
6	0.35	0.04	0.16	0.73**	0.52*	-0.09	0.80**	0.71**	0.23	0.22
7	0.02	0.00	0.39	0.42	0.44*	0.31	0.17	0.07	0.42	0.16
8	0.71**	0.12	0.53*	0.44*	-0.14	0.64**	0.34	0.36	0.23	-0.27
9	0.35	0.23	0.42	0.30	0.33	0.05	0.28	0.44*	0.15	0.16
10	0.20	-0.16	0.37	0.58**	0.37	0.09	0.27	0.61**	0.11	0.10
11	329.00	-0.05	0.17	0.24	-0.02	0.47*	0.38	0.20	-0.05	-0.10
12	0.29	128.11	0.33	0.02	0.11	-0.02	0.26	0.15	0.36	0.22
13	2.92	10.57	347.49	0.42	-0.05	0.66**	0.13	0.35	0.39	-0.30
14	0.57	0.03	17.71	520.30	0.60**	0.08	0.60**	0.76**	0.32	0.07
15	0.04	1.17	0.30	35.73	370.62	-0.44*	0.51*	0.33	0.51*	0.55*
16	22.07	0.04	43.28	0.71	19.02	338.90	-0.13	-0.12	0.13	-0.41
17	14.50	6.81	1.73	36.06	25.55	1.73	389.84	0.61**	0.13	0.47*
18	4.13	2.20	12.20	57.18	11.16	1.36	37.35	460.97	0.03	-0.06
19	0.21	13.14	15.54	10.26	25.55	1.73	1.56	0.08	247.27	0.22
20	1.00	4.78	9.30	0.49	29.85	16.53	22.21	0.42	4.73	237.41
21	0.21	15.67	0.13	26.98	35.89	6.18	14.45	19.29	31.08	8.08
22	10.77	9.75	15.24	46.77	17.14	0.95	45.31	69.83	3.45	3.90
23	15.18	0.00	10.91	0.20	21.15	23.59	0.31	2.01	5.55	29.30
24	0.06	0.27	12.69	0.89	0.20	23.76	0.64	5.10	44.73	2.25
25	36.49	4.16	15.39	0.47	32.41	53.07	0.44	0.79	6.41	24.47
26	21.59	5.70	5.78	1.80	7.23	23.13	0.04	4.49	1.31	3.96
27	6.36	8.75	1.72	4.59	15.52	5.94	4.03	1.15	23.19	26.22
28	2.33	18.14	6.38	0.68	4.79	0.81	2.80	3.14	19.15	14.31

1	-0.21	0.24	0.14	0.04	-0.05	-0.12	-0.63**	-0.61**
2	0.05	0.46*	0.36	0.07	-0.29	0.04	-0.39	-0.44*
3	0.02	0.44*	-0.33	0.14	0.02	0.36	-0.41	-0.24
4	0.03	0.56**	0.40	-0.10	-0.30	0.21	-0.13	-0.15
5	0.28	0.51*	0.36	0.09	-0.53*	0.42	0.20	0.19
6	0.43*	0.60**	0.07	-0.02	0.05	0.00	-0.28	-0.25
7	0.27	-0.04	-0.16	0.42	0.10	-0.11	-0.31	-0.34
8	0.22	0.43	0.34	0.21	-0.59**	0.42	0.03	-0.08
9	0.21	0.70**	-0.09	-0.06	-0.03	0.34	-0.11	-0.22
10	0.18	0.62**	-0.09	0.16	-0.06	0.51*	-0.16	-0.29
11	-0.05	0.33	0.39	-0.02	-0.60**	0.46*	0.25	0.15
12	0.40	0.31	0.00	-0.05	0.20	-0.24	-0.30	-0.43
13	0.04	0.39	0.33	0.36	-0.39	0.24	-0.13	-0.25
14	0.52*	0.60**	-0.04	0.09	-0.07	0.13	-0.21	-0.08
15	0.60**	0.41	-0.46*	0.04	0.57**	-0.27	-0.39	-0.22
16	-0.25	-0.10	0.49*	0.49*	-0.73**	0.48*	0.24	0.09
17	0.38	0.67**	0.06	-0.08	0.07	0.02	-0.20	-0.17
18	0.44*	0.84**	0.14	-0.23	-0.09	0.21	-0.11	-0.18
19	0.56**	0.19	-0.24	0.67**	0.25	-0.11	-0.48*	-0.44*
20	0.20	0.20	-0.54*	0.15	0.49*	-0.20	-0.51*	-0.38
21	275.42	0.43*	-0.28	0.15	0.41	-0.19	-0.30	-0.30
22	18.74	511.85	-0.06	-0.12	-0.04	0.33	-0.23	-0.25
23	7.69	0.38	246.42	-0.10	-0.59**	0.13	0.44*	0.18
24	2.20	1.42	1.10	144.05	-0.14	0.30	-0.20	-0.19
25	16.86	0.16	34.93	2.03	384.08	-0.60**	-0.50*	-0.37
26	3.44	10.61	1.61	9.11	36.18	254.19	0.44*	0.24
27	9.00	5.22	13.10	3.94	24.62	19.41	353.47	0.85**
28	8.74	6.18	3.20	3.77	13.52	5.55	72.28	285.52

ELEMENTS IN ORDER OF CONTRIBUTION TO VARIANCE

14 22 2 6 18 5 4 8 17 25 15 10 27 13 16 11 9 28 1 21 3 26 19 23 20 7 24 12

COMPONENT 1 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 14
 INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE ELEMENTS:
 22 2 6 18 5 4 8 17 15 10 21 3

COMPONENT 2 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 25
INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE ELEMENTS:
5 3 15 27 16 11 26 23 20

COMPONENT 3 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 11
INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE ELEMENTS:
2 4 8 16

COMPONENT 4 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 9
INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE ELEMENTS:
22 2 18 5 10

COMPONENT 5 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 28
INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE ELEMENTS:
2 27 1 19 8

COMPONENT 6 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 7
INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE ELEMENTS:
15

COMPONENT 7 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 24
INCLUDED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ARE ELEMENTS:
16 19

COMPONENT 8 - PRINCIPAL ELEMENT IS NO. 12
NO RELATED ELEMENTS

END OF DATA-FILE

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Record of corrections following oral examination

1. A statement of hypotheses was added to the design section.
2. Standard deviations were added to Tables 1-7.
3. Additional detail was given of the construction of the Effort/Ability scale and validation of the IAR.
4. Critic of the Lawseq was added.
5. Various minor errors were corrected.