



Title Belonging to School: The Nature and Extent of
 the Bond between Pupil and School

Name Polly Catherine Sills-Jones

This is a digitised version of a dissertation submitted to the University of Bedfordshire.

It is available to view only.

This item is subject to copyright.



340394873

Belonging to School:

The Nature and Extent of the Bond between Pupil and School

Polly Catherine Elizabeth Sills-Jones

A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Professional Doctorate within the Institute of Applied Social Research

Date Submitted October 2011

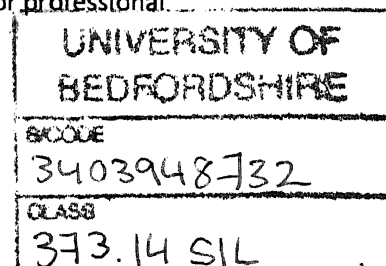
Abstract

The school holds particular functions for society; to credential, to contain and to shape the citizens of the future. One much discussed function is the influence of school on the morality and behaviour of young people. This thesis explores the nature of the bond between pupil and school, how it affects behaviour and how it is shaped by the school culture.

The focus is derived from an integration of different disciplinary and theoretical paradigm in three previously separate fields; criminology, education and psychotherapy. This thesis is practice-based, using mixed methods research centred on a case-study school and encompasses pupil questionnaires (n=189), pupil interviews (n=5) and extensive ethnographic research. Furthermore, the study is unusual due to the 'insider' status created by my professional role within the school.

In this thesis, Hirschi's bond to conformity (1969) is developed to incorporate a pupil's perceptions of the bond. This is defined as a sense of belonging. Findings indicate that a pupil's sense of belonging is significantly linked to pupil behaviour. Furthermore, elemental strands of the sense of belonging signify that the pupil's perception of the school's bond to *him*, are of key importance. This foregrounds the significance of a school's cultural *Character* (Berne, 1973) on shaping a pupil's perceptions and sense of belonging.

The purpose of this study is to generate useful findings that will support academics, practitioners and policy-makers in attending to a pupil's sense of belonging and a school's culture. The findings that emerge have important implications for professional education and training, and for school development.



Acknowledgments

My thanks go to all the pupils and staff who gave me such unbounded access to their school. Particular thanks must go to the head teacher, deputy head, one particular year group and within that year, five articulate and thoughtful pupils who gave their time so willingly and generously. They must all remain anonymous for reasons of confidentiality but they know who they are.

Many thanks to Sarah Wydall whose professional expertise, sensitivity and naturally 'chilled' personality was greatly valued by both myself and the pupils she interviewed; putting us all at our ease.

I am hugely grateful to my supervisors, Professor John Pitts, Dr Cherilyn Dance but most of all Dr Isabelle Brodie whose unwavering support and commitment to my thesis drove me on to the very last page. I cannot quite articulate how encouraging and positive she has been over the many meetings, emails and phone calls. I would also like to thank the other staff in the department and commend the professional doctorate process. The course was interesting and fulfilling and I believe it was the camaraderie created during the first year's taught sessions that spurred us all on, not once did I feel the isolation often associated with this type of research; so thanks to my prof doc cohort!

Charlotte Sills, deserves a specific tribute and considerable thanks. It was she who raised me to have the beliefs and insights that I have. As well as being a fabulous mum, she is an amazing role model. I have a great deal to thank her for. Thanks also to Lisa and Oban. Surprisingly having two small children did not interfere with this process, rather it gave me strength and hope during the nappy changes and night feeds that I was still effective.

Finally and definitely most importantly, thanks to my wonderful husband, Dafydd. I would not have even considered such an undertaking without his love and complete faith in me. Diolch yn fawr iawn, Cariad.

Polly Sills-Jones

October 2011

Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Contents	v
List of Figures	x
List of Tables	xiii
Author's Declaration	xiv
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Terms and Definitions	5
1.2 Challenging Child or Challenging School	7
1.3 My Thesis and a Sense of Belonging	8
1.4 Research Questions	9
1.5 Summary of Case-Study School	10
1.6 Outline of Thesis	13
2. Historical and Political Context	14
2.1 Moral Education	14
2.2 The Political Landscape for Schools	15
2.3 The Role of School in Society	18
2.3.1 The Factory	19
2.3.2 The Asylum	20
2.3.3 The Prison	22
2.4 Exclusion	23
2.5 Who is Excluded and Why?	25

2.6 Misbehaviour and Delinquency	29
2.7 Including the Excluded	30
2.7.1 So... What Works?	34
2.8 The Implication of Inclusion/ Exclusion Policy	38
2.9 Conclusion	39
3. Literature Review	41
3.1 Theories of Delinquency	41
3.2 How the Role of School in Society affects School Culture	42
3.3 School, Misbehaviour and Delinquency	47
3.3.1 Misbehaviour and School Culture	49
3.3.2 Exclusion and School Culture	51
3.3.3 Attachment and School Culture	54
3.4 School Climate	58
3.5 The Teacher – Pupil Relationship	61
3.6 Belonging	64
3.7 A Good Try? SEAL – Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning	68
3.8 Conclusion	70
4. Theoretical Framework	71
4.1 Control Theory and the Bond to School	72
4.1.1 The Development of ‘Self’	75
4.1.2 Self and School	77
4.1.3 Labelling Theory	77
4.1.4 Social Belonging and Peers	80
4.2 School Organisational Culture	81
4.2.1 Layers of Influence	84
4.2.2 Berne’s Theories of Culture	88
4.3 A Sense of Belonging	95

5. Methodology	96
5.1 My Role and Context	98
5.1.1 The Case-Study School	100
5.2 The Methodological Approach	101
5.2.1 Insider Research	101
5.2.2 The Use of Case-Study	107
5.2.3 The Use of Mixed Methods Research	108
5.3 Methodology	111
5.3.1 Research Question 1: How does a sense of belonging (incorporating Hirschi's bond, academic attainment and emotional relationship) affect the behaviour of pupils in school?	111
5.3.2 Research Question 2: How does the school cultural character (the relationships within school) affect the pupil's sense of belonging?	116
5.3.3 Research Question 3: What can a school do to strengthen the pupil's sense of belonging through strengthening the school's cultural character?	122
5.4 Consent and Gatekeeping	123
5.5 Presentation of Analysis Chapters	127
6. The Link Between a Sense of Belonging and Behaviour	128
6.1 Frequencies and Initial Analysis of the Self-Reported Misbehaviour	129
6.1.2 Implications Regarding the Findings Regarding Frequencies of Misbehaviour & Delinquency	133
6.2 Attitudes to School	138
6.2.1 Academic Achievement	139
6.2.2 Attitudes toward Teachers	142
6.2.3 Cultural Preference	146
6.2.4 Discipline	149
6.2.5 The pupil's relationship to school	151

6.2.6 Pupil's sense of self	152
6.2.7 The wider perspective	152
6.3 The Links between Behaviour and Attitudes to School	153
6.4 Belonging Analysis	157
6.4.1 Selecting the Belonging Questions	157
6.4.2 Analysis of Belonging	163
6.4.3 Links to Delinquency	167
6.5 Analysis Summary	171
7. The Effect of School Cultural Character on a Sense of Belonging	173
7.1 Measuring School Cultural Character	173
7.2 Ethnographic Observation	174
7.2.1 Technics, Etiquette and Character of the School	174
7.2.2 Preliminary Research	182
7.2.3 School Cultural Character	189
7.3 Interviews with Pupils	202
7.3.1 Themes Arising	203
7.3.2 Summary of Findings	212
7.3.3 Interviewer's Perceptions	213
7.4 Analysis Summary	216
8. Strengthening Belonging and School Cultural Character	218
8.1 School Cultural Character through School Climate Measures	219
8.1.1 Communication Patterns	221
8.1.2 Norms about Appropriateness	224
8.1.3 Role Relationships	227
8.1.4 Patterns of Influence and Accommodation	229
8.1.5 Reward and Sanction	233
8.1.6 Conclusions Regarding School Climate	236

8.2 Perception of Self- in School	240
8.2.1 'If you could be well-known at your school for one of the following, which one would you most want it to be? - Bright student, Sports star, Popular, Leader in school, Well dressed, Just average'	240
8.3 The Approach Developed for the Case-Study School	243
8.3.1 The Inclusion Unit	244
8.3.2 The Barriers to Implementation	247
8.3.3 Exclusion and Inclusion Data	248
8.4 Analysis Summary	256
9. Conclusion	258
9.1 Summary of Findings	259
9.2 Recommendations	262
9.2.1 School Cultural Character	265
9.2.2 Teacher Relationships	267
9.2.3 Pupil – Teacher Transactions	270
9.2.4 Specific Support	272
9.3 Limitations	273
9.4 Further Work	275
9.5 Conclusion	277
10. Appendices	278
Appendix A: Pupil Questionnaire	279
Appendix B: Interview Vignettes	288
Appendix C: Inclusion Unit Policy	290
Bibliography	297

List of Figures

4. Theoretical Framework

Figure 4.1	The Influence of the Role Set on Pupil and School	87
Figure 4.2	Transactional Analysis Ego States Model	89
Figure 4.3	Organisational Culture	90

6. The Link Between a Sense of Belonging and Behaviour

Figure 6.1	Proportion of Pupils reporting Misbehaviour	134
Figure 6.2	Proportion of Pupils reporting multiple Categories of Misbehaviour	135
Figure 6.3	Proportion of Pupils reporting Property Misbehaviour	136
Figure 6.4	Proportion of Pupils reporting Misbehaviour against the Person	134
Figure 6.5	Graph to show relationship between Misbehaviour and Belonging Scores	165
Figure 6.6	Graph to show relationship between Delinquency and Belonging Scores	168
Figure 6.7	Graph to show relationship between Misbehaviour and Delinquency	170

8. Strengthening Belonging and School Cultural Character

Figure 8.1	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Teachers don't have time to talk'	221
Figure 8.2	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Teachers just want you to be quiet'	222
Figure 8.3	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'I have no control over what happens to me'	223
Figure 8.4	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'To be better than others, you have to do some things that are not right'	224

Figure 8.5	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Most students at school commit crime'	225
Figure 8.6	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'It is OK to break the rules if you aren't going to get caught'	225
Figure 8.7	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Teachers understand students'	227
Figure 8.8	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Most teachers enjoy teaching'	228
Figure 8.9	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'In an argument between teachers and pupils, the teacher is usually right'	228
Figure 8.10	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Teachers care most about students who are going to go to university'	230
Figure 8.11	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Most teachers know their subject'	231
Figure 8.12	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'At school, I pretend to be someone I am not'	232
Figure 8.13	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'The school rules are fair'	233
Figure 8.14	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'Most teachers keep good discipline in class'	234
Figure 8.15	Comparison of Year Group & Misbehaviour Group: 'People who get into trouble should be excluded from school'	235
Figure 8.16	Responses of Year Group to: 'If you could be well-known at your school for one of the following, which one would you most want it to be? - Bright student, Sports star, Popular, Leader in school, Well dressed, Just average'	240
Figure 8.17	Comparison of Misbehaviour Group & Behaviour Group: 'If you could be well-known at your school for one of the following, which one would you most want it to be? - Bright student, Sports star, Popular, Leader in school, Well dressed, Just average'	241

Figure 8.18	Graph to show Number of Pupils Excluded over time	250
Figure 8.19	Graph to show Number of Days lost to Exclusion over time	251
Figure 8.20	Graph to compare Number of Pupils referred to Inclusion Unit & those Excluded	253

9. Conclusion

Figure 9.1	Peer Review Example	269
------------	---------------------	-----

List of Tables

1. Introduction

Table 1.1	Case- Study School	11
-----------	--------------------	----

3. Literature Review

Table 3.1	High or Low Excluding Schools	52
-----------	-------------------------------	----

5. Methodology

Table 5.1	Sources of Data	97
-----------	-----------------	----

6. The Link Between a Sense of Belonging and Behaviour

Table 6.1	Frequencies of Behaviour	129
-----------	--------------------------	-----

Table 6.2	Misbehaviour against Persons	130
-----------	------------------------------	-----

Table 6.3	Misbehaviour against Property	131
-----------	-------------------------------	-----

Table 6.4	Mann-Whitney comparison between Highest and Lowest Misbehaviour and Sense of Belonging	162
-----------	--	-----

Table 6.5	Chi-square significance for Misbehaviour and a Sense of Belonging	163
-----------	---	-----

Table 6.6	Spearman's Correlation for Misbehaviour and Belonging	166
-----------	---	-----

8. Strengthening Belonging and School Cultural Character

Table 8.1	Exclusion Data	249
-----------	----------------	-----

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Professional Doctorate at the University of Bedfordshire. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Polly Sills-Jones

October 2011

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the experience of children who misbehave in school, how this relates to the environment of the school, and how schools can be changed to become more inclusive. In this introductory chapter, I will describe my reasons for undertaking research in this area.

I started working with children with challenging behaviour when I first started teaching. I found that rather than seeing what many teachers see when a child misbehaves, that the child is violent, aggressive, destructive or hostile, I saw a child not knowing how to communicate. My approach for dealing with such challenging behaviour is sometimes at odds with the status quo of the school 'how things are done'. For policy procedures (for example child protection), I work to rule, but where I am able to use an alternative approach to resolve a conflict, I do so and the outcome is usually considerably more positive. My attitude and approach arises from my family and professional background that offered me a different perspective on human psychology and behaviour.

Subsequently, I interpret interaction and transaction - particularly of the school and the teacher's role - in a more psychotherapeutic way. What is more, my teacher training somewhat surprised me in how little time was spent on these aspects of child development, psychology and behavioural management.

I believe that children and young people with social, emotional and behavioural issues are not equipped with the tools to communicate their situations and frustrations and so tend to employ unappealing ways (to school and society) to change their predicament. I feel that more often than not, the challenging child's behaviour seems to elicit in others (in particular teachers) the opposite of what they really need.

This led me to think about why although most children exist easily and positively in school, some seem unable or reluctant to do so. I became interested in how these school interactions and relationships with adults and peers affected and shaped the pupil and their subsequent behaviour in the school setting. In sociological terms, I was exploring in a school context, Bourdieu's (1985) paradigm of habitus (an individual's identity) being shaped by his field (the environment). Furthermore I was interested in the multiple habitus of both pupil and teacher; their collective experience reinforcing the field and co-creating a culture for the school. Through my practice and research, I became acutely aware of the wide-ranging and varied external influences that also played a part in culture, and how these factors influence the culture and the individuals within it, be that positive and communal (Payne et al, 2003) or negative and potentially criminogenic (Power et al, 1972).

Prior to the development of specific research questions for this thesis, I was struck by a number of questions that even now affect and inform my practice:

1. Why do some pupils behave so badly in school? Why do some seem unable or unwilling to follow the expectations made by the school?
2. What responsibility does the school have in relation to the existence of challenging behaviour? Is the way in which teachers and other school staff treat children responsible, and might the school be part of the problem? Is this purely a teacher-pupil effect or is a school's culture influential?
3. How does the school culture affect the transactions that occur between a pupil and others (adults and peers)? How do the transactions co-create the pupil's sense of self within the school?

I felt that these questions invited exploration, as they suggest a powerful web of influence between the relationships established in school and the formation of delinquent behaviour. Within these questions lay more specific research questions that I intended to explore rigorously to ascertain whether my perceptions of the influence of school culture were valid. Following a wide ranging exploration of the literature, I felt that this thesis was going to be unusual in its positioning within the field.

In this thesis I have tried to integrate criminological and educational literature with a psychotherapeutic position. This is no small task. Considerable examination of the separate areas generated extensive theory and empirical research; out of this emerged two main themes that are especially important in relation to my area of interest. Firstly, I will explore the challenging child and his relationship to school. This is a burgeoning area encompassing theories of delinquency, links between school and delinquent behaviour and exclusion literature. Incorporated in this strand there is evidence from initiatives for addressing disaffection, school climate and bonding.

Secondly, there is the theme of the context of the school itself. This includes the development of cultural character arising from organisational culture theories, the influence of political history on British schools and the glut of legislation, policy and approach to direct schools with the best course of action for dealing with challenging behaviour. I propose that it is the culture that determines how a school will deal with challenging behaviour and it is what must be addressed for a significant change to the contextual and situational addressing of such behaviour.

These two themes led to the development of my thesis. This thesis proposes to explore the point at which the two themes meet; where the child – and his or her behaviour- and the school interact to co-create an identity in school that perpetuate and is

perpetuated by both parties and the culture. Although models such as Bourdieu's *habitus and field*, Giddens' *structure and agency* and Hirschi's *bond to conformity* attempt to examine this relationship, they tend to focus on a fixed outcome of the relationship. But I argue that it is the rigidity of the culture that perpetuates unhealthy interactions in school and vice versa. Instead, interactions should be carried out in the 'here and now' in order to attend to the natural fluidity of human transaction; the co-creation of culture and interactions within the culture. The more flexible the school culture, the more a pupil will feel part of the culture. This does not mean that schools should be flexible with rules and expectations, quite the contrary, acceptance and commitment to the system and its rules are fundamental for a healthy bond to school. Rather the school needs to attend to *how* it interacts with pupils, particularly with those with a weak or absent bond.

Granted, it is hard to capture the fluidity of the relationships and interactions (by academics) but the malleability of the bond is accepted and even relied upon by practitioners. I propose that the exploration of this area in this way will enable schools to acknowledge and reflect on their school culture just as we expect challenging pupils to do so during positive intervention. The intention is to address the dynamic relationship and invite alternative options for both pupil and school. In order to explore this area for analysis, I have defined a pupil's experience of school in the 'here and now' and the ability of the school culture to attend to the relationships and interactions as the *pupil's sense of belonging*.

There are, sadly, a handful of children who have been extremely damaged by their early experiences and therefore need intensive and specific intervention to manage the impact of this on their adolescent and adult lives. However, there is considerable

evidence across academic, practice and anecdotal fields that, for the vast majority of children who misbehave in school and display delinquent behaviour, the self-recognition, self-control and self-esteem that might be lacking can be fostered by strengthening the bond to school and the child's sense of belonging.

In this chapter, I will introduce the general concepts underpinning this thesis. But first I will outline the terms and definitions used in this work.

1.1 Terms and Definitions

Different terms and definitions are used in the literature when discussing delinquent behaviour in school but I will use the term 'misbehaviour' when referring to such challenging behaviour committed in school, irrespective of whether the behaviour is deemed legally criminal or the police become involved.

Although some behaviour is indeed delinquent, schools tend to have their own arbitration and justice systems. There are numerous anecdotal examples where petty theft, criminal damage, truancy, fighting and consumption of alcohol are dealt with within the school by the school and parents. It is only the more serious offences that call for the involvement of the police and criminal justice system (Berridge et al, 2001; Daniels et al, 2004).

So for the purposes of this thesis, all challenging behaviour including criminally delinquent acts that occur in school are termed 'misbehaviour'; and when referring to 'delinquent behaviour', I am describing behaviour committed outside of the school that may or may not receive the attention of the police and youth justice system.

A further term that I use throughout this thesis is 'transaction'. This is a specific term articulated by Berne (1961; Stewart & Joines, 1987) that expresses the dynamic interaction between individuals central to Transactional Analysis; encapsulating the individual role identities in the moment and context (see theory chapter).

Also important to highlight at this point is my third person gender label. Throughout this thesis, I will use 'him' and 'he' - this is purely to allow a fluid reading of the thesis rather than to make any conclusions as to gender influence on behaviour. Throughout the research process, I was careful to not include gender at any stage. Although the sample is a mixed one, neither the respondents of the questionnaires nor the interviews are identified as male or female. The reason for this is that I am attempting to explore the influence of a school cultural milieu on the bond between child and school and more importantly the pupil's perceptions of the bond. The issues surrounding gender, perception of gender and stereotyping would cause a skewing of emphasis away from this. Moreover, there are distinct discourses in educational and criminological theory regarding the [mis]behaviour of boys and girls, but I have sought to retain a focus on both. I recognise that this is potentially controversial, given the interest in the relationship between gender and different forms of misbehaviour and delinquency, but feel that the task of this thesis is a different one and that gender is not the main concern. This reasoning applies to other characteristics that might also have relevance such as cultural identity, language etc. To follow is an overview of the challenges and ideas behind this thesis.

1.2 Challenging Child or Challenging School

When a child misbehaves in school or anywhere else, a psychotherapeutic perspective requires that we assume that there is something wrong. That child is trying to communicate using impulsive, thoughtless behaviour or actively hostile behaviour. This may be a longstanding, repeated behavioural response (learned early and reinforced) or a here and now reaction to a specific situation. Either way the child is expressing himself.

Finding the root cause of delinquent behaviour has long been a sociological question. There are numerous ideas as to the causes of delinquency, and these can generally be traced to three accepted theories of delinquency: Strain Theory, Cultural Deviance Theory and Control Theory or a combination of these (to be discussed further in the literature review). Theories of delinquency exist in a sociological context and attempt to explain or mitigate behaviour.

This thesis focuses on Hirschi's Control Theory (1969) as an underpinning framework for the cause of delinquency; the idea that the bond to conformity controls our natural delinquent desires. Control or Bond Theory allows observation and analysis of the relationship between an individual and a conforming institution such as school. Therefore it is integral in supporting this thesis in looking at the nature and extent of a pupil's bond with school being fundamental to the development of appropriate or inappropriate behaviour. However, what control theory is unable to meter is the two directional nature of the bond. In essence, this is the perceptions of the bond. This thesis attempts to combine the idea of the bond with the influence of a school's culture on the bond.

Hence the second underpinning theory for this thesis concerns school culture. Berne introduced his theory for organisational culture in 1973. It built on the psychotherapeutic model Transactional Analysis that he established in 1961. Although to be discussed in detail in the theory chapter, briefly, it asserts that a culture is made up of Etiquette (practice), Technics (policy) and Character. It is this third element of culture that I believe shapes the school's relationship with pupils and their sense of belonging.

To reiterate, at the heart of this thesis are the concept of a pupil's bond to school and how this is shaped by the school culture.

1.3 My Thesis and a Sense of Belonging

I felt that a new term might incorporate the child's perceptions of the school and of the others within the school. I have called this a sense of belonging. I suggest this combines the elements of Hirsch's bond with the expectations and perceptions of the pupil. It also borrows significance from the term derived by Maslow (1943) of belonging as fundamental in an individual's hierarchy of need.

I have defined belonging as being made up of three elements;

1. Perception of one's own bond to school
2. Perception of the school's bond to him
3. Perception of the bonds between school and peers

It is the sense of belonging that I believe holds the key to behaviour and deviance. It acknowledges the multifaceted, dynamic nature of the pupil's bond to school.

Specifically, it highlights how the repeated, dynamic and variant transactions, and furthermore the pupil's perception of these transactions, link together to form a pupil's fit to school or sense of belonging.

For example, a child who has had a difficult morning feels envy at seeing another child praised for his work, he becomes frustrated and demanding, he experiences a sense of injustice and self-doubt. He questions his own sense of validity and value. The experience reinforces his not belonging, he becomes challenging. Options for the teacher are to give him attention - however once he is demanding, praise is counter-intuitive and confusing for the child, the teacher and the other children - or to scold him. Rather, he needs his yearning attended to. 'You got your work done and then you shouted at me... are you shouting because you wanted me to tell you that you had done well?... can you think of another way that you could get me to praise you?' A dialogue, an interaction in the here and now might enable the child to address his behaviour and his sense of self.

1.4 Research Questions

My hypothesis is that a child who has a strong sense of belonging to school - whether they are necessarily achieving academically or not, whether they seem to be liked by individual teachers or not, whether they proclaim to like or dislike school, whether they are *attached, committed, involved and believe* (Hirschi 1969) in school or not - will not misbehave in school.

So my initial queries raised are consolidated into the following research questions:

1. How does a sense of belonging affect the behaviour of pupils in school?
2. How does the school cultural character affect the pupil's sense of belonging?
3. What can a school do to strengthen the pupil's sense of belonging through strengthening the school's cultural character?

To test and evaluate this, I took a 'snapshot' of a cohort (n=189) of pupils in a case-study comprehensive secondary school. I asked them to anonymously self-report behaviour inside (and outside school). The second part of the questionnaire asked each pupil to respond to over eighty questions exploring their perceptions of school, self and others. From this I am able to compare the responses, to sort them according to their behaviour, instrumental and emotional attachment and belonging. To develop and strengthen some of the concepts arising from the questionnaire, five pupils were interviewed about their experiences and thoughts about belonging, school and behaviour. Ultimately, and implicit in the third research question, it is hoped that the answers to these questions will enable schools to attend to their cultural character and the individual needs of the pupils it supports in such a way that allows the pupil to verify his identity in relation to the school positively.

1.5 Summary of Case-Study School

To follow is a tabulated summary of the Case-study school where the research was carried out.

Table 1.1 Case-Study School; characteristics, circumstances, sample size

Type of School	Mixed sex, fully comprehensive secondary school, 11-19 year olds
Size of school (11-16 years only)	1075
Religious Affiliation	None
Proportion on Free School Meals	12.2%
Proportion on SEN Register	40%
Standards	Estyn: <i>'very good with outstanding features'</i> 5+ GCSEs A*-C above national average
Language/Culture (comments from Estyn reports)	Bilingual – English and Welsh/Cymraeg; <i>'While over 400 pupils study Welsh as a first language, over 90% of pupils and students come from homes where English is the first language'</i>
Pupil Wellbeing and Behaviour (comments from Estyn reports)	<i>'Pupils' moral, social, cultural and wider development is very good.'</i> <i>'There is an orderly atmosphere in the school and pupils understand the high expectations the school has of them.'</i> <i>'Pupils are courteous and tolerant. There are very few incidents of bullying and aggressive behaviour.'</i>
School Culture (comments from Estyn reports)	<i>'The praise and support, which the school offers, motivate pupils to give of their best.'</i> <i>'Relationships with adults in the school enable pupils to express their views openly and honestly.'</i> <i>'Pupils and students are encouraged to respect one another, the staff and the environment and to have a clear sense of right and wrong.'</i>
Fixed Term Exclusion Rate (national average for all schools = 2.6% average for English secondary school = 10.9% average for Welsh secondary school = 9.1%)	8.9% in 2006/2007 4.3% in 2010/2011

<p>Permanent Exclusion Rate (national average for all schools = 0.12% average for English secondary school = 0.23% average for Welsh secondary school = 0.08%)</p>	<p>0.7% in 2006/2007</p>
<p>Socio-economic characteristics (up my street website)</p>	<p>Very large catchment area – potentially up to 25 miles radius. Encompasses thriving town (<i>Income: medium to high with older affluent professionals</i>) to rural villages (<i>economy underpinned by agriculture</i>) to tiny villages in between (not listed).</p>
<p>Sample Size</p>	<p>Year 8 cohort n = 189 (92% of year group)</p>

1.6 Outline of the Thesis

So far, Chapter 1 has presented the challenge to be undertaken by this thesis. It has proposed the concept of a sense of belonging as a link to misbehaviour and introduced the idea of the influence of school cultural character on a sense of belonging. Chapter 2 will present the historical and political context for education, to examine the literature and policy that influences education and schools in the UK. Chapter 3 explores in more detail the literature, research and studies raised in this introductory chapter in the associated fields of criminology, education and psychotherapy. Chapters 4 and 5 will provide a theoretical framework and the methodological approach from which I can explore the thesis of belonging to school and cultural character. Chapter 6, 7 and 8 take the three research questions and analyse them in turn. Finally, Chapter 9 concludes this research and thesis by considering the findings from the research and makes recommendations as to the use of this research in practice.

Chapter 2 Historical and Political Context

This thesis attempts to marry theory from different areas, namely criminological, educational and psychotherapeutic. Carrying out a systematic detailed exploration and review of all the literature would, therefore, be impossible. So in this and the following chapter I have attempted to examine some salient areas in detail and others more generally. The selection of areas of literature for more detailed scrutiny is informed by the research questions, together with the theoretical basis of the thesis.

In this chapter, I will endeavour to present more general or macro ideas in the literature regarding how education and schools are positioned in society. I will include literature that examines government policy on education and school matters, with particular reference to the different political agendas over the last thirty years and how this has shaped school practice. The influence of policy and practice on school culture and a review of more specific literature are left to the following chapter.

2.1 Moral Education

School education has always had an element of moral training. In its earliest guise educational institutions and movements, in the main with a religious bent, sought to equip the child with a social understanding for adulthood. Education for all was available by the end of the nineteenth century and was a powerful universal service offering an opportunity for young people to gain the skills and knowledge they needed to achieve gainful employment. Both the politicians and the philanthropists and educationalists of the time saw moral training within the educational establishments as an answer to the political and social unrest that was - and still is - a threat to peaceful

society (see, for example, Hendrick 1997). The argument raged, even then, as to whether delinquency was a problem of poverty or morality but the concept of *treatment* for moral guidance through education continues to be deemed far preferable to the redistribution of power and resources.

The political governance of schools has not become any more straightforward over time. The next section seeks to give an overview as to how successive political parties in more recent years have sought to deal with the issues of school and education; through a discussion of the last thirty years of educational policy.

2.2 The Political Landscape for Schools

The Conservatives and Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979 following a long Labour government. Much has been written about Thatcher's government and the influence she had on contemporary Britain and public services and nationalised industry. However, in brief, the emphasis was on efficiency and a free market. Education in Britain was one of the areas concentrated on for wholesale change (Riley 1998). The Education Reform Act in 1988 reformed education drastically. Although decentralising considerable control of schools financially, what was taught and how it was examined was stringently centralised. The National Curriculum, GCSEs (General Certificate of Secondary Education) and League Tables is said to have undermined the accountability, discretion, autonomy and empowerment of schools and teachers (Riley 1998, Stephenson 2007). The NUT reported in 1992 that the National Curriculum had increased the teachers' workload resulting in more stress and less time with children.

Teachers were divested of much of their professional expertise. Discretion as to what was taught, learned and assessed was outsourced to a public exam.

Also introduced in 1988 - although not fully in the public domain for some years and following a great deal of resistance from teachers and schools - were the Secondary School Performance Tables. 'League Tables', as they soon became known, were supposed to increase standards across the country through performance related 'healthy competition' however the opposite seemed to happen; geographical differences were reinforced and social mobility became even more rigidly stratified than the 1930s (Stephenson, 2007).

In terms of emphasis on pupil behaviour, the Elton Report was published in 1989. This report marked a change in rhetoric from rules and sanctions to 'managing behaviour' (Hayden 2011a). The Conservative government shifted the focus further towards the problematising of behaviour, including exclusion from school, with the publication of *Pupils with Problems* (DfEE, 1994; Brodie, 2001; Hayden, 2009). What followed was a mushrooming of recommended approaches and interventions (Hayden, 2011a).

The shifting focus of teaching since the late 1980s has seen the idea of the teacher morph from that of a lone isolated expert, responsible for his own teaching in his own way and rarely having contact with other adults, to that of the collegiate and collaborative member, attending regular meetings on teaching, learning and assessment, sharing information and experience to develop policy and practice in both general and specific areas (Ballantine and Spade, 2004). It is not surprising that this transition appeals greatly to some but alienates and undermines others.

New Labour came to power in 1997 and implemented extensive and wide ranging targets and performance related indicators to education and exclusion. The rhetoric of the directives for support of young people and reduction of exclusion was positive and balanced but the policy that it was built on was contradictory.

'What is happening is the legacy of new policies that have their national objective of 'inclusion' on top of practices that have demonstrably contrary effects. An ungenerous observer might suggest that the government is trying to have its cake and eat it.'

(Loxley and Thomas, 2001:299)

The Blair government liked Thatcher's ideas of 'adding value' and placed more and more emphasis on this; putting a value not on how well a child will do but how well the school does at moving him on (West and Pennell, 2002).

The effects of the free market on the pupils did not go unmissed. Pupils have become commodities as a source of yearly income for the school, as future employees for society as well as an indicator of the success of a teacher or a school. The reforms to teachers' pay and career structure were presented in the 1998 Green Paper, *Teachers: meeting the challenge of change* (Department for Education and Employment, 1998) and this, together with evidence from the Hay McBer Report (2000) into teacher effectiveness, resulted in the judgement of a teacher's performance against standardised criteria (Brehony, 2005). To all intents and purpose, the teacher's social pedagogic role was professionalised; with this teachers lost self-confidence and morale. How this lack of teacher self-efficacy and morale plays out in the classroom is unsurprising.

'Exclusion is seldom the measure of a child's capacity to learn; it is an indication, instead, of the teacher's refusal to be challenged' (Sivanandan, 1994:iii)

The last 13 years under New Labour have seen a continued shift towards the measurable. In many areas of the public sector, policy and practice is littered with key performance indicators, beurocracy and targets (Helsby, 1999; West and Pennell, op cit). It is this unfortunate combination of Thatcher's professionalisation and commodification of society coupled with the beurocratisation and target orientation that has undermined teachers and schools. However, it seems legislative and directive pressure on the teacher has always been part of the job, even in 1898, teachers reported that they felt restricted by the codes and standards (Stephenson, 2007).

2.3 The Role of School in Society

It seems that the New Labour government defined the school and its functions clearly as being in the common good of society. Durkheim would approve, with his assertion that schools should be free of the influence of special interest groups and be entirely under the control of the state (Durkheim, 1961). However, the mix of centralised control and increased measuring, a reduction of the labour opportunities and an increase in process as to how to deal with those children that do not fit the system has led to a degrading of the functions. With 47 per cent of pupils leaving school in July 2010 without the crucial five GCSEs (grades A-C) (DfE ,2011a), schools are struggling to meet the targets of providing future employees, keeping the potential troublemakers off the streets and righting the disparity of wealth and power in society (Parsons, 1999).

Due to the varied functions and priorities for schools, the culture of schools is unusual and complex. It is made up of adults and children, the paid and unpaid and those with power and those without. Hargreaves (1997) succinctly identified the differing functions of schools, capturing some of the complexity; *'Schools are still modelled on the curious mix of the factory, the asylum and the prison'*.

I shall use these descriptors to articulate the thinking about schools and how the functionality reinforces the culture of a school.

2.3.1 The Factory

Just as the teachers were professionalised, the students were commodified. As suggested previously, the child was a source of income yearly for the school and a measure for the success of the school or teacher, as well as a cog in a larger machine of future employment. However, with the privatisation of considerable industry in the 1980s, and continued deindustrialisation of UK, the opportunities for school leavers diminished.

'Many young people were prepared to trade their obedience for qualifications. But once there are very few or no jobs at all available for school leavers and once a few qualifications can no longer guarantee employment...the existence of these qualifications can no longer be relied upon to secure classroom consent or efforts'

(Hargreaves, 1989:54)

As previously identified, the importance of education, training or employment for the deterrence of deviant behaviour is accepted. Yet again there are conflicting messages in

the achievement of this; for example New Labour's target of 50 per cent of the population to attend university. This was a positive and encouraging step in terms of opportunity for young people from working class backgrounds, but without the scaffold of increased jobs and opportunities for the increased number of graduates.

There are also factors in today's society that inadvertently exacerbate the weakening of attachment of a young person. Despite schools offering alternative vocational curriculum to those less likely to succeed following more traditional academic routes, some young people are disadvantaged on leaving school (Tunnard et al, 2008). The depleted labour market in the UK prevents many young people from achieving their hopes and goals for life. But there is a continued social aspiration towards technological and material wealth and gain, creating a gap between aspiration and reality. Hirschi (1969) explores the gap between aspiration and attainment, asserting that the larger the gap the greater the likelihood of delinquency. The boy who desires material success but does not desire the trappings of the middle class life-style (job, taxes) is more likely to delinquency than the boy who desires neither. These have been both reinforced and questioned over the years but continue to be raised as the issues faced by society when discussing tackling crime and juvenile delinquency.

2.3.2 The Asylum

The term inclusion is generally applied to those with Special Educational Needs (SEN) and more rarely in the literature to those with behavioural difficulties only. However, there is a growing shift to diagnose challenging behaviour into the SEN field in order to

access resources and support that might otherwise not be available. This predates the New Labour government, and was evident in the Green Paper Title.

'Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties lie on the continuum between behaviour which challenges teachers but is within normal albeit unacceptable bounds, and that which is indicative of serious illness. They are persistent (if not necessarily permanent) and constitute learning difficulties.' (DfE and DOH, 1994:7)

Although there is an obvious advantage for those requiring the support, and indeed for the school required to employ increased staff to attend to the needs of behavioural difficulties, the consequences of this are serious in terms of our definition of behavioural problems.

Since RD Lang's controversial look at the medicalisation and diagnoses surge in USA, the UK has followed suit. New terms and diagnoses are being allocated to children. In addition, different structures may label and diagnose the same symptoms differently. For example where the educational psychologist might diagnose Oppositional Defiance Disorder, the parent may see school phobic and the paediatrician, Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Rutter (1970) studied parents and teachers and their understanding of Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD). Parents tend to identify 'E' where teachers see 'B'. They have different experience of the behaviour within different contexts, and therefore tend to reach different conclusions.

2.3.3 The Prison

Even in its most benign form, the school has a duty to keep the child off the street. School is even referred to as custodial (Hayden, 2011a; Stephenson, 2007; Parsons, 1999). It is during this period in school that a child will progress through the stages of moral development (Kohlberg 1963), understanding the rights and responsibilities of living in society.

Menzies (1960) was referring to health settings and hospitals in particular when she asserted that systems [were used] as a defence against anxiety. In her research, Menzies (op cit) was describing the defence mechanisms used by nurses when looking after the ill and dying. She saw that the nurses rejected the vulnerabilities in others, instead putting systems in place to control against the fear of vulnerability of their own self. A shutting off of emotions ensued, sternness or lack of relationship and caring became manifest in interactions.

In schools, as pressure on staff and pupils increases due to the factors already discussed, teachers might employ similar systems to defend against anxiety. Teachers are not counsellors but are required to act as social pedagogues, in that *'they promote the personal development, social education and general well-being of the child alongside or in place of parents in a range of educational and social care settings'*. (Kyriacou et al, 2009:75). Yet the time and attention required supporting the child as a preventative measure is considerable. As a result, teachers increasingly rely on a referral to another individual or agency to take on the issue.

The prison analogy continues with the school's need to meet the agendas of society.

Both politicians and the public 'moral majority' must be appeased. Repressive

deterrents don't work but are popular with the 'chattering' classes (Stephenson, 2007; see also Parsons, 2005). As a result, whether it is prison or a school, more lenient or supportive alternatives are unpopular with politicians and decision-makers. Brodie (2001) analysing the media response to concerns about school exclusion in the 1990s, notes how excluded young people became scapegoats for a whole series of social ills. Additionally, political discourse allowed for the possibility that both high and low excluding schools were 'good' at maintaining discipline.

The discussion of the punitive element or function of school leads neatly to specific discussion of the available sanction measures in schools for addressing unwelcome behaviour.

2.4 Exclusion

For most schools, the final sanction for misbehaviour is exclusion. Previously called suspension or expulsion, now termed fixed-term or permanent exclusion, exclusion has been part of law since 1944 Education Act for England and Wales.

Just as over the last 60 years, the face of education and schooling has changed - for example the change from grammar and secondary modern to comprehensive schools - so too have public and professional attitudes to exclusion. Current exclusion policy and procedure is particularly influenced by legislation and directive from the 1980s onwards. The options for schools are the accepted and official permanent exclusion and fixed term exclusion with a maximum term of 45 days. There are also unofficial (and illegal) options where a pupil might be 'invited to stay at home' (Berridge et al, 2001; Brodie, 2001; Briggs, 2010). The legislation regarding exclusion for schools and parents (in

terms of appeals) has increased significantly over the last two decades. Prior to the Education Act 1994, schools had the option of an indefinite exclusion. However, following the Act, exclusion legislation was significantly tightened. It was only after 1994 that the state allocation of money per pupil was transferred with the pupil or paid back if a pupil was permanently excluded. Until the Act, schools were able to keep the money assigned (Blyth and Milner, 1996); a less scrupulous school might have taken advantage of this. Astonishingly, it only became law in 2002 that the LEA had to provide full time and appropriate education if a pupil is excluded from school for more than three weeks (Hayden, 2003). The practicalities and logistics of this are extremely challenging and are rarely fulfilled. The on-going education is often met by class teachers sending work to the pupil's home, and even this requirement may not be met (Centre for Social Justice, 2011).

Following a permanent exclusion, pupils can be enrolled in another school in the area, if that school is amenable. However there are circumstances where no alternative school can be identified. If a child is permanently excluded, it is the parents who have the responsibility to find the alternative school not the LEA, this means that a child may be out of education for many months and even years as parents have no knowledge or information (Hayden, 2003). Following the LEA and the schools strict legislation to support a pupil still on school role, this seems a strange loophole where a pupil in most need is given the least advice, support and assistance. If an alternative school cannot be found (for example, no other school will take the child) then the LEA does have a responsibility to provide an alternative. This might be a Pupil Referral Unit or similar or a private tutor. If the child does not engage, the resources and options then available to the LEA and parents are extremely limited.

One option for parents is to appeal the exclusion; but LEAs and Governing Body only reverse approximately five per cent of permanent exclusion appeals (Blythe and Milner, 1996). Even if the child is allowed to return, teachers may (supported by their unions) refuse to teach the child or in some cases the school becomes passively hostile. The coalition government has also proposed further limits to the potential for appeal.

Just as challenging behaviour of pupils might be seen as their 'best or only option', the teacher's use of exclusion is the same; there are no other choices. These issues draw attention from the 'exclusion events at point of breakdown and the relationship between school and pupil towards the processes of deviation which may precede it' (Booth in Blyth and Milner 1996:21). In many instances the event precipitating exclusion is trivial but is seen as final straw, in deteriorating relationships between pupils and staff.

With exclusions and inclusion becoming a public and political issue, New Labour targeted that by 2002, exclusion figures were reduced by one third (Home Office, 2000). A fall in exclusions from 1998 to 2001 by one third duly followed. Unsurprisingly, when the target was pulled, the rate went back up (Stephenson 2007). While the reliability of exclusion statistics has long been called into question, the data nevertheless invites questions around the necessity of exclusion and alternatives available.

2.5 Who is Excluded and Why?

The data available when this research was carried out indicated exclusion to be a serious problem in England. More than 350,000 children were fixed-term excluded from

secondary schools and more than 8,500 permanently excluded (from primary, secondary and special schools) in 2006-2007.

Hayden's extensive research into exclusion and delinquency calculated that the national average rate for fixed term exclusion in England was 2.6 per cent of a school population and 0.12 per cent for permanent exclusion (DCSF, 2008). These figures are not dramatically high but do provide a position to enable comparisons between schools as well as highlighting the numbers of children exclusion may apply to and those therefore 'at risk' of offending careers. Hayden's research was drawn from the data provided from LEAs (Local Education Authorities) for primary, secondary and special schools from all over the UK. Therefore, it may not represent the entire picture given that only fixed term exclusions from 5-15 days must be reported to LEA, those that are shorter or that are 'unofficial' (where a pupil is 'invited' to stay at home to avoid further sanctions) are not included in this picture. This fact highlights two important points. Firstly, the issue may be more serious than identified and secondly, the proclivity for short exclusions and unofficial exclusions will have a significant effect on the culture of a school.

More recent data for English schools (DfE, 2011b) indicates a drop in exclusion numbers. The number of fixed term exclusions in *secondary* schools has been dropping year on year and for 2009-2010 was down on 2006-2007 by nearly 100,000 exclusions to 279,260. The number of permanent exclusions (in primary, secondary and special schools) was only 5,740. Although this drop equates to a drop in permanent exclusion rate from 0.12 per cent to 0.08 per cent of a school population, the average fixed term exclusion rate per school is reported as having gone up considerably to 4.46 per cent (2.6 per cent in 2006-2007) although this rate is down on the previous year's data. Note

that this is the rate for all schools (primary, secondary and special). The fixed term exclusion rate for secondary schools only is considerably higher, 9.3 per cent.

In Wales there are proportionally fewer pupils excluded both permanently and on a fixed term basis. In Wales a considerable drop in permanent exclusion rates was recorded in 2006/2007, this was due to the much more widespread use of 'managed moves' between schools and now stands at 0.08 per cent (comparable to England). For all schools the fixed term exclusion rate is similar to England at 4.3 per cent but for secondary schools only, it is 7.5 per cent (Welsh Government, 2011).

A detailed study by the Home Office (2000) presented the summary reasons for exclusion compiled from data from LEAs in England and Wales:

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| • Bullying, fighting and assaults on peers | 30.1 per cent |
| • Disruption, misconduct and unacceptable behaviour | 17.0 per cent |
| • Verbal abuse of peers | 14.9 per cent |
| • Verbal abuse to staff | 12.0 per cent |
| • Miscellaneous | 8.1 per cent |
| • Theft | 5.5 per cent |
| • Defiance and disobedience | 5.0 per cent |
| • Drugs (smoking, alcohol, cannabis) | 4.0 per cent |
| • Vandalism and arson | 2.4 per cent |
| • Physical abuse and assault on staff | 1.2 per cent |

In terms of Welsh school data (Welsh Government, 2011) the following behaviour resulted in exclusion. Although the categories are slightly different, comparisons can be

made for example, assaults on pupils seems higher in Wales than the Home Office UK average data. 'Defiance' in Wales is also dramatically higher.

The number of children being excluded from school is clearly significant and given the link between exclusion and delinquency, the potential for increased social disorder is also affected. In addition to the increasing numbers of pupils affected by exclusion, the other marked issue raised by these studies is the type of children being excluded. A large proportion of excluded pupils are those with Special Educational Needs (SEN), Black or Minority Ethnic (BME) or children in care Looked After Children (LAC); pupils who are labelled as different to the 'norm' within a UK school (DCSF, 2008; DfE, 2011b).

2.6 Misbehaviour and Delinquency

Boxford's investigation into in-school offending (2006) found that just over 20 per cent of pupils reported involvement in offences on the school site over a 12 month period and the majority of these were assaults on other individuals (13 per cent).

However, in terms of data pertaining to delinquency, mainstream comprehensive pupils reporting offending both inside and outside school was higher, 26 per cent. The figure was significantly higher when PRU (Pupil Referral Units) pupils are asked. PRUs are the educational alternative for children permanently excluded from mainstream school; here the number of self-reported offenders rises to 40 per cent (Hayden et al, 2007).

Exclusion, both official and unofficial, dropping out and truancy are all linked to delinquency (Berridge et al, 2001; Daniels et al, 2004; Ball and Connolly, 2005; Hodgeson and Webb, 2005; Hayden, 2003; Hayden et al, 2007). Keeping pupils in school seems to be an important element for controlling behaviour.

The Youth Justice Board's evidence-based 'what works' approach asserts that school is a protective factor and absence of education a risk factor. Only 35 per cent of young people in the youth justice system are in education, training or employment on any given day (Stephenson, 2007). 42 per cent of all court attendees have been excluded (Hodgeson and Webb, 2005). There is also evidence to suggest that young people who are excluded from school are twice as likely to receive a custodial sentence as their peers who are not excluded (Graham, 1988). Furthermore, 70 per cent of young people excluded had also offended indicating a strong link between exclusion and offending behaviour (Stephenson, 2007). Acceptance of this link led the Audit Commission 1998 (p85) to encourage '*reducing the number of pupils who are not at school for reasons of*

truancy or exclusion could significantly reduce the number of young offenders in a local area'.

There is strong evidence of a significant link between attending school and the child displaying or not displaying delinquent behaviour. However...*'it is likely that recorded exclusions are no more an accurate indicator of rising levels of disruption than surges in the juvenile custodial population are necessarily a reflection of increasing crime'*

(Stephenson 2007:54)

In fact reported violence against teachers has dropped from 1.8 per cent to 1 per cent from 1994-1998 and 2002-2003, yet perception for both teachers and the wider public is that it has increased. A recent survey by YouGov/Sunday Times (2011) found 73 per cent of the public believed that the standard of pupils' behaviour in schools was worse than ten years ago. Perhaps exclusions, rather than indicating a rise in indiscipline, are indicating a rise in public intolerance which has been reflected in policy.

2.7 Including the Excluded

Due to New Labour's focus on inclusion, the late nineties saw considerable research and academic interest devoted to this area. Numerous studies have looked at the implementation of approaches or school wide policies for tackling inclusion and exclusion (Lovey and Cooper, 1997; Bagley and Pritchard, 1998; Munn et al, 2000; Eber et al, 2001). Many of the approaches suggest schools bring in external agencies: social workers, behaviour specialists or the establishment of multi-agency inclusion support teams. But an approach that is not embedded in the philosophy or ethos of the school

leads to alienation and further disaffection within the school (Lovey and Cooper, 1997; Ebor et al, 2001).

The backing of the schools' decision makers is essential. The head teacher's support is fundamental as the holder of the purse strings (Graham, 1988) but often it is the senior management team who wield the real procedural power in a school, those who disseminate the practice and model the approach (Munn et al, 2000).

The differing approaches to inclusion can be termed strong or weak approaches to inclusion (MacRae et al, 2003) with weak attempting to include the excluded. This is considered an easy and safe option and asks there to be solutions set up to deal with those who are excluded, with emphasis on the excluded. The strong approach is more challenging of the systems that excluded in the first place. There may need to be a change in mechanism and a shift of responsibility to address the systems that exclude.

Munn et al's (2000) exploration of the alternatives approaches for inclusive schools examines a range of alternatives; in-school units, learning support assistants/teaching assistants (LSAs/TAs), parental involvement, 'bought in' professionals. However, each 'solution' holds its own challenges and Munn et al's observations (op cit) highlight how easy it is to get it wrong when the approach is not fully supported by school. For example, opting for untrained LSAs as a cheap alternative to trained staff; or inviting the involvement of parents but only after exclusion has occurred; or the misguided expectation of a *cure* through the involvement of an external professional.

Furthermore it is imperative that the whole school embrace an approach and this involves educating the school. For example counselling can only be useful if the benefits are understood and respected by the institution, and this includes when (and not) a

talking therapy is appropriate. In Munn et al's review, one head teacher listed counselling between a verbal warning and isolation as a possible outcome (p97).

Lovey and Cooper (1997) compare case study schools and the approaches in place, highlighting the challenges for the schools in adoption of change. One school had conflict between those teachers who adhered fully to the behaviour management policy and those who prioritised the more informal behaviour management through interpersonal approaches. Another school, although still not hitting government targets, was championed by all in the school as successful. A third school used an off-the-shelf behaviour management strategy, but it was not embedded in the school so had a patchy delivery.

Cooper and Upton (1991) discuss the *ecosystem* approach with young people with emotional and behavioural difficulties. They recognise the trap that schools can fall into when attempting to stay child centred. The approach focuses on systems at school and in the environment of the pupil in ways that *'are compatible with the humanistic aims of education, which are to facilitate the development of autonomy and self-direction in students and in ways that do not appear to shift the blame for emotional and behavioural difficulties from pupils, to their teachers and parents'* (p22).

MacRae et al (2003) argue that it is essential to employ a multiagency approach. The teachers' workload, growing pressure and accountability as the flexibility over curriculum decreases mean multiagency working is fundamental to take the on the considerable responsibilities.

School based or educational issues are rarely the only problem. But multiagency working can be difficult as information sharing and professional jealousy can get in the

way (Ball and Connolly, 2000). Inflexible organisations, 'deep set' professional ideologies, lack of drive, resource constraints, pressures of competitive bidding for funds, budget inflexibility (Pearce and Hillman, 1998) prohibit successful engagement. Predictably, the reconciliation of different practices, language, resources and disciplines can be daunting (Malloy et al, 1998).

'Such issues hamper efforts to provide the effective and sustainable behaviour supports necessary to establish and sustain competent school cultures or host environments that support the adoption and sustained use of research-validated practices and systems'

(Eber et al, 2001:74)

Then the approach is not adopted consistently or for a long enough time, this breeds more cynicism and disaffection to projects and intervention generating a fear within the school

Inevitably much of the literature that is in search for what might be useful to schools, criticises what isn't. Attitudes to positive intervention have changed considerably over the last 30 years. For example, Hawkins and Lishner (1987) cynically stated that most things don't work; counselling, tutoring, mentoring etc. Insisting that although there may be a short term effect in school, this type of intervention does not affect on-going behaviour. Now, soft intervention and talking therapies are routine and supported but even advocates of individual support for individual pupils recognise the unpredictability of both delivery and outcome.

'There is little point in the guidance or pastoral teacher having unconditional positive regard in using counselling skills with pupils if the pupils feel the rest of the school has no

regard for them. Equally teachers may not be able to employ these skills if they themselves feel unsupported in school' (Munn et al 2000:107)

And where recommendations are made, the concepts are figurative and conceptual. McEvoy and Welker (2000) invite schools to focus on enhancing student self-control and self-efficacy rather than enhancing self-esteem. They also emphasise improving all the relationships within a school. The lauded *wraparound* approach is child centred and humanistic, and attempts to tackle all the in and out of school factors that might influence the child. Those involved in this type of support must *'listen[ing] to the individuals who are most involved in the lives of the student without assigning blame and by building new partnerships that are effective , efficient and relevant'* (Eber et al 2001:83).

In short, the dilemma is that practitioners need training, guidance and a framework that will enable them to prioritise the relationships within the school. Yet it the constant barrage of direction and demand that has corroded the school culture.

2.7.1 So... 'What Works?'

This simplistic question has been attempted by many to be answered. The expression 'what works?' arises from the health system evidence-based practice paradigm. The determination of the factors that seem to result in a desired outcome are identified and emulated elsewhere. To do justice to the assumptions to be made in this thesis, an understanding of how this attitude influences ways of working with children and young people educationally and otherwise is important, and I will present an overview of the thinking.

The prevailing influence into *what works* is *risk*, and more specifically identification of risk factors, dynamic factors and actuarial data culminating in an ability to capture an individual's drives, identity and best practice for intervention. The Cambridge Study of Youth by West and Farrington (1973) was the push to a risk-led approach. The research behind the risk-led approach is rarely questioned or criticized.

'What has emerged is a set of 'ethno-sociological' and commonsense assumptions about what is going on in the moral lives of young people' (Hodgeson and Webb 2005:13)

As discussed, school as an institution, is asserted as a protective factor for children; children in education, training or employment are less likely to enter the youth justice system. The school is an overt controlling structure providing the ideal environment for the development of self-control. However, if a pupil has an under-developed self-control, the very protective nature of school becomes a risk to that child. The theory of the development of self-control is discussed in relation to psychosocial development and the progressive stages self-control that are achieved by the child and adolescent are described by Hirschi and Gottfredson (2001).

Briefly, the risk/protective factor paradigm compares key indicators and factors in someone's life to static and dynamic data and trends. Using this information, it is possible to predict the likelihood of an individual becoming delinquent. Furthermore, the risk factor approach can identify the most effective intervention. The concept of risk/protective factors although acclaimed by some is maligned by others. Armstrong's (2006a) research about risk factors and their efficacy describes an increasing ease of diagnosis highlighting the danger of risk factors. But Hazel Blears (New Labour's Minister for Crime Reduction, Policing and Community Safety) said of the use of risk factor data, *'studies can [also] predict with uncanny foresight which children are*

predisposed to a life of villainy' (The Independent, 2004). To an extent, this is valid. For example, 65 per cent of children with a father in prison will end up in prison themselves (Armstrong 2006b). Despite the inherent dangers of labeling, Ms Blears went on to say *'I don't think it is stigmatizing those children by targeting them'* (op cit).

The 'what works' paradigm, is highly evident in school. Children are identified through assessment and diagnostic tools and the appropriate support is offered. A child with ADHD, from a low literacy family, is identified and remedial English is offered. With some children, this one-to-one support is welcomed and effective, it is what works, but for another, the support instead labels, alienates and perpetuates a child's state of not fitting. The difference in the two children is the individual, immeasurable differences and the way the support is delivered, the transaction. Rather than *what works?* perhaps the expression *what works for whom?* is more relevant. This expression coined by Roth and Fonagy (2005) applied originally to psychotherapy; it is the recognition that for genuinely supportive work, one size does not fit all. This expression acknowledges that over 30 per cent of successful therapeutic work depends on 'common factors' between client and therapist (Asay and Lambert 1999) and that this is only likely to be possible through a relationship. In fact, Wampold (2001) puts this figure at more than 70 per cent.

Others such as Case (2006) assert that it is not the risk-factor that is at fault but the implementation of the approach. The approach should not be around causes and predictors but correlates and indicators. The risk focused movement should be about the young person and not the factors. A service should be universal; available to all. *Prevention* and *Early Intervention* are the YIB's watch words for identifying at risk children and supporting them for change. Although the early intervention approach

comes with associated dangers around labelling and 'net-widening' the development of early support services such as Flying Start /Sure Start are examples of where there has been success (Hayden, 2009).

It is clear there is a difficulty in balancing the identification of children *at risk*, with the danger of creating *at risk* children through identification.

This can be achieved through joined up and multiagency working with the most appropriate agency holding the case. However, funding and resources are the constant saboteur to the success of multiagency working.

'Whether the 'problem child' has been 'cared for', 'punished', educated' or 'treated' has often been a matter of chance depending upon which individuals in which agency happened to pick up his or her case. A child's placement often depended on where the vacancies were when the child was perceived by particular professionals to have reached crisis point or when funding became available' (Visser, 2003:11)

The government initiative Every Child Matters 2003 (ECM) led to the Children Act 2004 aimed to ensure that every child had access to the support he needed. Although under the coalition government ECM is reshaping, at the time of this research, the legislated initiative had a detailed framework for required outcomes. The aim under New Labour was to ensure multiagency partnership and working, linking schools, health, social services, CAMHS (Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service). ECM attempted to correct previous failings in multiagency support due to professional jealousy (Pearce and Hilman 1998) or where professionals had failed to understand each other's roles. ECM stressed the importance of professionals being aware of the contribution of their own and others' services and ensures that the support provided was planned and evaluated.

2.8 The Implication of Inclusion/Exclusion Policy

With policy-makers, academics and practitioners increasingly becoming focussed on what schools should and should not do to address challenging behaviour in school, there followed a critical analysis of what was recommended. Moreover, there was intense interest into what wasn't working and why. Hilton's (2006) study of Scottish schools threw up a great deal of information that is useful when exploring why inclusion policies are still not working. In Scotland since 2002, vast resources have been allocated to address the issues of exclusion from school; £10million a year from National Priorities Action Fund to promote positive behaviour; £11 million from Alternatives to Exclusion Grant; £20 million a year for Inclusion and £16 million for rolling out integrated community schools.

But Hilton's research showed that disaffection and school exclusion were still a national issue. Although there had been an overall gradual reduction in temporary exclusions, the number of permanent exclusion had not changed.

There was then a sudden 'U-turn' in both Scottish and English policy, away from the reduction of exclusion rates (the target to reduce exclusion by a third) towards a focus on 'healthy schools'. This seemed to create a loop-hope that allowed the reintroduction of exclusion. The 'healthy school' rhetoric shifted the focus from the needs of an individual pupil to the needs of the whole school; it meant that pupils who made the school 'unhealthy' could be excluded.

This was further evidence that it is the school culture that drives an exclusion policy irrespective of the directives and legislation that might try to enforce inclusion.

Inclusion support, resources and funds continue to be allocated but for more and more diverse and specific areas. For example, over 2006-2008, there has been a pilot study for the incorporation of the School-Parent Advisor. The Department for Children, Schools and Families earmarked £102.5 million for 2008-2011, to train Parent Support Staff to be the link between parents and schools. The evaluation of the scheme was generally positive with effective outcomes such as a reduction in absenteeism being met. However, as has been discussed throughout this thesis, the problems and issues were around the implementation and organisation of the new staff and their integration into the schools. Furthermore, the on-going budgetary spend is considered to be insufficient to ensure an overall successful strategy (DCSF, 2009).

2.9 Conclusion

Education remains top on the agenda for left, right and (more recently) coalition government. With recognition that schools are integral for the smooth running of society, but with a continual changing and conflicting function for society. For every recommendation, legislation or proposal, there are advocates and critics. Sometimes the unions and teachers are undermined by yet more paperwork and less contact time, and at other times they fully support the decrease in hours and acknowledgement of the high pressure classroom situation. Senior management might welcome the increased funding available but find it wrapped in restrictive conditions such as the 14-19 Reform 'Moving Up' money which is only available if a school can accommodate the teaching of core subjects to such an extent that it means a decrease in PE, RE and Music.

With such considerable pressure, it is no surprise that a school looks for the loopholes or only assimilates a directive superficially even if the policy or procedure is both beneficial and desirable. The ever changing landscape of educational direction invites unpredictability, uncertainty and the perpetuation of inequality.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

The previous chapter presented the historical and political context for this thesis. It provided a base from which to consider the way in which policy and political agenda influence schools. The theoretical framework underpinning this thesis is left to the following chapter. But in this chapter, I will present a review of the literature regarding significant criminological concepts, before moving to literature concerning school culture including the impact of educational policy and theories of organisational culture. Finally I will consider literature and research that explores the impact of school culture on transaction and relationships.

3.1 Theories of Delinquency

In considering the idea of the 'challenging child' it is helpful to consider the roots of the idea in Enlightenment philosophy. Beccaria's model (1764) of the seven principles of classical criminology, has at its center the idea of the 'rational man'. In this world, all rational people obey the rules and if they do not they are either evil or irrational. Locke (1632-1704) had previously posited that there were exceptions, some were not deemed rational; the post-rational (dementia), sub-rational (mentally feeble) and the pre-rational children. Throughout the last 300 years, children have been viewed as being without the capacity to have rational thought and so are outside the accepted controls of normalcy and rules around delinquency. However, the allowance of 'youth' as a mitigating factor has become less and less acceptable. The reduction in the age of criminal responsibility to just ten years by New Labour in 1997 makes the UK one of the most punitive towards children in Europe.

Some theories of delinquency were founded on biological or genetic difference such as Lombroso's (1874) genetic predisposition which - although he himself later withdrew from this theory - continued to be considered by governments and academics (Kretshmer, 1921; Conrad, 1980). Later, psychological difference became recognised and so bloomed a field of psychological technique and practice within the criminal justice system. Ross et al (1985) identified unique differences in thought, attitude and belief that could be corrected by cognitive therapy. Criminology's encompassing of sociology and psychology therefore creates a vast tradition, well placed and upheld by academic rigour, to explore the issues of child delinquency.

It is accepted within the sociological tradition that there are three causes of delinquency, and other theories tend to grow out of a combination of these.

1. Strain Theory : the individual has desires that conformity cannot satisfy; motivation overcomes restraint
2. Cultural Deviance theory: the individual conforms to standards and norms that are not accepted by wider society.
3. Control (or Bond) Theory: the individual commits delinquent acts because his ties to conformity are broken or weakened.

It is this third theory, Hirschi's Control Theory that underpins this thesis (to be discussed in the Theory Chapter).

3.2 How the Role of School in Society affects School Culture

In the previous chapter exploring the historical and political context, recognition of the school's function in society was alluded to. In this chapter, I will elaborate on the theme

and explore in more depth the ideas around the role of the school and more importantly how it affects the nature of the school, the culture.

'Schools serve societal needs more than individual or family needs, and in many societies they are controlled by centralised political authorities, important elements in the environments of schools' (Meyer and Rowan in Ballantine and Spade, 2008:217)

Functional theorists such as Durkheim believe school (as other societal organisations) exists to ensure the smooth running of society. Just as the school is a part of society's whole, within the school exist functioning and functional parts. The purpose of school for society is that children learn to be social beings and learn social values, in the training ground of the classroom. School helps through training and credentials to position the individual in society, the brightest going to the best colleges and getting the best jobs.

In addition to training pupils to be good employees, another expected function of school is to provide a practice ground for establishing morality and understanding the laws of the land (Stephenson, 2007; Parsons, 1999). This requires the school to be lenient to in-school offending. This is an approach that is quite at odds with the emphasis of the youth justice system that has a more arbitrarily punitive approach. For example, the introduction of the 'three strikes and you're in' [court] has already had a significant impact on the number of children entering the court system for petty crime. If schools were to redirect all misbehaviour to the justice system, the UK courts would most certainly be clogged up and there would be numerous unreasonable responses occurring such as the following example from USA. In February 2010, a twelve year old girl was arrested in handcuffs for doodling on her desk in Spanish class. However, although instances may not make the headlines, there are plenty of anecdotal examples

that occur in the UK. Following two violent assaults (that received a reprimand and final warning) a young man was referred to court and statutory direct work with the Youth Offending Team for stealing a pencil sharpener from school. Presumably this was to ensure that he received anger support; however the charge was considered ridiculous.

Functional theorists argue that when the social functions cease to be successful or effective, the system needs to change to become functional again. The structure and processes of the school are only functional when the school is meeting its functions (Ballantine and Spade 2004). This adds an increased pressure for a school to change its structures and processes ad infinitum.

Stephenson (2007, following Parsons, 1999) asserts there to be six functions of education within social discipline and individual development: 1) Custodial; 2) Civilising; 3) Creating a National Identity; 4) Skilling; 5) Credentialing; 6) Selecting, organising and transmitting public knowledge. Stephenson captures by measure an idea that has been held since the earliest days of education for the masses.

'By combining moral teaching with general instruction the young may be saved from the temptations to crime' (Lord John Russell, 1839 in Stephenson, 2007:24)

Education is therefore integrally linked to both the economic functioning of society and the 'moral' education of the young. However, the priority given to these functions by the policy makers and the schools themselves can change over time as political and Political agendas dictate.

Some of the more latent functions implicit in Stephenson's list are that the child is kept off the street for a significant proportion of the time until they are old enough to be assimilated into society proper. Additionally, by offering a place to hang out, it

promotes youth culture and with it the positive and negative consequences: music, fashion, politics and gangs. It weakens the parental control over the child and develops the independence required for a young person to become the functioning and functional adult that will serve and exist in society (Ballantine and Roberts 2007). This latter point regarding the development of identity and agency of the adolescent will be explored in more depth in a later section.

The Critical Theorists on the other hand view education as the vessel by which society maintains the (inequitable) distribution of power and resources in society. A critical theorist such as Marx might argue that there is an inherent inequality in both society and schools; benefiting some and disadvantaging others. Even if pupils, teachers, management and parents believe that the rules are not in their best interests, they obey them as they are unable to consider an alternative or the alternative holds too many repercussions. Marx argues that society maintains the 'haves and have-nots' through control of power, wealth, privilege and access. But not only this, it was through the control of ideas, the ideology. Marx asserts that schools teach this ideology. These ideas were particularly prominent in the seventies with educational academics such as Bernstein making class based analyses that have contributed to our understanding of the mechanisms through which schools fail children.

'How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control' (Bernstein 1975:25)

Elrod et al (2008) in their examination of in and out of school predictors of delinquency discussed conflict within the critical theories. They posit that social institutions such as the school actually intend to produce social equality; the inequality might in fact be an

unfortunate consequence of a social system designed to support all. The acknowledgement of the stratification of schools being a by-product of a comprehensive educational system is not a new idea. In the mid-fifties Cohen (1955) discusses working class boys being at a disadvantage as they don't conform to middle class expectations, yet the invitation to learn and flourish in the system is there. The alternative is that the schools operate to reproduce and legitimise class structure by replicating a hierarchical division of labour in school.

Both perspectives, functionalist and criticalist, seem highly cynical and divorced from the more humanist attitude that asserts that humans strive to learn and understand and that through education, we can improve the human condition. In fact, it was this alternative idea of schooling that drove Illich's theories for a *Deschooled Society* (1971), maintaining the benefits of education but with attention on the relationships that drive learning. However, both theoretical paradigms identify a need for the school to educate in several ways in order to deliver a useful and obedient member of society.

This section discussed how the role of school to society affects school culture. Both the constant stream of legislation and directive as highlighted in the previous chapter and the multiple demands of function placed on school by society put immense pressure on the school itself. How this is manifest in the culture is through the considerable stress on teachers and management and a sense of being monitored and judged. If schools are not allowed the space to develop a corporate sense of identity, make mistakes and feel a sense of belonging to society it is no surprise that the school culture fosters similar challenges for its pupils.

3.3 School, Misbehaviour and Delinquency

Schools have a fundamental influence on a child's life chances both in terms of academic outcomes but also in terms of establishment of acceptable behaviour (Hayden et al 2007). This is a widely accepted view has led to considerable research and interest into the link between school and delinquency that ultimately falls into two schools of thought:

1. Pupils are already likely to be delinquent due to external non-school factors (West and Farrington 1973; Rutter et al 1979; Graham 1988; Hayden 2003, 2007)
2. The 'criminogenic' school, the idea that the school itself through its structures and processes either prevents or creates delinquent behaviour (Power et al 1972; Hawkins and Lishner 1987)

This dichotomous position invites speculation and hypothesis; with research attempting to explore the theoretical middle ground. For example Hayden et al (2007) took a geographical look at exclusion and youth crime using postcodes to investigate the school in its environment. Findings unsurprisingly indicated socio-economic factors played a part. Areas where families are socially disadvantaged tend to have under resourced, under supported and under staffed schools resulting in more delinquent behaviour. Therefore it can be surmised that schools in combination with localities might be seen as criminogenic.

The extrapolation for this thesis is that just as the pupil's identity, biography or character is constructed by his role set (Becker 1963), the schools are influenced in a similar way.

This idea is very important for this thesis as I identify the establishment of a specific school's culture.

Much literature seeks to explore whether the link between school and behaviour is direct or indirect (Hargreaves et al, 1975; Rutter, 1979). Although the idea of the criminogenic school might seek to assert a direct link and in fact theories around school climate (to be discussed) may also suggest similar findings, an indirect link through school processes is more likely to be the link with delinquency.

The kind of explanation favoured by the school regarding the relationship between the school and delinquent behaviour will influence the approach or intervention employed in tackling the problem. In the external factors versus criminogenic school paradigm the emphasis is placed either on the child or the school. Policy and practice will therefore focus either on improving the child's fit with the school or altering the school makeup to ensure that the child fits. Little literature seems to recognise that this either/or argument is not useful for a successful outcome. An alternative position that explores the meeting point between pupil and school should also be considered. It is this that is placed in the foreground of this thesis - the influence and therefore responsibility of the school culture on the nature and extent of the bond maintained with the pupil. This requires awareness of school culture, the influence it has and how it is perceived by the pupils. It is this element that can be affected to address pupil behaviour.

The way in which we understand the role of school has a direct impact on how the attitudes and behaviour of children is interpreted. It is accepted that there is a general relationship between misbehaviour inside school and delinquency elsewhere (Barberet et al 2004; Jenkins 1997). However, Weerman et al (2007) found this relationship to be less strong than suggested by earlier studies. The Weerman study also found that the

predictive value of misbehaviour for future delinquency is limited as only half of those who misbehave at school are involved in delinquency one year later. This mirrors the drop off in offending in the youth justice system (Stephenson 2007). However, Weerman et al (op cit) assert that serious forms of misbehaviour can increase the risk of later delinquency. These findings nuance conclusions of earlier studies on the misbehaviour-delinquency relationship, separating the type (property or personal offences) and severity of misbehaviour and subsequent delinquency.

Weerman et al's study (op cit) finding only half of those reporting misbehaviour in school going onto carry out delinquent behaviour elsewhere is one significant quantitative study that suggests that it is how the school addresses specific cases of misbehaviour in school that predicts delinquent behaviour.

3.3.1 Misbehaviour and School Culture

There is a strong link between school factors - policy and practice - and misbehaviour in school and this link is especially strong within secondary schools (Graham, 1988). In fact secondary school organisation becomes increasingly closely related to pupil behaviours irrespective of socio-economic intake. The link between organisation or process variables and misbehaviour seems to be far stronger even than to that of academic outcome to behaviour.

The school culture is not only influenced by the top down policy and direction given by Senior Management Team (SMT). It is also the consensus and connotation; attitudes and beliefs of the school body. As already mentioned, how a school views misbehaviour or disruptive behaviour tends to indicate how the school will deal with it. Although a

school's policy and practice will position its attitude and response along a continuum, there seem to be two poles of school attitude to this behaviour.

Graham's (1988) research for the Home Office highlighted the following two definitions of disruptive behaviour to illustrate this divergence of thinking and approach.

'Behaviour which seriously interferes with the teaching process and/or seriously upsets the normal running of the school. It is more than ordinary misbehaviour in the classroom, playground, corridors etc. It includes physical attacks and malicious destruction of property.' (Lawrence et al, 1984)

'Disruptive behaviour is rule-breaking in the form of conscious action or inaction, which brings about an interruption or curtailment of a classroom or school activity and damages interpersonal relationships.' (Tatum, 1982)

Lawrence et al (op cit) focus on the individual pupil and his behaviour where in Tatum's definition (op cit); attention is turned to the situation, the context and the relationships.

A school's definition arises from the collective attitudes and associations to disruptive behaviour, the policy written and the values held. Identifying the definition is difficult however, as a school or management team rhetoric may not necessarily be wedded to the core held beliefs of the staff. This is where the development of cultural character becomes significant. Not only is the public face of the school relevant but also the subtly nuanced yet powerful undercurrents that make up the cultural character of a school. As the literature highlights, for example alternative approaches and intervention adopted by schools may be by title or pronouncement only, with no real change in attitude or practice (Lovey and Cooper, 1997; Munn et al, 2000; Ebor et al, 2001).

Having identified some of the key literature regarding behaviour and school culture, the increasing pressure on schools to address challenging behaviour is apparent (Parsons, 2005). Also understandable is the way in which this influences and shapes school culture and the transactions occurring in the school. To follow this section on misbehaviour, the coming section will explore the generally accepted school factors that are linked to misbehaviour. The first of these is exclusion, the sanction imposed as a result of the second area I will discuss, attachment. The attachment is said to be either instrumental (academic attainment) or emotional.

3.3.2 Exclusion and School Culture

The background regarding exclusion policy and data expressing how this policy is reflected in outcomes for pupils has been discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore in this section I will discuss the literature that has sought to explore the impact of the policy and procedure on the culture of a school.

Munn et al (2000) were able to determine and pinpoint the elements that go to make up a high or low excluding school. On a range of factors such as 'school belief' being either academic or social; the relationship and involvement with parents; the emphasis on curriculum or extracurricular activities and a number of criteria that make up the exclusion policy and procedure within the school.

Interestingly, the criteria are not at first obvious, for example, a high excluding school tends to require unquestioning support from the parents of a misbehaving pupil. Or a high excluding school holds a belief that academic and curricular attainment is the priority. These two factors (parental involvement and academic attainment) are

generally accepted to be strongly linked to positive behaviour but according to Munn et al (op cit) are often associated with schools with very high exclusion rates. This again reinforces the importance of pupil perception of measures and sanctions; how they are implemented.

Some criteria are, however, more straight-forward. A high excluding school tends to have a hierarchical structure, with one key decision maker, whereas a low excluding school has a network of staff with an interest. A high excluding school clearly defines the sanction and reward system, the low excluding school is more flexible. In terms of pastoral care, low excluders integrate their pastoral and discipline systems where high excluders deal with needs and deeds separately. The separation of support also applies to SEN, where high excluders remove pupils for remedial care and low excluders endeavour to educate in mainstream. Later in this thesis, I will use Munn et al's criteria to explore the type of excluding school of my case study school.

	High Excluding School	Low Excluding School
School Belief System	Academic	Social
Relationships with Parents	Exam Motivated	Extra-curricular and informal emphasis
Decision-making Process	Hierarchical (Head or Deputy Head)	Network of staff with behavioural specialist and Form Teacher
	Sanction and behaviour tariff system	Flexible response to behaviour
	Pastoral system is needs based	Pastoral and Discipline systems integrated
	SEN removed for remedial work	Consultation to enable pupil with SEN to remain in mainstream lessons

Table 3.1 High or Low Excluding Schools - *Munn P, Lloyd G and Cullen M (2000)*

What is highlighted here again is the attitude of the school to exclusion. Rather than the non-school external factors versus the criminogenic school paradigm, it may be the combination of the two; how the school's responses to behaviour, perhaps initiated or aggravated by non-school circumstances can reinforce a weakened bond to school and therefore deviant behaviour.

'For the pupil with a weakened or weakening bond, the sanctions only seem to reinforce weakening; exclusion reinforces the aversion to school; more testing or extra work reinforces failure; or punishments such as litter picking reinforce antipathy and disaffection' (McEvoy and Welker, 2000:132)

Exclusion data is often *used* by academics, policy makers and unions to reinforce the idea that violent and disruptive behaviour is increasing. This use of data is a means to an end. This end could be a change of policy or approach, a direct effect on a school in response to behaviour as a political flag. For example, Smithers (2001) cites examples of permanent exclusions prompted by 'one off' violent behaviour or bullying where teaching unions support teachers who refuse to teach the pupil.

Research into teacher perceptions of misbehaviour may indicate behaviour deterioration in school (Basini, 1981; Tobin, 2000; Hart, 2002). There are also questions around whether school behaviour is becoming more violent (Brown and Munn, 2008) leading to an increased pressure on schools to be more strict and punitive to keep school members safe. However, Hayden (2003) states that punitive practice, fear and control by oppression have always been part of education to maintain order; a suggested function of school.

Change to the societal and/or cultural milieu is due to numerous pressures and influences (to be discussed further later). Yet the recognition that policy and practice are colliding ineffectively are highlighted beautifully by the following quote from The National Children's Bureau, Pupil Inclusion Unit.

'Schools have been put in a situation where they have no incentive to be inclusive, quite the opposite.' (Valios 2001:19)

Having highlighted again the nuances of school approaches to the information and directives they receive, it is also pertinent to point out the position that whatever the high exclusion rate indicates, be it increasing problems or suggested interventions, exclusions are a response to challenging behaviour. And irrespective of the figures and the true reason behind them, they *'represent the teachers refusal to be challenged'* (Sivanandan 1994:iii).

3.3.3 Attachment and School Culture

A tremendous amount of literature has sprung from the search for the quality of attachment between pupil and school. The attachment a child has to school is generally considered as academic attainment (instrumental) or relationships (emotional) (Hawkins and Lishner, 1987; Fergusson, 1997; Battistich and Hom, 1997; McEvoy and Welker, 2000; Sprott, 2004). Research findings suggest that these can exist in various combinations. Sprott (2004) explored classroom climate in these terms of relationships and academic support, and found a lower level of emotional support tended to physical, violent or aggressive behaviour and lower academic support tended to property theft and damage. An alternative view is that whether the engagement or relationship is

academic or interpersonal, the pupil does not identify the difference it is the relationship that is important (Battistich and Hom, 1997).

Failure at school and delinquency are significantly linked. Thornberry (2003) found low academic attainment weakened the school bond leading to delinquency and high attainment was associated with resilience. Likewise, Fergusson's Christchurch study (1997) saw low 'attainers' twice as likely to offend as high 'attainers'. (Maguin and Leober, 1996) found low achievement giving rise to onset, frequency and persistence of offending, independent of socio-economic status. Furthermore, intervention to increase achievement resulted in a decrease in delinquency.

Although the association is repeatedly confirmed by studies, there are few studies that start to discuss how academic failure is linked to delinquency. Stephenson (op cit) proposes a school failure theory, and labelling theory (to be discussed in theory chapter) that may also go some way to attend to the psychological influence of academic attainment on behaviour. This potentially interesting area of discussion is widely ignored as the research findings resulting in schools and researchers concentrating on academic support rather than emotional attachment and relationships (McEvoy and Welker, 2000). It may well be that academic intervention has an effect on social skills and relationships. Literacy improves general communication and nurtures a way to express emotions appropriately; the development of the sought after 'emotional literacy' (McEvoy and Welker, op cit). Yet in almost all literature exploring the link between attachment and delinquency, the emotional support is subsidiary to the academic attainment.

Embedded in this idea of academic attainment being a measure of a more emotional and psychological development in the pupil are concepts that position responsibility

with the school. For example, discussion on coercive cycle behaviour; that the school both starts and promotes a negative cycle. From the pupil's perspective, the school is not reinforcing any positives. Sanctions are exclusion that reinforces an aversion to school, more tests or extra work which reinforce failure, or punishments that reinforce an antipathy. Those at risk of antisocial conduct *'are more likely to be punished, excluded, and controlled than to have their problems addressed in a therapeutic manner'* (Walker et al, 1996:197)

Parsons in Ballantine and Spade (2004) raises the significance of the pupil-teacher relationship and how this leads to the founding of an ability to achieve. Parsons proposes that the establishment of achievement-motivation is psychologically speaking, a process of identification with the teacher, similar to an earlier stage in childhood. The pre-oedipal stage when the child learns new skills in order to please his mother has striking similarities to the way in which the process of achievement is internalised. The child identifies with either the mother role or that of the child's role in response to the mother and Parsons asserts that this is echoed in the pupil-teacher relationship. Thus the identification is with the teacher role (expert and good citizen) or with the peer group, and the body of culture therein. This again highlights the significance of the cultural character; norms and attitudes of the school in pupil behaviour and achievement.

Despite the evidential links between the school and the pupil's attainment and behaviour... *'it could be that schools have few direct or indirect effects other than providing as arena where children and young people predisposed to delinquent behaviour act this out. In contrast, schools could be either effective or ineffective agents*

of social control whose success or failure is implicated in the incidence of anti-social and offending behaviour' (Stephenson, 2007:110).

However, the ideas at the crux of this thesis are around the relationship or bond a child has to school and how his identity fits the culture or otherwise.

Hirschi's control theory (1969) asserts that a strong bond between an individual and conformity controls the naturally delinquent desires. If the bond is broken or weakened, an individual will commit delinquent acts with no such restraints or controls on his behaviour. School is one such conforming institution. It then follows that the bond between pupil and school will not merely improve the behaviour of the pupil within the context of the school but will instil and strengthen a bond that will ensure a control of behaviour in all or any context within society.

The idea of the bond had been in existence prior to Hirschi's work. Indeed, Durkheim commented that *'we must learn to cherish these social bonds that for the unsocial being are heavy chains. We must learn through experience how cold and pale the pleasures of solitary life are in comparison. The development of such a temperament, such a mental outlook, can only be formed through repeated practice, though perpetual conditioning. If, on the contrary, we are invited only infrequently to act like social beings, it is impossible to be very interested in an existence to which we can only adapt ourselves imperfectly'* (Durkheim, 1961:233). But it was Hirschi who consolidated the idea of the bond and the significance of the bond to behaviour.

Hirschi's theories underpin a wealth of literature and research exploring the subtleties and dynamics of the bond between pupil and school. His definition of the bond as having four constituent elements, has facilitated the process of researching this. Hirschi

posits that a strong and healthy bond incorporates Attachment to, Commitment to, Involvement with and Belief in the conforming institution.

For example, Jenkins (1997) is one of several who have attempted to investigate the independent effects of the four elements of Hirschi's bond on crime concluding that certain components are more important than others. Jenkins' findings (op cit) suggest that the bond elements of *commitment* and *belief*, do have an inverse association with crime. But *attachment* and *involvement* have no significant independent effect on crime. However, all four bond variables are inversely associated with school misconduct and *commitment* has the most impact. The significance of *commitment* reinforces the idea of a sense of belonging as it is the active response to one's perception of the bond to school. In other words, commitment maybe a 'measure' of the perception of the bond.

In an attempt to understand and indeed measure the attachment, commitment, involvement, beliefs and multiple bonds in school, school climate is an extensive area of research and study that is integral to this thesis.

3.4 School Climate

School climate is the structural and cultural manifestation of the relationships and bonds within the school. The last twenty years has seen an enormous growth in research attempting to capture the climate or ethos of a school. The ethos of the school or how the school culture is manifest in daily life is more recently termed school climate. The term was first coined in the early 1980s (Anderson 1982) but with increasing emphasis on the measurable, the term is now common place and has considerable definitions and measures.

Academics attempt to identify the specifics that go to create a school or classroom climate (Stockard and Mayberry, 1992; Gottfredson et al, 2005; Spratt, 2004). Rather than reinforcing the school as an ineffective victim of circumstance or criminogenic school paradigm, extensive study into school climate and a child's attachment to school seem to reinforce the third position. Although a child might be 'at-risk' of delinquency with geographical and familial indicators indicating a potential life of crime, the school has a pivotal role in the development of conformity and resilience.

School Climate can be described and measured through the communication patterns; norms about appropriateness; role relationships; patterns of influence and accommodation; and reward and sanction (Reinke and Herman, 2002:552). Welsh's (2001) study of school climate identified that climate was operationalised by the sum of five scales; Respect for students; Planning and action; Fairness of rules; Clarity of rules; and Student influence. Ultimately, the better the sense of community, the lower the delinquency. This also applies to schools in areas with strong community. Sampson and Rauderbusch (2001), looked at social organisation and the effectiveness of neighbourhood cohesion control over public spaces. They found that neighbourhoods with a collective efficacy have lower crime (Elrod et al, 2008).

Payne et al (2003) furthered this research, by exploring the communal school linking the measures of school climate and behaviour. The study developed Miethe and McDowall's (1993) neighbourhood study that the outcome of individual level factors was tempered by community factors. The implication for schools being that pupil bonding could be less important as a protective influence on delinquency in schools that are communally organised. Communal organisation is the opposite of bureaucratic organisation; a school with shared expectations, mutual engagement and collective efficacy. The

following quote encapsulate the communal sense and purpose of such a school organisation.

'...members know, care about and support one another, have common goals and sense of shared purpose and to which they will actively contribute and feel personally committed' (Solomon et al, 1997:236)

In essence, pupils who have positive attachments, who have invested greater effort in their relationship with school; through involvement in school activities, and who believe in the rules of the school are less likely to engage in deviant activities (Welsh et al, 1999).

The communal school indicates lower teacher victimisation and pupil delinquency. The communal school also cultivated the pupils-school bonding and using their measures, this too demonstrated lower student victimisation, lower teacher victimisation and lower disorder (Payne et al 2003). But this link was not significant when communal school measures were linked to bonding. Mirroring the neighbourhood based study, this study found that feeling attached to teachers and to school has less of a protective effect against delinquency in schools that are more communally organised. Likewise, if a school is less communally organised, there is a greater need for individual factors to be strong.

The school climate and 'communal school' hypotheses and research suggest growing recognition that the culture of the school may be an even more powerful influence on pupils' behaviour than individual relationships. As my thesis asserts that culture shapes the relationships in school, to validate the conclusions I will draw regarding culture, it is

essential to explore literature that considers the teacher - pupil relationships that also exist.

3.5 The Teacher - Pupil Relationship

'Let no one be deceived, the important things that happen in schools result from the interaction of personalities.' (Walker 1932 in McNess et al, 2003)

On the front line for perpetuating the climate of a school is the teacher. The teacher disseminates the rules and relationships existing in the school. In studies where pupils perceive greater fairness and clarity of rules there is less delinquent behaviour and less pupil victimization (Welsh 2001; Gottfredson et al 2005). Studies into the role of the effective teacher identify supportive or caring teachers leading to increased pupil participation, decreased disruption and decreased detachment (Stephenson 2007). The teacher is fundamental for the behavioural, emotional and cognitive engagement of the pupil, both in terms of academic support and emotional support.

But the very task of balancing the desire to teach and the values of the teacher with the challenges inherent in the job are explored by McNess et al (2003). McNess et al (op cit) describe the three-fold nature of the teacher's role; mastery of subject knowledge, organisational and pedagogic ability to plan and assess learning and the social and emotional aspect of teaching. They detail the complex merging of self - characteristic of the caring professionals - the internalised sense of responsibility and conscientiousness, the part played by feelings of guilt or inadequacy in teaching, and the 'professional uncertainty' which can be induced when external constraints run counter to the holistic and humanistic values of teachers.

Teachers are often quoted as saying they have neither the time nor the training to offer counsel 'they are not therapists', however, children prefer to be supported by *'people who acted like people and not professionals'* (Lang 1999:29).

There seems to be a conflict between the prevailing policies of education and schooling (what is taught and how) and a teachers' true motivation and commitment to teaching. McNess et al's (op cit) study found that teachers' experience of education and schooling was an *'essentially interactive and deeply social process in which their role was to support learners in constructing their own insights and understanding'* (p248). This position is clearly counter to the experience of many pupils in schools and highlights the influence of culture over individual relationships.

The daily manifestation of the culture of the school is not the teachers' sole influence on the pupils in his charge. In the individual transactions occurring between pupils and teachers, a teacher has a powerful authority. The teacher's attribution directs a pupil's own attribution (Bandura, 1997).

Labelling theory acknowledges the influential impact of overt and covert messages shaping the pupils' self. There are considerable studies into the labelling of pupils by teachers. Some studies even identify teachers as the best predictors of delinquent children (West and Farrington, 1977; Mitchell and Rosa, 1981; Hawkins and Lishner, 1987; McEvoy and Welker, 2000). For example, Mitchell and Rosa (1981) found teachers good predictors of delinquent pupils, being able to identify them as a thief or liar. In Mulligan et al's investigation (1963) into school perceptions of pupils *'the delinquents were said to be more disobedient, more aggressive and quarrelsome, more resentful of criticism, and to lie, cheat and truant more often'* (p98).

Going back to earlier but seminal research, Hargreaves et al (1975) study of pupils who stand out and how teachers behaviour in the staff room. Those pupils who break many and varied rules are labelled deviant but pupils who commit one big act or repeat the same offence were not so. When asked to rate, identify or predict those most likely to become deviant, teachers looked for behaviour which is different to the norms of the school e.g. truancy, indiscipline, uninterested, lazy rather than that that would get them arrested e.g. stealing, assault etc. The Farrington and West (1973) Cambridge study had similar findings. A questionnaire for the teachers identified that the deviant young people were those who displayed deviant behaviour across a range of areas. This indicated the pervasive nature of the label; there was a tendency to perceive the pupil as bad in all respects. This labelling was especially marked if the teacher thought little could be done to change the behaviour. Teachers also tended to remember and use past behaviour to confirm deviant individuals and groups. Battistich et al (1997) discusses the engagement of the pupil by the teacher and subsequent teacher support being reinforced over time. The pupil who conforms is 'preferred' to the one who misbehaves.

Reinke and Herman (2002) found that teachers disengaged as they found their interactions with the pupil being entirely negative. How the teacher behaves contributes to the behaviour of the pupil. An unusual analysis of classroom talk by Graff (2009) explored just this. His analysis of the co-created dynamic in the classroom enabled a greater understanding of the magnitude and implication of the transactions between teacher and pupil.

In order to analyse some of the factors that might cause disillusionment or disaffection on behalf of the teacher and the effect this had on relationships, the educational system

in Cyprus is a useful comparison. Unlike in the UK, there are no 'good' or 'bad' schools in Cyprus, pay is linked to experience and responsibility and teachers are encouraged to move schools within 5 years. Georgiou et al (2002) showed links to teacher efficacy and classroom management and engagement of disaffected pupils. Using their measures, if the pupil is of low ability then the teacher displays high levels of pity and low levels of resentment but if the pupil displays low effort, then the teacher has high resentment and low levels of pity. These are interesting findings despite being from a unique situation as they add complexity to other studies that merely focus on the pupil rather than the relationship.

This study allows a deeper understanding of how individual relationships shape the culture and how the culture shapes the relationships. The acknowledgement of the complexity of this culture/relationship interaction supports the idea of pupils needing to be part of the school, to belong.

3.6 Belonging

Belonging is not a new concept but has not previously been considered in this way. There is indeed literature relating to the need for belonging to the school community (Osterman, 2000) but describes belonging as a sense of community (McMillan and Chavis, 1986; Furman, 1998). Additionally belonging features in research into gangs (Burnett and Walz, 1994), student learning (Combs, 1982), educational participation (Finn, 1989) and motivation (Goodenow, 1993) and research with case studies into dropping out of school cited belonging as a direct cause (Fine, 1991).

Furthermore there is a growing field of literature discussing school connectedness *'the belief by students that adults in the school care about their learning as well as them as individuals'* (CDC, 2009:3). There have been a number of recent studies by McNeely et al (2002), McGraw et al (2008) and Hayden (2011b) finding school connectedness associated with a range of behaviours such as substance abuse, early sexual activity, bullying or carrying weapons. Attempts have also been made to link connectedness and school climate. Wilson (2004) found school connectedness and school climate were inversely related to aggression and victimisation. Loukas et al (2008) linked connectedness to school conduct in a mutually reinforcing cycle. Another linked term is school membership, defined as being;

'[School membership is] rooted in identity theory and is defined as the possession of social bonds with a social network of school members through which a highly salient self-identity and high levels of commitment as a member of the school are internalized.'

(Boccanfuso 2009:i)

Seemingly, the ability for a pupil to feel connected, a member or have a sense of belonging is both manifest in and shaped by a pupil's identity. Identity theory posits that identity is constructed from our environment and the influence of our perception of our environment. Burke (2003) defines our having multiple identities as being held in a salience hierarchy that operate from three bases; personal identity, role identity and social identity. There is also further writing regarding social identity theory where one evaluates oneself against others in a group. This theory addresses such social and emotional issues as prejudice, discrimination, normative behaviour, conformity, organisational behaviour, leadership and cohesiveness. All identity theory is attempting

to address the complex concept of how the sense of self is created in relation to the environment; one's sense of agency in response to the structure.

There are numerous terms and concepts used in the identification of agency and sense of identity and self; self-motivation, self-concept, self-worth, resilience. All these terms have subtle and nuanced definitions and all have interlinking relationships with an individual's achievement, motivation and engagement. Self-concept refers to generalised self-assessment incorporating self-worth and general feelings of competence. Self-esteem is affective and refers to judgements of self-worth including self-concept and the possession of attributes and how well or not they are valued by society (Zimmerman and Cleary 2006).

Mone et al (1995) compared self-esteem and self-efficacy to ascertain the better predictor of goals and performance. Self-efficacy was found to be a distinctive predictor of academic outcome compared to self-esteem. There has been considerable research into self-efficacy as a measure of agency. Although parent and teacher assessment is important, it is the pupil's perception, the self-imposed assessment of self-efficacy that is important.

A child's self-efficacy is influenced by factors such as prior accomplishments and experiences as well as through vicarious experience (Bandura 1997). Attribution theorists contend that a student's perception of the causes of their success or failure determines their expectancies for future performance (Weiner 1985).

Bandura (op cit) recommends conditions by which self-efficacy can be enhanced.

1. Due to the link between self-efficacy and self-regulatory processes, an improvement in goal setting and self-monitoring and planning can help.

2. Personal mastery experience – frequent success leads to higher self-efficacy but only if the sense of mastery is genuine (scoring 95 per cent on an easy test doesn't count) or conversely if an external factor prohibits success.
3. The feedback of important individuals in their lives through verbal or modelling.
4. Through vicarious experience – through other similar pupils but also through teachers and adults, this accesses types of modelling around coping and mastery. Coping (getting it wrong but surviving) is a more effective strategy at encouraging self-efficacy than mastery (not making any mistakes).
5. Encouraging statements such as 'I know you can do it or better next time' are short lived. It is far better to link performance to the strategy used in the context, this encourages the view that success or failure is controllable rather than all pervasive, personal and permanent.

Furthermore, Bandura argues that outcome expectations are important for understanding a pupil's behaviour. However, in terms of academic attainment, it is not necessarily a pupil's IQ that dictates achievement rather the pupil perception, self-efficacy is more important. This is key, perception is more important than ability. These findings are supported by, for example, research regarding educational outcomes of young people leaving care and the significance of perception of self (Martin and Jackson 2002). Through numerous studies and meta-analyses, Bandura found that *'these studies revealed that students' self-efficacy beliefs contribute to academic performance over and above the effects of their ability'* (1997:53).

In this final section, I will discuss an example of an educational integration of policy and procedure designed to pay due attention to the emotional aspects of the relationships;

thus attempting to address the cultural character of the school. 'SEAL' (Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning) attempts to establish school structures that foreground the significance of transaction and therapeutic intervention.

3.7 A Good Try? SEAL – Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning

SEAL is 'a comprehensive, whole-school approach to promoting the social and emotional skills that underpin effective learning, positive behaviour, regular attendance, staff effectiveness and the emotional health and well-being of all who learn and work in schools' (DCSF 2007:4).

This quotation neatly draws together many of the aspects identified in this literature as being salient in the tackling of addressing behaviour through addressing the school culture. It recognises and incorporates the importance of academic attainment (*effective learning*), the bond to conformity (*positive behaviour*), the links between attendance (*exclusion and truancy*) and delinquency (*regular attendance*), teacher-pupil relationship and teachers' sense of efficacy (*staff effectiveness*) and the cultural character of the school and the impact this has on the daily interactions' and transactions in school (*emotional health and well-being of all*), culminating in a multi-faceted approach that is school wide.

When the principles of SEAL are further analysed, care has been taken to consider, school ethos and climate, that the children and the adults are equally entitled and provided with opportunities to develop socially and emotionally, that tailored and appropriate (individual or small group work) intervention is available to those pupils who would benefit and that the school's relationship with parents and its position in the

community is strengthened (National Strategies SEAL Priorities 2009-2011). Yet overall rather than being a prescribed doctrine, it is a framework that schools can integrate appropriate to their specific school requirements and culture.

Developed by educationalists and psychotherapists in order to improve emotional literacy and intelligence (Steiner, 1990; Goleman, 1995) in children and young people, the SEAL approach was incorporated into the national scheme for schools by the Department of Children, School and Families in 2007. Initially, it was rolled out across England's primary schools and then secondary schools. To date the uptake is very high with 90 per cent of England's primary and 70 per cent of secondary schools implementing the programme (Humphrey et al, 2010).

The national evaluation carried out by Humphrey et al (2010) revealed that as with many other recommendations for tackling such issues in school, the integration and implementation of SEAL into secondary schools was patchy. Furthermore, findings suggested the SEAL was in some cases negatively impactful on school climate measures. Humphrey et al (op cit) criticise the loose framework approach and advocate a more structured and monitored programme with more funding available for the purpose.

Yet it is imperative to acknowledge that change in culture is never instantaneous. This thesis is also evidence to support that genuine cultural change occurs slowly. This change is not through policy directive (although that is sometimes a starting point) rather it comes about through repeated transactions and dialogue. An expectation that any approach can be found to be effective or successful immediately is unreasonable. The practices and relationships being founded through the implementation of a scheme such as SEAL will last, and measuring and evaluating such features is the challenge.

A scheme that invites every member of a school to become more self-aware and emotionally literate through a simple model such as SEAL (which is underpinned by Transactional Analysis models) is an alternative view to the controlling and monitoring recommended by some. The positive effects of this type of approach would be seen in ripples in school, at home, in the community. Although it will take longer, the long term implications are far more interesting and positive.

3.8 Conclusion

This and the previous chapter sought to present salient literature from three significant areas; criminology, education and psychotherapy, in order to better understand the nature and extent of the pupil's bond to school and how it affects behaviour.

The influences of school on a pupil are varied and complex; in terms of school policy, procedure, responses to pupil behaviour, teacher labelling and SEN diagnosis, academic and emotional attachment and more.

Likewise, the school is also subject to pressures and influences, such as historical, political, recommended approaches, social function to name a few. But it is very hard for the impact of these factors to be controlled, measured or indeed underestimated. Furthermore, it is the pupil's perception of the school in response to him that dictates his behaviour and this is a pupil's sense of belonging as shaped by the school culture.

Chapter 4 Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will lay out the two underpinning theoretical themes of this thesis.

These are the child's bond to school and the school culture. In terms of how I intend to consider the two areas, they have very different theoretical and disciplinary antecedents - in criminological and psychotherapeutic fields - but the bringing together of the two ideas was identified as being important in exploring the research questions.

1. How does a sense of belonging (incorporating the aspects of academic attainment and emotional relationship) affect the behaviour of pupils in school?
2. How does the school cultural character affect a pupil's sense of belonging?
3. What can a school do to strengthen the pupil's sense of belonging through strengthening the school's cultural character?

Despite the challenge of bringing together these two areas I argue that it is both relevant and useful to do so. Psychotherapeutic theory, while valued in many professional contexts, has been largely absent from criminological discussion and debate.

It is important to contextualise both ideas. Therefore, in the first part of the chapter - where I will consider the child's bond - I will explore the application of Hirschi's Control Theory to this thesis and extend this further to discuss the developed concept of belonging, incorporating development of self and agency; and labelling theory. The second part - where I consider school culture - will cover the theoretical framework of cultural organisation laid out by Berne (1973); an extrapolation of a therapeutic model that provides a framework for understanding school culture.

4.1 Control Theory and the Bond to School

My intention in this section is to show that Hirschi's bond in its original form is one dimensional or uni-directional, and does not credit the child with an active role in perception of the relationship. The bond, as conceived by Hirschi, is something that the child is a part of but does not have any beliefs, perceptions or judgements about it. I suggest that this is not the case, and the significance of agency and the development of identity are important. I believe that the conscious and unconscious awareness of the transaction strongly influences the development of self and therefore the internal and external conversations, thoughts, feelings and subsequent behaviour.

It was Hirschi in 1969 that developed the theory of delinquency around the idea of the bond to conformity. Writing from a social psychological perspective, he was able to identify the elements that made up the bond; Attachment, Commitment, Involvement and Belief. And it is this idea of the bond or relationship that a child has with conformity or a conforming institution such as school that holds the key. Hirschi asserts that conscience or morality is positioned in the bond and not in the individual, thus we would all be deviant were it not for this bond with conforming society that controls us.

Hirschi's theory identifies the importance of the bond as a specific and separate entity to the pupil and the school in relationship. Hirschi positions the concept of morality within the bond rather than the individual. This concurs with the ideas of Nye (1958) who, in describing family relationships and delinquent behaviour, argued that the conscience is located in the bond not in the personality.

The question of the nature of morality is raised by many. For example, Cohen (2003) talks about an individual being 'anomic' or normless. This is particularly significant when

discussing aspects of school culture, as 'norms of appropriateness' are a requisite aspect of positive school climate (Reinke and Herman 2002). When considering the literature to determine the direction for this thesis, the existing theories did not encompass adequately the complexity of 'belonging'. Hirschi's bond speaks from the child's point of view; attachment, commitment, involvement and belief, yet he does not explore the multifaceted relationships to which the child is bonded. His later work, with for example Gottfredson (2001) around the theories of self-control incorporate the school as an influence but not the perception of that influence by the child. Others, for example Sprott (2004), who writes about school climate and attachment, recognises that school structure and culture have a significant influence and can be changed to significant effect on the attachment of the child, but again do not explore the child's perception of that attachment.

Our perception of the world around us arises from our experiences within it. This is a widely recognised principle, however the way in which the relationship between structure and agency has been theorised has varied, with sociologists and others giving priority to one, the other or, alternatively, as Giddens' argued, an interactive relationship between the two. Giddens' ideas were developed by Archer (2003) who wrote about Agency, Structure and Internal Conversations, identifying the construction of identity from the transactions we have, continually being shaped by and shaping the external conversations. Wittgenstein neatly forecasts Archer's principles in the 1950s with *'the limits of my language mean the limits of my world'*.

However, this idea is not purely sociological. Biologists debate nature versus nurture, cognitive therapists describe the influence of the world on our identity as core beliefs, educationalists such as Power et al (1972) discuss the criminogenic school and

transactional analysts discuss scripts created through transaction. Each attempts to describe how the relationships between an individual and his world work to direct and reflect that world and the individual's place within it.

It is for this reason that I am attempting to combine criminological theory with psychotherapeutic theoretical frameworks, specifically one that concentrates on the transaction. The combination of these can enable children and schools to reflect on their attitudes and beliefs - and consequently their behaviour - and offer a model to make sense of situations in context.

Furthermore, the relationships that we cultivate and nurture in school alter and reinforce the child's experience of relationship and belonging within society. A 'school included' or 'belonging' child will have the internal and external conversations to engage with societal relationships throughout life. It does not follow that the school should be 'fluffy', permissive or weak; rather it is fundamental that the transactions in school are authentic and foster a sufficient level of acceptance to allow even those children who don't seem to fit, to belong.

Why one child storms out and another is pacified is due to a child's perception of the context and situation. This is of course due in part to perception of the 'real-time' transaction with the teacher but it is also due to the pupil's perception of all the transactions he experiences and observes both inside and outside school. The pupil develops his perception of the school culture and his place in it in response to the transactions he experiences as well as those he observes, this in turn informs and shapes his sense of self and subsequent thinking, feeling and behaviour.

Certainly, individual interactions, transactions and relationships might be inclusive and positive and foster a sense of belonging. However, these transactions will not compensate for the perception of the cultural milieu. It is for this reason that a pupil is able to say that he likes teachers – and even school - but that he still misbehaves as his perception is that he does not belong. In this case his perception of the school culture is exclusive, negative and reinforcing of rejection. The establishment of a healthy sense of self is highly significant and can go a considerable way to ameliorate for the influence of the school culture.

In other words, this thesis proposes that a pupil's experience of school influences behaviour. Therefore, a school that attends to how it is perceived is not only more likely to enable more pupils to meet the school and social expectations, but it will also change the experience of the pupils in its charge, potentially for short and long term behavioural outcomes.

4.1.1 The Development of 'Self'

It is the theory of the bond and the understanding that a sense of self is developed from transaction that has informed part of the concept of belonging. This is the acknowledgement that a child is not a hermetically sealed unit who behaves identically to his peers, rather he has a strong and definite sense of his own agency, for example, he can chose to slam or close the door or swear at the teacher. Furthermore, this is also dependent on physiological factors.

Neuroscience tells us that adolescence is a fundamentally important biological period. Myelination (the process of laying down of the fatty sheath - myelin - along the

neurons in the brain) has two distinct and significant peaks in production during our life. The first is early in a child's life, from infant to toddler, the vast majority of which is spent dealing with increasingly complicated motor skills. The second peak in myelination begins in early adolescence (approximately eleven years for girls and twelve years for boys). This period of brain development is different; it is a process of thinning down useless synaptic connections and considerable concentration of laying down of myelin sheath particularly in the prefrontal cortex, the area associated with 'higher' functions such as planning, reasoning, judgment, and impulse control. It could be argued that myelination and the development of synaptic pathways is the process by which the first *physiological* development of agency occurs. The neural pathways laid down at this time will be tested and reinforced to inform an individual's attitudes, beliefs and decision making for years, if not decades, to come (Steinberg, 2005).

In addition to the physiological and neurological processes involved in agency development, there are considerable and extensive psychological processes. As discussed in the literature review, for example, self-efficacy beliefs play an influential role in human agency (Bandura, 1982; Zimmerman and Cleary, 2006). Highlighting the pupil's sense of his academic performance (and in relation to others) as a factor in the pupil's developing sense of agency. The pupil develops his perception of his sense of self from his academic achievement and the overt and covert messages he receives from teachers and peers.

To further complicate the relationship with school, the pupil develops a sense of self irrespective of school as well as influenced by school; the psychological and physiological changes that occur for all adolescents developing a sense of self and agency.

4.1.2 Self and School

This thesis concentrates on secondary school with the research year group being the second academic year in school (year eight - aged 13/14), Therefore this cohort had experienced just one year in the secondary school following transition from primary.

The shift to secondary school is reputedly stressful which is why there is considerable care taken to smooth the process. However, factors such as the increased school population and size of school; the movement between every lesson rather than a fixed classroom; the multiple teacher interactions; the multiple transactions with new and unknown peers; and the shift from being the oldest in school and all the associated expectations to the youngest, are considerable pressures to place on a young person in the process of developing his own sense of self and agency. Those pupils who are unable to master the skills, additional stresses and demands and regulate their new environment may, for example, see their academic results decline. As self-efficacy in school diminishes, there is a downward spiral of academic achievement that may incline the pupil to associate with the equally disaffected peers rather than the teacher (Dishion 1995; Parsons 1999).

4.1.3 Labelling Theory

Labelling theory (Becker 1963) proposes that a child's identity or role is defined by the opinions and judgements of his role set of significant others. It is included at this point as the discussion moves from the bond between pupil and school, to the influence of the school on the developing adolescent. At the foundation of this thesis are the ideas of perception and connotation; the pupil's perception of his position in relation to

school and his sense of belonging and how this is created by the school culture. The influence of school culture is grounded in labelling theory; the consideration that both overt labels and subtle transaction labels are attributed repeatedly in the classrooms and corridors.

Both individual relationships in the child's life as well as his experience of the *feel* of school (culture) can influence a child's perception of himself – and in relation to the school. The pupil may assimilate unconditional negatives - rather than conditional negatives - due to the labels he experiences. This can result in negative cognitive distortions by the pupil; believing an all pervasive, permanent and personal *disaster*. In essence, teachers attribute or connote failure to the person rather than the behaviour.

The implications of the attribution of failure are two-fold. Primarily, repeated teacher attributions of this kind result in the pupil being unable to distinguish himself from the failure. In addition, as Shores and his colleagues found (1993) the teachers disengage from the pupil as they find that all their interactions are negative. This means the pupil is rejected in terms of emotional attachment and academic achievement, both issues having significant effects on the pupil's self-perceptions and his behaviour. Pupils can become conscious of their position in the classroom and adjust their behaviour accordingly, using this breakdown in relationship as a means to an end – the end being exclusion or establishment of an identity with his peers (Stephenson 2007).

It is not only the academic attainment and behaviour that is labelled; it can also be the child's position in terms of peer and teacher acceptance. Hymel et al (1990) argue that *'popular children acquire a positive halo, and unpopular children acquire a negative halo, which colours how their behaviour is perceived, evaluated and responded to by others'* (p157). These biases *'serve to maintain positive and negative reputation ...*

ensuring that status distinctions are preserved' (op cit) even when a child's behaviour might change.

Labelling theory is important for this thesis as it supports the concept of a sense of belonging and its three elements - namely the perception of a pupil's bond to school, the perception of the school's bond to him and the perception of school's bond to others – and it also supports the influence of school culture on a pupil. The following three ideas arising from labelling theory have validity for analysing and exploring the data collected:

1. Relationships: The child's perceptions of his and others' relationships including how the school connotes all pupils and their actions. This explores the sense of belonging.
2. Temporal: The sense of time; temporary versus permanent attribution and absorption of the label. Also including immediate versus delayed gratification in outcome expectation and achievement. This explores aspects of the school culture.
3. Reinforcement: The continuing influence of the relationship with school, the repeated transactions, the pupil's experience of the cultural character of the school on the bonds. Exploring the sense of belonging in response to the school culture.

To summarise, perception of self and others comes about from the transaction and experience. If these transactions and experiences are loaded with overt or covert labels, they are inevitably incorporated and embedded into a pupil's sense of self. The labels may come from individual teachers or they might be an unspoken *feeling* a pupil

experiences from the culture of the school. Additional attributions and connotations might be received from a pupil's peers.

4.1.4 Social Belonging and Peers

Although not explored in this thesis, the issue of the bond between peers and their influence on behaviour is contentious. Namely, the positive effect that a school might have on a pupil at risk of developing delinquent tendencies might be superseded by a more dangerous or negative influence of a peer group. Or is the delinquent peer group merely an innocent by-product of already alienated pupils (Willis, 1977; Stephenson, 2007).

Be it happenstance or co-created deterioration, it is recognised that the delinquent peer group can amplify negative behaviour. Yet in terms of control theory, delinquents are just as or more strongly attached to peers as non-delinquents. So the power of the group may also prove fundamental in establishing positive bonds enabling conformity. Counter intuitive perhaps yet, *'we honour those we admire not by imitation, but by adherence to conventional standards'* (Hirschi, 1969:152).

In this first part of the chapter, I have explored the one theme underpinning this thesis. I have proposed that Hirschi's Control Theory applied to school as the conforming institution is integral in the understanding of the bond between pupil and school and in turn how this influences behaviour. However, I suggest that in addition to control theory, theories of self and agency, and labelling theory are also significant. As it is the dynamic construction and reinforcement of self in relation to school that is critical. Furthermore, the sense of belonging a pupil may experience in school is created by

perception of the bonds that exist in school and this is co-created in the cultural Etiquette, Technics and Character of the school.

4.2 School Organisational Culture

In this part of the chapter, I explore the idea of School Culture. First, I will consider the literature exploring organisational culture both generally and when applied to schools. This will ground the thinking behind the adoption of Berne's theory of organisational culture.

The literature tends to look at school climate as a distinct area from that of general organisational culture theories, yet I think it important to explore both fields of thinking. Much of the field of organisational theory is really borne out of management theories with the specific goals of efficiency and productivity. Given that education in the UK has shown the shifting emphasis towards the measurable, performance and efficiency, a consideration of organisational theories is useful, however the theories important for this thesis are those concentrating on the relationships that exist between individuals.

Allaire and Firsirotu (1984) completed a thorough literature review of the theories around organisational culture. Their research detailed observation and comparison of cultural roles, myths, hierarchies and activities within different approaches. Yet the incorporation of a culture's milieu or feel is not an explored or measurable factor. This slightly simplistic view is also prevalent in sociological discussions around school organisation.

Ballantine and Spade (2004) say that when discussing education, sociologists analyse in two main areas; process and structure. 'Process' is concerned with teaching, learning, communication etc. as well as the formal and informal activities that socialize the student. 'Structure' is the hierarchy of the organisation and roles people play from students to teachers and the layout and infrastructure of the school. Under this category also falls the school's environment such as groups and other institutions internal and external to the school. It is interesting to note that Ballantine and Spade (op cit) do not discuss culture. The implication is that culture can be defined by these two manageable and observable elements. However, there is an aspect to organisations, groups and societies that is harder to grasp in literature and it is the intangible cultural character. Ballantine and Spade (op cit) also describe school as following the 'open system' model; influenced by outside factors and influencing outside. This is an institutional version of structure and agency with the associated feedback loop explored by Giddens and later Archer.

Labelling theory was introduced within the first part of this chapter when discussing the relationships of the child. The parallel process when discussing the school culture is Interaction Theory. Interaction theoretical models can be explored on a micro – which would include labelling theory - or a macro level and are useful whether school and society are understood through functional or conflict theories.

The micro-level interaction theories look at the pupil and/or teacher, the relationships within the classroom and holding the dynamics of the specific context responsible.

Macro-level Theories look at the cultural and organisational issues. The macro-level theories include Durkheim's functional theory; school as with other societal organisations exists to ensure the smooth running of society. Just as the school is a part

of society's whole, within the school exist functioning and functional parts. According to Durkheim, a major role of education in society was to create unity by providing a common moral code necessary for social cohesion. Durkheim saw the classroom as 'small societies' and agents of socialisation, reflecting the moral order of society at that time. He asserted that discipline was the school's morality and that without it, children would be an unruly mob. He argued that through the classroom and school based interactions the children learned to be social beings. Durkheim also argued that schools should be free of the influence of special interest groups and be entirely under the control of the state.

It is clear that both macro and micro level interaction theories are at play in this thesis. The larger influential influences and expectations on the school as well as how these manifest on a daily basis in the classroom between teachers, pupils and every combination of these.

'Individuals sharing a culture are likely to interpret and define many social situations in similar ways because of their common socialisation, experiences and expectations.'

(Ballantine and Roberts, in Ballantine and Spade 2008:7)

Given that this part of the chapter explores the school culture, the following section begins to detail the layers of macro level factors that influence the '*individuals sharing a culture*' and how they influence the micro level factors through '*common socialisation, experiences and expectations*'.

4.2.1 Layers of Influence

As identified in the previous chapters, there are extensive and varied influences acting on a school. The size of a school defines class size, thus defining the pressures on the teachers and the relationship between teacher and pupils. The policies and hierarchical management structure of a school has a bearing on dealings of behavioural management of the pupils - exclusion or inclusion. The culture of the surrounding area has an effect on how the senior management team relate to one another and thus decide policy within the school. The influence of these becomes all the more clear when looking at the specifics of a school institution and the structures employed, the culture created and the relationships formed between the individuals.

When in 1970, Bernstein said "*schools cannot compensate for the effect of society*" he was referring to the challenge for schools in attempting to alleviate the obstacles such as poverty that exist in society. However, Silverman (1970) asserted that organisations are society writ small, that the school is society in microcosm. Therefore perhaps Bernstein was also correct with a different interpretation. School culture is not able to smooth out what exists in its society's culture. The subtle and complex dimensions of a community, be it cultural identity, population diversity and socio-economic background will be played out in a school.

There are layers of influence on a school's culture from local to national. Just as an individual's identity is influenced by his role set - the labels applied by the significant others through transaction and experience. I propose that the school too, is subject to pressures and influences each playing its part in the construction of cultural character

4.2.1.1 Local Influence

Locally, it is the way the school fits into the community – this will include the catchment area and accessibility, the languages spoken and the experiences of generations of families passing through the school, or new communities and groups arriving. Also having an influence are the opportunities available both for pupils and for teachers outside school such as jobs and courses.

Local community factors will shape school factors through the size of the school, the background of teaching and non-teaching staff and the pupils and how they are managed and invited to relate.

4.2.1.2 National Influence

As discussed in Chapter 2 Historical and Political Context, there have been considerable pressures on schools. In addition, there is the powerful influence of the media and public opinion. Aldridge and Cross (2008) recognise the increasing moral panic and demonization of children in the media and how this plays to a collusion with government in order to achieve certain legislative aims. This is exemplified most strongly by the reduction of the age of criminal responsibility to just ten years old following the murder of James Bulger in 1993. This case emphasised a particularly clear link between the media and the government and had a profound effect on how society and as a result, schools and society think about and treat children.

'Indeed, whilst there is no doubt that some excluded school children are involved in delinquency, there appears to have been a concerted effort by the media and politicians to establish a link between school exclusion and crime' (Hodgeson and Webb 2005:14)

The *blame storming* seems to continue with regular pieces in the media proclaiming the increase of knife crime in school, a need for metal detectors and CCTV or calling for super-heads for failing schools. And every year schools are criticised for the denigration of the exam results through dumbing down. A recent survey found that 46 per cent of those asked believed that the standards of teaching in schools are worse than ten years ago (YouGov/Sunday Times 2011).

Also influential is how each of these layers relate to one another. How Special Educational Needs (SEN) is implemented, how free-school-meals are incorporated and how the behaviour management policy is rolled out in the classrooms and corridors. Although the school administration might set the period duration and the department set the curriculum and scheme of work, before the activity of learning takes place, the teacher organises the classroom into subgroups. In doing so, the teacher manifests aspects of the school culture; the transactions are inherent in the delivery of the structure. Essentially, all these layers of influence are interlinked - working with and against each other - causing a fluid yet overall dynamic to be in existence and this is enforced and reinforced through every transaction that takes place in the school. Below is a depiction of the comparison between the pupil and the school as subject to influence from their respective role sets.

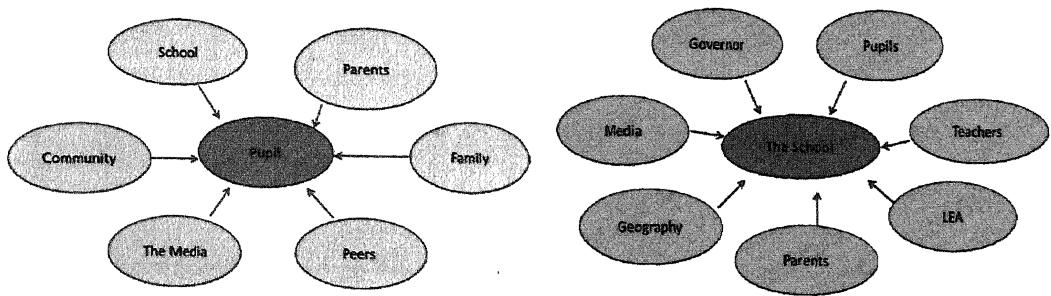


Fig 4.1 The Influence of the Role Set on Pupil and School

In the 70s, many (for example, Rutter et al 1979; Farrington and West 1973) were contradicting Power et al (1973) and firmly asserting that schools had no or little influence over the delinquency and behaviour of its pupils; that delinquency was a product of the home. Since then, schools have received a flood of direction and legislation with regard to tackling behavioural issues. The upshot is that schools exist in a very different political and educational landscape. I am not by any means dismissing the assertions made by previous studies but I am inviting an alternative view of examining the influence of schools on pupils and their behaviour.

It is for this reason that I introduce a different theory of organisational culture that arises from a different area, namely psychotherapy. Berne's theory of organisational culture defines culture using three terms that allow acknowledgement of the unwritten and unspoken aspects of a culture, what it feels like. Growing out of this theory, discussion of organisational culture shifts toward the acknowledgement of the relationships that exist. Even so far as to consider the 'diagnoses of organisational cultures (Balling 2005).

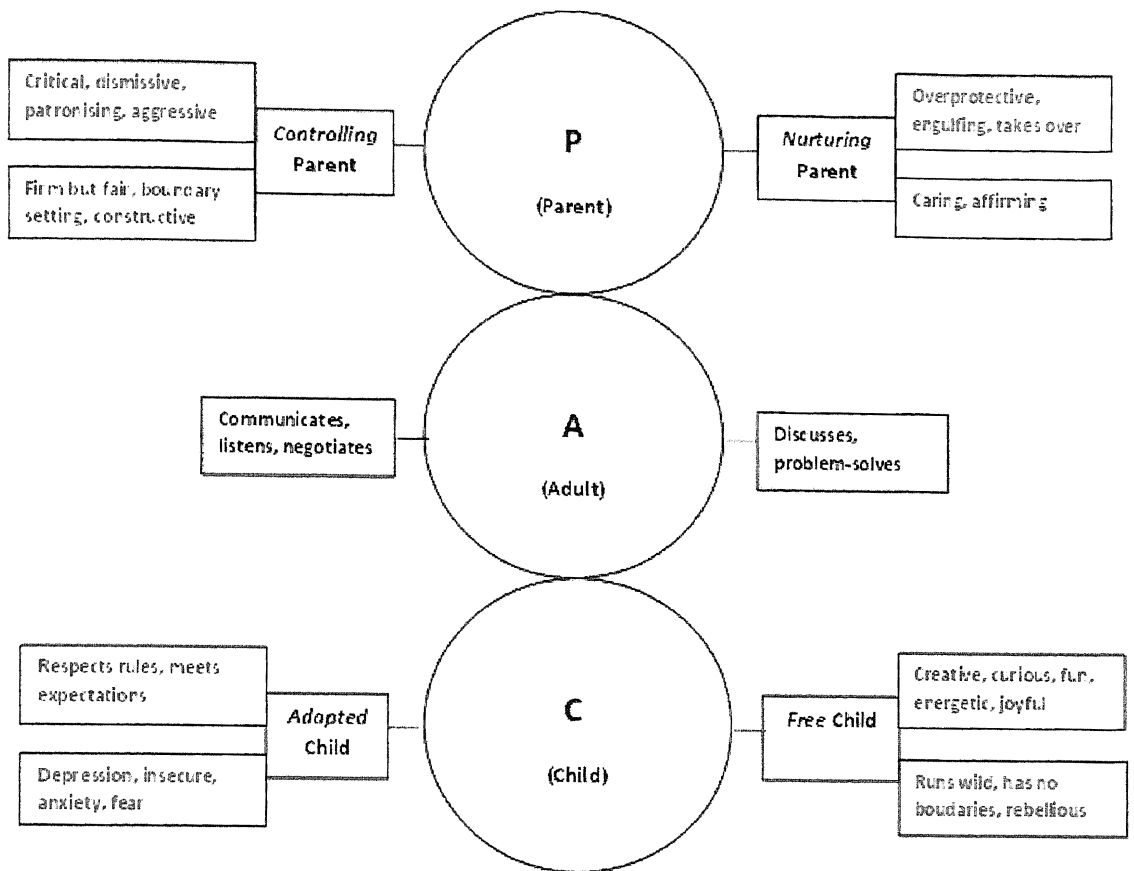
4.2.2 Berne's Theories of Culture

Before Berne's theories of culture can be discussed, it is important to present an overview of Berne's psychotherapeutic model, Transactional Analysis (TA). This is a humanistic model founded on the premise that humans beings are fundamentally 'OK' and that they seek to live in harmony with themselves and each other. There is considerable literature, both academic and practice based that can bring extensive knowledge and understanding of this profoundly useful approach for self-awareness, and in relation with others.

TA asserts that we are influenced by our parents and the experiences we have of the world when we are young. We develop 'ego states' that we continuously slip into and out of when we are interacting. There are three ego states: Parent (behaviours, feelings and attitudes learned from our parents), Child (historic behaviours, feelings and attitudes that are replayed in the present) and Adult (behaviour, feelings and attitudes that are in response to the here and now). Our ego state contains all aspects of ourselves in that moment; what we are thinking, feeling and how we behave. This makes observing others' ego states surprisingly simple as the body also holds behavioural clues to the ego state. With each ego state there is a functional position that has associated paradigms (for example Controlling Parent or Adapted Child), which can be positive or negative (see below).

It is through an awareness of our own and others' ego states we can become aware and map the transactions that occur between individuals.

Fig 4.2 Transactional Analysis Ego States Model



The TA approach has further dimensions and models that enable an understanding of the nature of our personality and behavior such as 'Life Positions' (e.g. I'm OK, You're OK), the 'Drama Triangle' (Victim, Persecutor and Rescuer), 'Drivers, Permissions and Injunctions' (self-explanatory) and 'Scripts' (patterns of response). There are also subtle interpretations of transactions such as 'Strokes' (attention giving/receiving transactions), 'Games' (conscious or unconscious attempts to 'catch the other out') and 'Rackets' (patterns of disruptive transaction). The whole theory is devised to enable individuals to understand themselves in the here and now and therefore to have a far greater understanding of their relationships with others.

The model devised by Berne holds great value for individuals in their own lives but also those whose professional role involves enabling others to understand themselves better. The use of the transactional model is accessible to all.

The extrapolation out to groups and organisations is both valuable and convenient. Berne's work in 1973 built upon this relational understanding of individuals and applied a similarly simple model to organisational culture. Although most exponents of this theory are within the therapeutic field (Drego 1983; Clarkson 1992), a whole field of 'TA in Organisations' has developed. With the rise in popularity of coaching in business and management, Berne's theories are becoming increasingly mainstream (Balling, 2005; Moneim El-Meligi, 2005; Lumsden et al, 2009).

4.2.2.1 Etiquette, Technics and Character

Berne describes the organisational 'self' or culture as being the amalgamation of three key elements: Etiquette (the espoused values and dynamics of an organisation; how the organisation behaves), Technics (the structures and resources in place to ensure the maintenance of the etiquette) and Character (the essence or ethos of an organisation). Put simply, Berne summarized etiquette as '*what one is supposed to do*', technics as '*what one has to do*' and character as '*what one might like to do*' (1963:112).

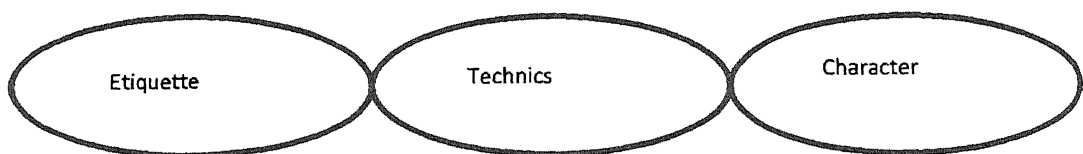


Fig 4.3 Organisational Culture

The three organisational cultural states tend to be depicted in three ellipses and *can* be overlaid onto the three ego states of the individual. Although direct mapping would be simplistic, it is possible to equate Etiquette with the Parent ego state, Technics with the Adult ego state and Character with the Child ego state.

'When a group of people form a social network or community, they share Parental values, Adult procedures and Child emotions.' (Drego 1983:224)

Just as the ego states have functional modes such as a 'Controlling' or a 'Nurturing' Parent, or the 'Adapted' or 'Free' Child this too can apply to the cultural states (Balling, 2005).

Not previously considered is the following interpretation of the overlaying of the two theories. I propose that the correlation between the individual and cultural models offers us another important tool for understanding organisational patterns, by using Berne's concept of '*exclusion*' (1961), which describes an undeveloped or unused part of the self. In individuals, an underdeveloped or neglected Parent ego state can be manifest as anti-social behaviour, an absent or neglected adult ego state as psychotic (a loss of contact with reality) and an absent or neglected Child ego state as potentially schizoid (unable to form relationships and emotionally cold). I suggest that the absence or neglect of one of the cultural states might result in an institutional – rather than personality - disorder. Berne warned that an *excluded* ego state would manifest in the worst traits of that ego state 'bubbling up' in negative ways. He talked of 'aberrant' behaviour that is tolerated and is used to justify the way the organisation behaves. Therefore, given the constant stream of external controlling factors that are dictating how a school is supposed to function (Parent/Etiquette) and has to function (Adult/Technics) it is little surprise that the Child or Character state is neglected or

untended. Moreover, the *exclusion* of this state results in negative traits arising for example in the misbehaviour of pupils in school. This is fabulously ironic yet poignant, the *excluded Child/Character* of the school results in excluded children!

Whether a school culture has an underdeveloped state or whether it is dominated by a particular functional mode, the school must attend to the whole culture if there is to be real change. I believe that in the situation for this case-study school and many others, attending to the cultural character is supremely significant in the development of a sense of belonging for the pupil.

4.2.2.2 Cultural Change through Character Change

When attempting organisational change legislators, management and practitioners often tend to focus on etiquette or technics of an organisation. However, it is also the *Character* of an organisation that defines a culture. For a shift in culture, an organisation needs to consider its character particularly if that aspect of the culture has been neglected. The school culture and the individuals working and learning within it are intertwined and inextricably linked so rather than changing the policy or practice, the behaviour or rules, the change also has to come in the cultural Character.

In order to address the cultural Character, a school must acknowledge and attend to its relationships and transactions. It is through the everyday interactions and dialogues that change occurs, not through top-down insistence of a policy that is not embodied by the individuals of the school. The concept to which I refer repeatedly throughout this work; and is at the foundation for the understanding of the impact of cultural Character on an individual is the transaction. I will use a classic philosophical conundrum to help explain the importance of the process of relating, what in TA is called the transaction.

4.2.2.3 The Prisoners' Dilemma

This scenario is taken from game theory; the assertion is that any individual is likely to react in a certain way given closed and controlled parameters. This scenario attempts to set up 'winners' and 'losers' and relies on the humans' need to belong (or exclude).

Two suspects are arrested by the police. The police have insufficient evidence for a conviction, and, having separated the prisoners, visit each of them to offer the same deal. If one testifies for the prosecution against the other (defects) and the other remains silent (cooperates), the defector goes free and the silent accomplice receives the full 10-year sentence. If both remain silent, both prisoners are sentenced to only six months in jail for a minor charge. If each betrays the other, each receives a five-year sentence. Each prisoner must choose to betray the other or to remain silent. Each one is assured that the other would not know about the betrayal before the end of the investigation. How should the prisoners act?

Even given the unusually discrete sample and situation, there are countless alternatives that might lead to the four outcomes due to different emotional experience and history, background, even what each had for breakfast as well as the nature of the transaction that occurs in that police cell. Each individual is *not* the same nor will the transaction ever be the replicated. The prisoners' dilemma only acknowledges the outcome based on discrete and concrete rules. But the rules and outcomes are only part of the story, what is required is a more complex and nuanced model that allows acknowledgement of the transaction, and what comes about when what one is supposed to do, what one has to do and what one would like to do are acknowledged.

In terms of application to the challenging child in school, many influences such as the political and educational system, social and community culture and individual factors obstruct the transaction occurring in the here and now and within a school culture that is balanced and appropriate. Thus the pupil will have experiences and develop beliefs that affect his sense of self and subsequently his sense of belonging.

Just as the rules and outcomes of the prisoner's dilemma (although measurable) do not acknowledge the context, measures of school climate also do not attend to the dynamic transaction experienced by individuals in school. A pupil's interactions and transactions at all levels and intensities will go to shape the individual and these then direct the behaviour or outcome of the pupil. Simple assumptions of cause and effect leading to a delinquent act or misbehaviour in school have not attended to the multiple factors, individuals and relationships that have shaped the pupil's personal sense of belonging (including success or failure, emotional attachment or exclusion) over time in the school.

Currently the dominant approaches for addressing challenging behaviour in school through a school wide approach tend to focus on policy and procedural factors; that is, Etiquette and Technics, the measurable elements of a school's climate (Walker et al, 1996; Lovey and Cooper, 1997; Eber et al, 2001). Although improvements to school climate may well strengthen a pupil's sense of belonging, this is likely to be an inadvertent consequence, as simply ensuring fairer rules, or increasing pupil voice and participation will not in themselves lead to a change in cultural Character. I argue that perhaps more important in tackling misbehaviour in school is strengthening a pupil's sense of belonging by improving school culture; Etiquette, Technics AND Character.

4.3 A Sense of Belonging

The theory described in this chapter underpins the analysis of the three research questions:

1. How does a sense of belonging affect the behaviour of pupils in school?
2. How does the school cultural character affect the pupil's sense of belonging?
3. What can a school do to strengthen the pupil's sense of belonging through strengthening the school's cultural character?

As laid out in the two parts of this theory chapter, this thesis is grounded in an unusual integration of criminological theory and psychotherapeutic approach. I believe that both are integral in the understanding of how behaviour in school is influenced by a sense of belonging to school and how the sense of belonging is influenced by the cultural Etiquette, Technics and perhaps most important, Character of the school.

The cultural Character of any organisation but particularly a school (with its multiple and complicated influences) is co-created by the transactions of participants, namely pupils, teachers, management, support staff and parents. To change the experience for individuals in the organisation attention needs to be paid to the transactions that occur in school.

Chapter 5 Methodology

The introductory and theory chapters explained the background and underpinning theory for this thesis. The context and literature review demonstrated the wide scope of existing thinking regarding challenging behaviour and school culture. They emphasise the relevance of this thesis for understanding a child's behaviour through his sense of belonging to school, and furthermore the complexities associated with this. This chapter focuses on the methodology adopted for the study and presents how this thesis will contribute to the field. This is a particularly complex subject in light of my 'insider' status within the school.

There is a long tradition of insider research in schools and educational settings; an approach that can be beset with challenges. Issues include bias, conflict of interest and appropriately protecting research participants' privacy and anonymity and guaranteeing confidentiality. Having this opportunity for research whilst in a professional role has given me great insight into some of the issues raised. These are the issues of conflict and of professional jealousy as well as personal issues of bracketing - setting aside one's own judgements and emotions (Joyce and Sills, 2001) - and the challenge of remaining objective in the face of emotive and personally challenging circumstances.

My insider research status is one of the significant and unusual aspects of this research so I have devoted a considerable proportion of first half of this chapter to examining this issue. I also consider the use of case study and mixed methods research (MMR) and how the approaches are integrated to enable rigorous conclusions to be drawn. I then present an account of the qualitative and quantitative approaches of data collection and analysis I employed in order to answer the three research questions; taking each in turn.

To summarise the methodological sources, below is a table to present the sources of data used in this report and how they inform the three research questions.

1. How does a sense of belonging affect the behaviour of pupils in school?
2. How does the school cultural Character affect the pupil’s sense of belonging?
3. What can a school do to strengthen the pupil’s sense of belonging through strengthening the school’s cultural Character?

Sources of Data Used in this Report	Research Questions
Literature Review	Patterns of Belonging and Behaviour (Q1) Patterns of Culture and Belonging(Q2) Exploration of School Cultural Character (Q3)
Pupil Questionnaire (n = 189)	Patterns of Behaviour & Sense of Belonging (Q1) Exploration of School Cultural Character (Q3)
Pupil Interviews (n=5)	Pupil perception of School Culture (Q2)
Staff Questionnaire (n=63) Part of preliminary research for my professional role	Patterns of Culture and Belonging(Q2)
Journal of Observations Personal records of experiences, issues and interactions with staff and pupils	Patterns of Culture and Belonging(Q2)
Statistics and Data Collected by the School and the Inclusion Unit	Exploration of School Cultural Character (Q3)

Table 5.1 Sources of Data

Finally in this chapter, I will finish with a consideration of other ethical issues and challenges.

5.1 My Role and Context

Following teaching in secondary schools and specialising in teaching children with emotional and behaviour difficulties (EBD), I spent several years with a Youth Offending Team (YOT) in both prevention and statutory services. My role had two facets; one was research and development - for example regarding programmes of behaviour modification such as addressing offending behaviour, anger management and victim awareness. The other was the management of projects and supervision and training of staff. One service that I established and supervised was a Community Safety funded project working in secondary schools attempting to intervene early in the development of delinquent behaviour.

In November 2007, I was approached by the Local Education Authority (LEA) and a large local school in Wales to implement a pilot service in the school to work with children at risk of exclusion. All the schools in this LEA's jurisdiction and this school in particular, had high exclusion rates. This school's fixed term exclusion rate was 8.9 per cent and 0.7 per cent the rate for permanent exclusions. This is three times the national average for fixed term exclusions - compared to the 2.6 per cent (Hayden et al 2007) and considerably more than the average for permanent exclusions for all schools in the UK (0.12 per cent)(op cit).

When comparing it to Welsh Government data (2011), it is higher even than the secondary school exclusion rates 8.2 per cent for fixed term exclusions and very much higher than the 0.12 per cent permanent exclusion rate.

Also, earlier in the year, a university had completed a scoping exercise commissioned by the Welsh Assembly Government and LEA as to the use of exclusion and its effectiveness

as a sanction for behavioural issues, this further emphasised the problems for pupils and schools in the area. This coincided with reports that I was writing for Social Services and the LEA regarding the issues of exclusion and behaviour.

The funding made available from the LEA was for a 6 month pilot, which is perhaps indicative in itself of the cultural attitudes to alternatives to exclusion, but the school made significant resources available to ensure an on-going full time appointment and therefore a long term intervention for the school.

I was employed as the teacher in charge of *encil* - *encil* comes from the Welsh word *cilio* meaning withdrawal - and my role was the development of a service, policy and practice to offer an alternative to home exclusion and support to children at risk of exclusion. In order to develop the most appropriate inclusion service for this school, it was essential that I understood the school culture. In addition to my canvassing attitudes of staff, I held focus groups with pupils and invited input from parents.

I implemented a holistic service, informed by visits to several schools across the UK (that had commendable exclusion figures or an alternative approach to inclusion), a significant literature review and research into the case-study school.

I faced a variety of challenges in achieving my goals in the school. These were partially due to the challenges faced by any insider researcher but some were due to the specific culture of this school. However, as highlighted by Scraton (2004) and Fielding (2010) it is absolutely imperative that my research does not bruise nor embarrass the school in any way.

As with all schools, there are both wonderful and frustrating features inherent in its make-up. The important element to retain in this case is that this school was attempting

and hoping to make changes to its culture. However, as with all change, it is both difficult and slow. This study intends to explore dynamics and cultures within a school looking to improve. I hope that I am able to deliver my findings in a rigorous way that allows the school and me the space to reflect on our experience for the future good of this and other schools.

5.1.1 The Case-Study School

The school to be the case study in this research is a fully comprehensive secondary school in Wales. It is one of the only English speaking schools in the area; other secondary schools are either Welsh language or bilingual. This school is by far the biggest in the area with 1350 pupils from year seven to year thirteen, at least twice to four times the size of the other schools. 12.5 per cent of pupils receive free school meals (this is slightly higher than the average for the unitary authority). It is an inclusive school in terms of Special Educational Needs (SEN), with 40 per cent of school on SEN register and over 30 Learning Support Assistants (LSAs) employed full and part time and a Learning Support Centre for those unable to integrate into mainstream school (e.g. Autistic Spectrum Disorders). However, in terms of pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties, the policy and approach is less inclusive.

In terms of support from non-academic roles prior to my appointment (at which time I developed a combined in-house and external agencies Inclusion Support Team) there were on school roll, a part time School Nurse and a part time School Counsellor.

How this context related to the school culture is left to discussion in the analysis chapters.

5.2 The Methodological Approach

In this section, I will consider in detail my position as insider researcher and the reasoning behind the use of case-study and a mixed methods approach. I believe it is essential to understand how the situational context and methodological rationale go to shape the specific methodologies chosen to respond to my research questions.

5.2.1 Insider Research

Discussions around 'insiderness' and outsidership' and the issues of the paradigm being a dichotomy or a continuum outlined by Mercer (2007) are complicated by the role I held in the case-study school. Merton (1972) suggests '*insiders are the members of specified groups and collectivities, or occupants of specified social statuses. Outsiders are the non-members*' (p21). Griffith (1998) also identified the insider as "*someone whose biography (gender, race, class, sexual orientation and so on) gives her [sic] a lived familiarity with the group being researched*' while an outsider is '*a researcher who does not have any intimate knowledge of the group being researched, prior to entry into the group*'(p36). These quotes reflect my experience to an extent but in my case, the already complex issue of insider and outsider research was complicated by the role I had in school. The appointment was to work with those at risk of exclusion and attempt to develop an in-school service a challenge that was at odds with the school culture. Therefore rather than being an *insider* - by the definitions above - my role put me very much on the outside. Relationships, support and information that had previously been open to me were now absent – although I 'knew the research group', I was definitely not a 'member'. Coghlan and Brannick (2006) discuss the challenges common to all those

attempting action research within the organisation they work. They highlight the difference between the ethnographer, as unobtrusive observer, and the action researcher who *'works at enabling obtrusive change'* (p104).

Particularly interesting given my exploration of the culture of schools, I was *loved* by some and *loathed* by others. Whilst being encouraged and supported publically by the Senior Management Team (SMT), I was at other times undermined. The staff were divided as to the purpose and approach to inclusion. I was neither an insider nor an outsider. Furthermore amongst the sample population, I had a perhaps more complicated position. In the same paper, Merton also stated that *'individuals have not a single status but a status set'* (p22) and that identities are *'always relative, cross cut by other differences and often situational and contingent'* (De Vault, 1996:35).

As intimated by Merton's quotes, with regard to the attitudes and perceptions held by particularly the pupils, I held a social status within the school but not just one (see also Finch). I am an adult; affording a certain yet definite expectation of attitude and behaviour even if this was not always reinforced. I am a behaviour specialist; holding the 'saviour' role for some and the 'enemy' role for others. I am a woman; I had to be continually mindful of the issues of maternal transference. Finally, although I was careful to ensure that I have never carried out specific contact work with any of the pupils in the sample population (a member of the inclusion team was made available) I had a role that invited a confidence with certain young people.

In my professional role, in the eyes of some (both pupils and teachers) I was an insider, part of the team, working together to keep the children in school, to others, I was an outsider, attempting to change the status quo. As a researcher, all the children and staff in the school were aware of my research, flagging up issues for pupils that I might not

attend to their educational, emotional and behavioural needs appropriately, and for staff that my loyalties lay elsewhere. Although the issue of ethnographic research in itself can give rise to skewing the reality of a situation; this is the inevitable influence of observation on behaviour.

Mercer (op cit) also discusses the influence of situation and context on the insiderness of the researcher. This highlights a very interesting parallel between the theories around this type of professional insider research and the ideas that I am exploring in this research. The ideas and challenges of identity for me as a researcher and as a practitioner within the school echo the ideas and challenges of the child establishing his identity, self-efficacy and sense of belonging in the school. Likewise the effect and influence of time and place of the research, the power relationships, the layers of micro and macro-level factors on the context of the research echo those contributing to the development of the school's cultural character.

Ironically, I was more of an insider with the pupil cohort than with the majority of staff. My relationships with the children were consistently far more open, transparent and authentic than those with other adults in the school. However, my role of attempting to include the excluded, at times led to my becoming aligned with the pupils rather than the school. I endeavoured to ensure that these dynamics did not compromise my role as researcher. The outsider doctrine (Merton 1972) asserts that only a neutral observer, an outsider, possesses the distance and detachment required to research objectively. However, the insider doctrine (op cit) asserts that only the insider, the researcher with the comprehension of the culture of the organisation is able to have the *'intuitive sensitivity that alone makes empathic understanding possible'* (p15). Just as Oakley (1981) asserts that woman are better able to interview women and Wilson (1974) or

Conant (1968) claim that whites can never be as sensitive as blacks to the black community precisely because they are not black. It may follow that it was the very fact that I, was at times alienated by the school, I did not belong, I was in a way 'excluded' from the cultural acceptance that enabled me to resonate with the pupils who felt the same (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005).

However Merton (op cit) does go on to say that neither doctrine is convincing and that there are advantages and disadvantages to both insider and outsider positions wherever a researcher might sit on the continuum. The context and influences of the situation are fundamental, and the researcher must be mindful and attend to all the aspects of the research to ensure methodological rigour and ethical care.

Although the insider advantage means significantly more accessibility to the sample and data collection, I had also to be conscious of the pitfalls of the position. Mercer (2007) in her exploration of literature in the area of insider research highlights the dangers the insider might experience in the research. These include developing myopia and only looking at one's own perspective meaning alternative attitudes are not explored, assumptions are not challenged and issues not raised. However, in this case I was conscious of the make-up of the school culture - Etiquette, Technics and Character - enabling me to access information, placate management and speak the same organisational language. Mercer (op cit) highlights these issues as needing to be balanced by the researcher in order to regulate the insider role.

In Mercer's paper (2007), she describes a number of 'delicate dilemmas' that might arise in the carrying out of insider research. The issue of informant bias or 'everyone knows what she wants us to say' had distinct relevance in this research - the complicated nature of my professional role in school. I am, by dint of my training and position, a

teacher; this meant that a pupil might try to give the *right* or expected answer (Simons 1981) not simply through fear of a breach of confidentiality but in order to please me. However, due to my actual role being working with and supporting pupils with challenging behaviour, a child might view the attention for 'being bad' as positive. Despite the way in which I work with children and young people - which is rigorous and purposeful - the preconception is that to gain my attention, a child might chose to express a more negative or delinquent aspect of their behaviour.

My reputation had genuine integrity but due to the varied status I held in the school, it was to be expected that pupils might exaggerate one way or the other as the child craved approval from the 'adult', the 'teacher', the 'specialist' and the 'mother'! My role in the school colours what is known by pupils about my attitudes and opinions. This dilemma is neatly summarised by Schutz (1964 p34), where the objective outsider is a 'man without history' but the insider cannot escape his past.

I avoided considerable ethical and informant bias by co-opting a non-school colleague to undertake a small number of interviews with pupils. My colleague is an experienced researcher with vulnerable groups and is not known to the school in either a personal nor professional capacity. She is highly experienced and extremely respectful of the competencies of children and young people and epitomises the mindfulness that the researcher needs as identified by Thorne (1993).

Harden et al (2000) lead a lively discussion as to the type of relationship most appropriate between an adult researcher and child subject. There is an inherent power imbalance. Mandell (1991) argues that the researcher should attempt to take the 'least adult role' and 'suspend all adult characteristics' where possible. James et al (1998) argue that adults should not try to be children rather the researcher should attempt to

befriend the child. I feel there is validity in both arguments but that they miss the inherent transactional relationship in the here and now. The process of treating another as equal in the moment (even if the common historic ideology is distinctly unequal) may translate as friendship, and on equal footing (if that might appear to be wearing similar shoes!) is the success of a positive and productive research relationship. This is summed up by the words of Oakley (1981);

'finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship' (p41)

This quote seems to recognise the 'I'm OK, you're OK' position (Berne, 1973), an attention to and acceptance of the other in relationship. In practice, this attitude might be encapsulated by the advice I was given by a fellow practitioner (a child psychotherapist) that we must 'treat teenagers like adults but never forget they are children'.

Likewise, the questionnaire was disseminated by classroom teaching staff (not by me) and although I was in the school on the first occasion of questionnaire completion it occurred in the first two weeks of term where I was not known to the pupils. The second questionnaire sitting occurred exactly one year on, but I had been on maternity leave for six months prior to this.

Having highlighted some of the ethical and process dilemmas associated with insider research and how I resolved them, I will go on to discuss other ethical considerations for the methodologies employed.

5.2.2 The Use of Case-Study

In addition to the extensive reading in the area, I conducted quantitative and qualitative research including ethnographic observations within a case-study school. Many (Thomas and O’Kane, 1998; Gomm et al, 2004; Simons, 2009) advocate the use of ‘case-study’, as an adequate representative sample of a situation, context or population. Research intends to explore a specific dynamic relationship not to be compared to but to foreground the importance of an issue, in this case the effect of school’s cultural character on a child’s sense of belonging and behaviour.

As summarised by Simons (2009) there are strengths and limitations to use of case-study. For this thesis’ context of this thesis, I saw there to be four clear strengths:

1. Case-study allows understanding of the link between policy and practice.
2. It enables an exploration of the dynamics of change.
3. It is flexible in time, access and methodology.
4. Certainly in my case, it is an intervention in and of itself in the improvement of the school’s cultural character.

(Simons 2009:23)

Tight (2010) explores the definitions of ‘case-study’; method, methodology, strategy, approach and determines that the use of case-study is particularly useful in the context of educational research however it may be defined. The overall consensus within the field is that the case-study provides evidence in a specific case (or cases) and is expected to ‘catch the complexity’ of such (Stake 1995). This single expression identifies the use of case-study for this thesis; an exploration into the specific cultural dynamics and influences within this one school. Tight’s (op cit) article champions the case-study but recognises that there is much criticism of its use and validity in research, at least in

terms of the phrase. Tight offers entertaining musings on alternative ways of describing the case-study. For example, 'a detailed examination of' or 'a small in-depth study of', attempting to bolster the specific nature of the case study.

My research comes out of a unique position of practitioner and researcher, where I can explore in considerable detail and with a suitably large sample the specific nature of a specific school. Hopefully, my findings might go to inform practice not merely in this school but the approach and ideas generated might be useful elsewhere also. To follow is a description of the case-study school.

So, within the case-study, I employed mixed method research (MMR), enabling the strengths of qualitative and quantitative approaches to be drawn whilst minimising limitations (Truscott et al, 2010 p317). I will discuss MMR in the coming section.

5.2.3 The Use of Mixed Methods Research

This thesis sets out to answer questions I had asked myself as a teacher and behaviour specialist as identified in the introduction. But a considerable element of this thesis considered the pupil's perception, something that I was only able to speculate about. So methodological approaches that enabled me to both test existing ideas and theory yet also allow space for theory to emerge was vital.

A mixed methods approach '*enables the researcher to simultaneously answer confirmatory and exploratory questions and therefore verify and generate theory in the same study*' (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003 p15). Furthermore, Truscott et al (2010) assert that such mixed methodology enables a thorough understanding of 'educational

activities in context' but allows the possibility of generalisable recommendations.

Fielding (2010) too advocates the use of mixed methods; the combining of different methodologies to enable the reinforcement of findings to produce a more complex and multifaceted conclusion. This being a professional doctorate, this latter element is wholly attractive as the purpose of this thesis is to generate something useful that can be used to support practice.

There are limitations inherent in any and all qualitative research - which is why I have selected a mixed methods approach - however, I have attempted to address these issues. First is the subjective bias imposed by the researcher - to be discussed later when describing my ethnographic observations. Second is that this is a snap shot in time, my very being there will have an influential impact on exactly what I am trying to observe and investigate, the culture. I believe this limitation in fact adds to the weight of my thesis that culture is and should be fluid and dynamic. It is the cultural character that encapsulates the dynamism of the culture and it is through the fluidity of transaction that there is possibility of change.

The employment of an integrated methodology is becoming more widely popular and accepted, yet Truscott et al (2010) found in their review of methodological literature, is not as widely published as expected. The same authors stressed that mere use of mixed methods is not enough; thought and care must be taken to integrate the approaches for research questions and purpose.

'Mixed methods research is more than the outcrop of mixing different methods. It is a purposeful and powerful blend intended to increase the yield of empirical research'
(p327)

Harden et al (2000) laud participant observation as the most appropriate method for studying children, but do not dismiss the importance of interview. In this thesis, I have observed ethnographically the culture as well as exploring the detailed views obtained through interviews. Moreover, the areas discussed in the interviews are generated not only from the literature review but also from the findings of the questionnaire. So the integration of a mixed methods approach is wholly appropriate in this case as not only will it combine the strengths of quantitative and qualitative data, one leading to and shaping the other. It also seems to underpin the philosophy of this thesis, the appropriate use of the appropriate method.

The way in which one views the concept and construct of childhood will inevitably dictate the way in which research is implemented with children and young people. Waksler (1991) stresses the validity of young people's opinions, and the frequent dismissal of sociologists' attitudes towards them. Indeed, in the area of *perception of culture and dynamic of transaction*, I would suggest that young people are perhaps more astute than adults to subtle dynamics – particularly to issues such as justice and fairness - and thus research of this nature may hold even more merit. Adults in our society, especially those who have subscribed to the doctrine and ideology of their role, can be blinkered to the reality of the here and now.

Having identified the specific mixed methodological challenges to insider research within a case-study school and presented arguments for the grounding of the methodological framework for this thesis, I will go on to give an account of the specific methodologies adopted to examine the research questions already identified and verified as relevant through the literature.

5.3 Methodology

For all aspects of this thesis and the research into belonging, behaviour and cultural character, I conducted a considerable literature review. I accessed the extensive digital and paper libraries of both the University of Bedfordshire and my local University library using a range of searches and search engines. In order to present the findings, I explored the very practical and thorough advice as presented by Hart (1998) in terms of planning and executing a rigorous literature review.

In this section, I take each research question in turn and outline the specific methodological approaches employed to explore that question.

5.3.1 Research Question 1: How does a sense of belonging (incorporating Hirschi's bond, academic attainment and emotional relationship) affect the behaviour of pupils in school?

5.3.1.1 Methodology 1 – questionnaire

To investigate this question, I designed a questionnaire to explore the behaviour of a new cohort to the school and their attitudes to school. This was an amalgamation of questionnaires from two established and acknowledged pieces of research, adapted for use in this context. The first was the behaviour questions used by Weerman et al (2007) in the Netherlands study of 2000 pupils looking at misbehaviour in school and delinquency elsewhere. The questionnaire invited pupils to self-report behaviour. Much has been written as to the advantages and disadvantages of this method as opposed to using records of exclusion and offending through formal means. I believe

that anonymously obtained self-reported behaviour is likely to reveal the most useful data as I am comparing how the pupil perceives and records his attachments to conformity rather than merely a study of the behaviour within and outside the school. The pupils may exaggerate or play down their behaviour but I believe his responses to attachment questions will correspond accordingly.

I made minor amendments and additions to this section of the questionnaire in order to make them more relevant to the sample. Firstly, with regard to a specific problem behaviour faced by teachers in this school, that regularly and repeatedly results in exclusion. 'Insult, swear at or verbally abuse a teacher or other member of staff in school?' brings about in a standard three day exclusion.

Secondly, an addition to the delinquency section of the questionnaire, a behaviour common in UK; to '... travel on a bus or train without paying the correct fare?'

Finally an adjustment to the currency used in the examples from 5 euros to £3.

(Exchange rate valid at the time of research).

The second part of the questionnaire invited the pupil to assess his attachments to order so that I might understand his behaviour in relation to these attachments and was adapted from the Richmond Youth Project Study carried out by Hirschi in 1969 looking at the bond between pupil and conformity. This study was looking at the bond and why the bond was as strong or weak as it was e.g. how large family size, parental occupation and how well read they are. I took selected questions from Hirschi's project (those relating to school) in order to ascertain the strength of the bonds to school and their specific influence on behaviour. I am looking specifically at the child's perception of the relationship with school, and not the socio-economic or familial background of the pupil.

Although the child's familial experience may have a part in the creation of and weakening of a bond, I suggest – perhaps contentiously, in view of the growing emphasis on the home and parenting and their relationship to schooling difficulties - a school does not need to understand how the bond became weak to strengthen it. I was very interested in the seeming emphasis of the questions in the Richmond study of a negative initial position where many questions are phrased in the negative e.g. People are always picking on me or I often feel discouraged and the subject is invited to refute this to the positive. Although I initially questioned the negative bias of the questions, the position does invite the respondent to respond with more commitment. Positively posed questions tend to invite the pupil to answer neutrally where negatively posed questions invite an actively positive response and a more honest neutral position.

This existing questionnaire was used as it is underpinned by the four elements of control theory; attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. Furthermore, the Richmond Study is a well-known and reputable piece of research that continues to hold up. Furthermore, it appears to support numerous contemporary research areas such as school cultural change (Sarason, 1996) and school effectiveness research (Teddle and Reynolds, 2000). Gray's warning (2004) regarding the novice researcher's approach of collating as many spurious categories or questions 'just in case' data is needed later is a valid argument when asserting that the methodology links directly to the literature and the research questions. However, it is also important to be prepared to acknowledge and explore other links within the field of study. The wide breadth and depth of questions in the Richmond study questionnaire reconciled these two points enabling exploration of connections and links that may previously not have been evident in the literature, but form a tight and valid structure.

The questionnaire was checked by the Special Educational Needs Coordinator to ensure suitability for age and stage and completed by three children of the appropriate age but who did not attend the school to determine time required to complete the questionnaire.

5.3.1.1.1 Methodology 1 - Data Collection

As a pilot study, the questionnaire was first sat by a year seven cohort (aged ten/eleven) in the first two weeks of attendance at the school. Consent was obtained from every parent through written correspondence explaining the research purpose and methodology and inviting them to opt out of the research. The letter asked for informed consent for the information gathered to be used in the final thesis publication. As the initial sitting of the questionnaire referred to the previous twelve month period, a time when the pupils had attended their primary schools, I also contacted all the feeder school head teachers to explain the research purpose and methodology and invite any queries regarding the study. The purpose of the research was explained to the pupils who were given a further opportunity to opt-out when the questionnaires were disseminated. The questionnaire was completed by 191 year seven pupils (93 per cent of the total year group) during an English lesson. The questionnaires were entirely anonymous both with regard to the pupil, the teacher and class they were in. The purpose of this first sitting of the questionnaire was to familiarise the school staff and pupils as to the purpose and approach of the research. This enabled the school to have a trial run collecting the data, allowing me to ascertain any glitches in dissemination. But also useful for the pupils to be made aware of the types of questions they were being asked, I hoped this would mean that any novelty was removed and a more honest response might be obtained.

One year later, a second sitting of the questionnaire and the main phase of data collection was carried out. Again the questionnaire was completed in an English class during the first two weeks of the same cohort's second year at secondary school. 189 mixed gender year eight pupils (aged 11/12) - sample was 92 per cent of the population - completed the questionnaire again referring to the preceding twelve months, the first year in school.

The study was not intended to be a longitudinal study, rather a snapshot of behaviour and attitudes in time; but it was useful to have the first set of questionnaire data as it could be compared to the main data. Had the two sittings shown markedly different attitudes or had there been a tranche with highly skewed attitudes, it would have complicated the conclusions able to be drawn. However, the basic findings of the data from the two phases were similar enough to enable my drawing conclusions regarding a sense of belonging to this school and this schools cultural character.

Initially, Excel was used to analyse the data, then as my exploration expanded, the statistical analysis package SPSS version 17 was used. The reason for my first employing excel spread sheets was that it gave me a very in depth, working knowledge of the data. Data had to be selected to be explored, I was therefore able to visualise large swathes of information in isolation. Once I moved to SPSS, analysis was more straightforward, commands for statistical counts or calculation were instantaneous and accurate. However, SPSS does not enable the analyser to view connections that have not been instructed. I was therefore grateful that I had already developed a deep understanding and familiarity with this data.

5.3.2 Research Question 2: How does the school cultural character (the relationships within school) affect the pupil's sense of belonging?

This question was researched using two qualitative methodologies. Firstly, I employed an ethnographic observation of the culture of the school. This includes the delivery of a preliminary piece of research into staff attitudes and expectations of exclusion from school and alternatives and an auto-ethnographic account where I reflect on my experience within the school. Second, I included semi-structured interviews with a small number of pupils from the larger sample group responding to questions surrounding belonging and alienation from school.

5.3.2.1 RQ2 - Methodology 1 – Ethnographic Observation

Within this section on ethnographic observation as the methodological approach, as well as the observations I made as an active participant in the school, I also completed a pilot study into exclusion and staff perceptions of exclusion. The primary purpose for this initial research was to inform my professional role; to ensure that the policy and practice that I developed for the school was appropriate to its needs and wants.

However, this research was highly enlightening as a snapshot into the cultural character of the school in terms of inclusion and exclusion, both officially and unofficially within the staff cohort.

In this section, I will describe the methodology for the preliminary study but will leave the analysis and findings in terms of cultural character to chapter seven: The Effect of School Cultural Character on a Sense of Belonging. Then I will articulate how I researched the school cultural character through participant observation and my experience as an insider researcher and practitioner within the school.

5.3.2.1.1 Preliminary Study

In the first two months in post at the case study school, I instigated a questionnaire to assess the staff view of exclusion and inclusion at school. The questionnaire was composed of questions relating to how teaching and non-teaching staff (LSAs, catering and site staff) viewed the problem of exclusion and behaviour in school and then invited them to express their preferences as to how to improve the problem. Some questions invited a scored response, for example, *how would you rate the problem of exclusion for [school] out of 10? with 10 big a very serious problem and 0 being not a problem at all.* Other questions invited rearrangement of suggested alternative approaches for tackling inclusion and exclusion into an order of preference. There were also open questions that invited a more detailed response such as *why is it important that [name of school] is inclusive?* Although the primary purpose of the questionnaire and information generated was to enable a fuller understanding of the situation in order to implement the most appropriate strategies for inclusion, the survey had another significant outcome. Through the responses of the staff, I was able to begin to build a picture of the culture of the school.

5.3.2.1.2 Auto Ethnography

I had been working with the County's Youth Offending Service with children and young people for a considerable period prior to my appointment to work directly for the school. One of my roles during this time, was to set up and run a preventative service in all the county's schools to work with children 'at risk of offending'. I had therefore gleaned a wealth of information regarding this (and other schools) as to their 'corporate' attitude to children with delinquent behaviour and their receptiveness to alternative approaches and strategies for working with children to address behaviour. When I was

approached to work within the school directly, I began to keep a journal of my day to day experiences, issues and interactions with staff and pupils. This journal contains numerous positive and negative examples of cultural Technics, Etiquette and Character that go to make up the culture of the case study school. It is from this journal along with official records, policy and procedure that I draw on, to support the assumptions and conclusions I make in chapter about the cultural character.

The use of personal ethnographic observation is widely used in sociological and anthropological research. Although the information garnered is clearly and obviously subjective, particularly in the cases of insider research (see earlier), it is extremely valuable for incorporation into an integrated methodological model. The experiential and observed information makes up only part of the story, it sits alongside quantitative and other qualitative findings. In combination, the research is thorough.

The way in which a journal is recorded and then later interpreted is very important. Despite my efforts and training to remain neutral and impartial to observation, experience and transaction, situations arose that were inevitably emotive. However, I feel that my professional practice made me more capable of impartiality than I might have been. In my practice with children, young people and adults, I am constantly mindful of my own attitudes and beliefs and take considerable care to attend to the here and now and bracket my own thoughts, feelings and attitudes. Having said this, my emotive responses are a valid part of the cultural milieu of the school, and therefore my reflection on my experience (emotive and otherwise) is also distinctly valid.

Harden et al's article (2000) includes an unusual but salient piece of action research or auto-ethnography; an interesting account by a researcher where she reflects on the actual process of research with children. The validity and importance of such a process

allowed connections be made that supported the research. Simons (1981) also writes about the value of the importance of reflection on qualitative research.

5.3.2.2 RQ2 - Methodology 2 - Interviews

Bourdieu (1977) argues that interviews are the weakest form of research methodology because subjects give subjective accounts based on what they think they should say.

Though, on the other hand, in all fields of social science, interviews are integral to the understanding of nuance and culture in innumerable settings and contexts.

Furthermore, they are essential to this thesis for two main reasons. Firstly, they support and elaborate on findings already made through quantitative means and the ethnographic observation. Secondly, the crux of this thesis is founded on the perceptions of the participant. It is the subjective beliefs and attitudes that I am exploring and particularly how they relate to the expectations and influences on them from the school cultural character.

As identified in a number of studies in the 80s and 90s by Hill (1997), it is common in social science research with children to conduct a broad survey to explore themes and ideas and then accompany this with a smaller intensive study of interviews with a small number of children. Although I had been tempted to use group interviews as recommended in Punch (2002) to explore a more co-created version of cultural awareness about the school and a sense of belonging. I felt that the information I sought was more specific. I designed the interview schedule around stories or narratives of students; but the focus was on observed behaviour and attitudes of other pupils rather than themselves. These would not have been forthcoming or would have been highly inappropriate in a group setting as a sense of confidentiality was imperative in discussing the behaviour and attitudes of one's peers. Therefore, the schedule for the

individual interviews was semi-structured open questions on themes that prompted a narrative response.

Obtaining consent for the interviews was significantly more meticulous than the consent for the questionnaire. Where the questionnaire merely asked for an opt out if preferred, the interviews required an opting in. All parents were written to again, reminding them about the research being undertaken and inviting them to allow their child to participate if the child actively wanted to. The pupils were also reminded about the research and invited to participate. If all parties were willing, I made contact with the family out of school time to arrange the most appropriate time and location for the interview; the timing of which would not be during school hours and would take place at a neutral location at their convenience. The interview was between 45 and 60 minutes and had just three themes but I also made use of vignettes; short written examples that prompted further discussion. The use of vignettes in researching children and young people is widely accepted and used by many for example Triseliotis et al (1995), Simons (2007) and Barter and Renold (2000). Furthermore, as Stake (1995) highlights, the vignettes make use of specific examples or situations appropriate to the case-study school. Thus reinforcing the positioning of the research within the specific school I was investigating.

As mentioned earlier in the section on insider research, the interviews were carried out by a colleague who has no known association, personal or professional with any of the pupils concerned. Additionally, as each question invited a story or narrative the interviewer was encouraged to respond in the moment to the narrative and encourage a deepening of response, as is the style of the semi-structured approach.

The general questions were:

1. a) Some people think that some kids fit in or belong in school and others don't, even if they like or don't like school, are clever or not, are popular or not, I'd like you to think of a pupil in your year who really, really fits in with school/has a strong sense of belonging (don't say who). Tell me a story or example that will help me to understand.

b) What is it that the school does or teachers do that makes that kid especially feel a sense of belonging?
2. a) Now can you think of a kid who really does not fit, does not belong at all, again, might like or dislike school, might be clever or not, popular or not. Tell me a story/example that will help me understand.

b) What is it that the school does or teachers do that makes that kid especially not feel a sense of belonging?
3. What other factors have an influence over whether a kid has a sense of belonging to school?

Although the questionnaire was held on school premises and in school time, the interviews were held on neutral territory during half term. Several academics discuss the difficulties of privacy and neutrality that I might face interviewing pupils regarding school (Thomas and O'Kane, 1998; Green and Hart, 1999). I felt that by scheduling the interviews in a non-school setting, at a non-school time and with a non-school adult, these issues were diminished. I was keen to ensure that for the interview discussions, the pupils felt on equal footing with the adult, they wore their own clothes and were given the freedom to speak openly. It was also made clear that there were no 'right or wrong answers'. This is highlighted by Solberg (1996) as being a potential issue particularly in a setting such as school where responses are defined as correct or

incorrect. Mauthner (1997) notes that '*when space is made for them, children's voices express themselves clearly*' (p21) and I certainly found this to be the case.

The interviews were recorded on digital devices, and then transcribed. The strengths and limitations are laid out by Simons (1981) but the strengths of audio-recording are overwhelming, particularly given the fact that I was not present in the interviews and accuracy in capturing the issues.

In terms of analysing the results, I analysed the interviews holistically through exploring the themes that arise. By exploring emerging themes, I am able to integrate my perceptions of the relationships and the issues being discussed regarding the school and the dynamics. More detailed analyses have been undertaken of sections of the interviews which have particular significance in relation to the research questions. The themes arising from these interviews will shed light on the pupil's perception of the school's culture and how it affects behaviour. However, if it transpires that there is no connection between culture and belonging in the perception of the pupil then this too is an important discovery.

5.3.3 Research Question 3: What can a school do to strengthen the pupil's sense of belonging through strengthening the school's cultural character?

In this third and final section within the methodologies chapter, I will present the methodological approaches employed for this third and final research question. For this question, I analysed the questionnaires in more detail and then examined official school exclusion and inclusion data collected over five years. This period includes the year prior to my joining the school in role to present. I will also comment on the on-going dialogue

I have had with the head regarding future changes that I hope might continue the fostering of cultural character.

5.3.3.1 RQ3 – Methodology 1 – Questionnaire

From the questionnaire administered to the year group - as described in RQ1 - I explored responses to questions around School Climate measures. Using the five elements of school climate as identified by Reinke and Herman (2002) (see literature review p57) I selected questions that fell into these categories and scored them. The selection of these and subsequent findings are detailed in the chapter eight. These were analysed using SPSS.

5.3.3.2 RQ3 – Methodology 2 – Statistics, Records and Data

Using data collected both prior to and during the period I worked at the school, I drew conclusions around exclusion rates and the impact of the Inclusion Unit. These were analysed using Microsoft Excel. In this final section, I will also discuss other issues that applied to this research and how I overcame them. This includes ethical issues such as consent and gate-keeping.

5.4 Consent and Gatekeeping

For all the methodologies (and all the research questions) consent from the school and the parents was required. To understand the issues behind consent and 'gatekeepers' of information I explored the literature as well as liaised with my University's board of ethics for support.

Thomas and O’Kane (1998) discuss the fact that when doing research with children and young people, consents need to be sought from both the child and the parent. There were several ‘gatekeepers’ within the school as well as at home, these can often present barriers to participation (Butler and Williamson, 1994). Teachers and parents needed to be advised of and supportive of the research. However, the difficulties of access faced by Hood et al (1996) of being unable to approach children directly was practically avoided in my situation as I was able to access the research population through school. Ironically, this highlighted the child’s sense of their own consent. Once parental consent was obtained, the pupils themselves were invited to consent or withdraw at several points along the process. Ironically, despite being a captive audience, they were the ones who had the autonomy to be part of the process. But I had to be mindful of the hazard that when school presents a task to complete, the majority are likely to complete the task irrespective of the efforts made to ensure participation was voluntary (Edwards and Alldred, 1999).

Morrow and Richards (1996:98) identify *‘the biggest ethical challenge for researchers working with children is the disparities in power and status between adults and children’*; none more than the ideological disparity of power inherent in a school. Therefore, I had to be conscious of the disparity and make clear the research purpose and approach and continuously offer opportunities to opt out.

Thomas and O’Kane (1998) suggested that consent depended on active agreement on the part of the child and only passive agreement on the part of the adults. I met with the head-teacher and had a frank and open discussion as to the purpose and method of my research. With his support, I met with the head of year (HOY) of the sample year group to give information and further detail and gave copies of the questionnaire to the

head and HOY. It was only then that I contacted every parent in the year group. Parents and guardians were given information by post to their homes regarding the research and access to further discussion with both me and my supervisor. Parents were invited to opt-out but no parent did. From this point, the child had the ability to withdraw at any point and held the final active consent.

When it came to the interviews, as highlighted by Thomas and O’Kane (1998), there were two children who offered to take part but following discussion with their parents and guardians it was felt that involvement might affect the child adversely. Having initially ensured that interviews were devised to generate information about a third party, there were some children who might have felt anguish consciously or subconsciously acknowledging their position on the outside; as not belonging.

Fratter (1996) warned that researchers should be careful not to *‘open up painful or distressing areas’* (p75), without ensuring follow-up support is available to the child.

Although I felt that the issues being probed were not so uncomfortable as to cause distress, knowing from practice that thoughtful connections can be made, I was careful to ensure that the inclusion support staff were available to discuss any issues, thoughts or feelings that arose and that this was made clear to the pupils (Coy 2006). As the questionnaires were sat in an English lesson, I also welcomed the questionnaire be used as a prompt for discussion in that and subsequent lessons.

Although I am known to the pupils in the research sample (as a member of staff) I ensured that pupils from this year group who were referred to the inclusion unit, was seen by one of the inclusion team and not by me. Furthermore, due to the anonymisation process, it is not possible to link a pupil and his case file to the responses

he may have given in the questionnaire. The only data accessed regarding pupils is aggregate data not individual data.

Hill (1997) invites researchers to be conscious of ethnic and gender issues. Issues of ethnicity did not obviously apply here as race is not a factor in this almost entirely white school. However, cultural diversity and the Welsh/English difference is something that I have mindful of throughout my professional and indeed personal life living in Wales. I am English and sound so, but have made considerable (and ultimately successful) efforts to learn the Welsh language. I made sure potential issues were addressed appropriately where necessary. However, being the English school, all the communication with parents and pupils was through English, as every child is fully conversant in English. I felt the gender issue was also a potential issue that I needed to be mindful of, but gender was not an explored element in this thesis. Furthermore pupils in school are entirely used to adults of both genders so apart from exceptions who might express through behaviour a preference to one or other, I felt gender was not an issue. However, to address the difficulties to which Hill eludes, I did include two sets of questions (one referring to cultural/language and the other to gender) to highlight any issues of bias.

Thomas and O’Kane (1998) talked about the dilemma around the child protection issues and disclosure. I felt in this case no such dilemma as both I personally, and the school as a whole, work to a very clearly defined child protection policy that superseded any confidentiality. This was reiterated to the pupils at the time of the research as the school is entirely transparent on this area, but as it was, there were no circumstances that called for child protection protocol to be initiated.

There is also discussion as to whether young people who were interviewed should be financially ‘thanked’ or for their time (Alderson and Morrow, 2011). After much

consideration and discussion with the young people concerned and their parents, it was decided that financial reward was not appropriate. Instead each was provided with snacks and beverages at the time of the interview, and later was given a very small token of thanks in the form of a chocolate advent calendar! Every young person was magnanimous and gracious in their involvement and without exception stated that they were delighted to be involved.

5.5 Presentation of Analysis Chapters

The ordering of the analysis chapters is significant. One possible option was to switch the order of questions one and two. Or in other words, to start with the school cultural character and its effect on a sense of belonging, and then focus down on the significance of the sense of belonging on behaviour.

However, the main crux of this thesis is the pupil's sense of belonging, his perception of the relationships that exist and the impact that has on him. The subsequent question is about the school. The pupil plays a part in the co-creation of the transactions occurring in the school; and has a perception of the cultural character. In essence, I move from the habitus to the field. This thesis is not about trying to change behaviour it is about trying to strengthen a sense of belonging.

For that reason, the research questions are ordered as they are. With the focus on a sense of belonging and why it is important (in terms of behaviour) and then how it can be influenced by the school cultural character. Finally, the third question asks what a school can do to improve its cultural character.

Chapter 6: The Link Between a Sense of Belonging and Behaviour

Over the next three chapters, I shall examine each research question in turn. I will explore and analyse the data and then discuss it with reference to the literature and theoretical framework. All the analysis has been undertaken with the underpinning principles in mind. These are that pupils require a sense of belonging to school and that this is more than just Hirschi's bond, but the incorporation of the pupil's perception of the bonds in school. Furthermore, the sense of belonging affects the pupil's behaviour. The second underpinning principle is the complex nature of school cultural character and how through transaction and relationship, the school holds a highly important position and influence over the pupil's sense of belonging. All conclusions drawn will arise from the findings and be supported by the literature and theory already discussed.

As raised at the end of the methodology chapter, I explore the research questions starting with the sense of belonging in this chapter then moving on to the analysis of the influence of school cultural character in the next chapter.

This chapter will be divided into four sections. The first section will explore the frequencies of the self-reported behaviour. The second looks at the frequencies of the attitudes of the pupils to school. Thirdly, I begin to look at the links between the two areas, behaviour and attitudes to school by making more detailed observations of academic attainment and emotional attachment on behaviour. Finally, in the fourth section, I will consider and analyse the data relating to belonging.

It is important to note that the data undergoing detailed analysis is the second phase of questionnaires, completed at the beginning of the second year in secondary school, referring to the young people's first full year. The pupils were in year eight (age 11-12

years) and mixed gender. The sample population was n = 189 and equates to 92 per cent of the total number of pupils in the year. As discussed in the methodology, the reason for taking the first phase snapshot was as a pilot and to ensure that the data gleaned from the questionnaire was relevant, consistent and not anomalous.

6.1 Frequencies and Initial Analysis of the Self-Reported Misbehaviour

In the first section of analysis, I want simply to look at the sample and ascertain the distribution of misbehaviour (and delinquency) in terms of proportions of the sample population.

Pupils reporting NO misbehaviour or delinquency	Pupils reporting misbehaviour AND/OR delinquency	Pupils reporting misbehaviour	Pupils reporting delinquency
80 (42%)	109 (58%)	97 (51%)	65 (34%)

Table 6.1 Frequencies of Behaviour (n=189)

From the table, it is clear that a considerable number of pupils report committing at least one category of misbehaviour in school or delinquency out of school. It is interesting to note that the proportion of the school year committing delinquent behaviour is somewhat higher than the findings of several studies researching the proportion of a school committing offences being 26 per cent (Hayden et al, 2003; Graham, 1998). Also, 51 per cent of the sample report committing at least one category of misbehaviour. This proportion is dramatically larger than the findings of Boxford (2006) who found just over 20 per cent of the population committing in-school offences.

It is also interesting to note that twelve pupils (6 per cent) reported committing delinquent behaviour outside school but no misbehaviour in school.

The following section explores the details of the categories of behaviour. For the 20 questions regarding behaviour, I asked the respondents to say if they had carried out certain behaviours through a simple yes or no. The majority for the sample (n = 189) answered 'no' when asked whether they had committed a specific behaviour at any time in the preceding twelve months. But for every question, a proportion of the sample replied 'yes'. This data explores the number of categories of misbehaviour a pupil might commit not the number of times a certain category of behaviour is committed. I propose that this gives a good indication of a pupil's bond to school; their offending or rule-breaking behaviour, thoughts and beliefs rather than the frequency of their offending. This is supported by the identification of deviance by teachers (see p51) where pupils committing multiple different offences as more disenfranchised and deviant than those committing the same offence repeatedly (Hargreaves, 1975; Farrington and West, 1973).

Type of Behaviour	Proportion reporting behaviour	Comment
... bully other students by laughing at them, making fun of them, not talking with them or gossiping a lot about them?	21%	Comparable to Welsh Gov (2011) and Home Office (2000) data
... bully other students by pushing or kicking them?	9%	
... insult, swear at or verbally abuse another pupil at school?	20%	Comparable to Welsh Gov (2011) and Home Office (2000) data
... fight or hit so badly at school that some other person got injured, e.g. needed a bandage for cuts, had to take medicine or got a black eye or bad bruises?	9%	
... fight or hit at school without somebody getting injured?	31%	Comparable to Welsh Gov (2011) and Home Office (2000) data

... insult, swear at or verbally abuse a teacher or other member of staff in school?	6%	Considerably lower than Welsh Gov (2011) and Home Office (2000) data
... threaten, hit or injure teachers or other adults from school?	2%	Considerably lower than Welsh Gov (2011) and Home Office (2000) data

Table 6.2 Misbehaviour against Persons (n=189)

This data indicates a considerable proportion of the year reporting carrying out some form of bullying (physical or emotional). This is more than Hayden's study (2011b) that found 18 per cent admitted to carrying out bullying. This proportion is expected to be less than those who report experiencing bullying, with some studies finding as many as 40 per cent being victims of bullying (Morita, 2002; MORI, 2004).

Although I have made some comparisons with the Welsh Government (2011) and Home Office (200) data regarding reasons for exclusion, these frequencies are self-reported behaviours and did not necessarily lead to any particular sanction such as exclusion.

The responses for offenses against property were as follows. The focus is on misbehaviour but I have included frequencies for delinquency in the comments section.

Type of Behaviour	Proportion reporting behaviour	Comment
... graffiti or deface school walls, doors, windows etc. with paint, pen, pencil or something else?	7%	delinquency reported at 15%
... destroy or damage school things, e.g. tables, chairs, blackboards, windows, or the belongings of other pupils or something else?	5%	delinquency reported at 7%
... steal things at school that cost less than £3, e.g. pencils, exercise books, chalk, marker pens or	12%	delinquency reported at 13%

something else?		
... steal things at school that cost more than £3, e.g. jackets, mobile phones, books, CD/DVDs or something else?	0.5%	delinquency reported at 3%

Table 6.3 Misbehaviour against Property (n=189)

(N.B. There were a number of further findings regarding delinquent behaviour outside school. The proportion of pupils handling stolen goods was 13 per cent and those admitting to fare dodging was 14 per cent. Finally, more serious theft such as breaking and entering to steal reported 3 per cent, theft of a bicycle (2 per cent) and a car (2 per cent)).

Within the parameters of property offences more pupils self-report the committing certain behaviour outside school than in school. Pupils are twice as likely to graffiti out of school, fifty per cent more likely to commit criminal damage and more than six times more likely to steal items over £3. I make the suggestion that the difference in theft inside and outside school might be due to the lack of steal-able yet desirable items worth more than £3 found in a school compared to outside school, but there is not enough information to make substantial conclusions about the other findings. However, it might be pertinent to note that more pupils reporting delinquent behaviour outside school as compared to in school misbehaviour may marry with the attitude to school questions asked later in the questionnaire 'you are more likely to get caught breaking rules in school than out of school'. Only 17 per cent of the pupils asked disagreed with this statement, where 44 per cent agreed. Interestingly, when the data was controlled for those committing one category of misbehaviour, the findings were almost identical. Even when controlling for those committing three or more categories of misbehaviour

there was only a small difference – those committing the misbehaviours were more inclined to disagree with the statement.

Despite the relatively high proportions of pupils reporting misbehaviour and delinquency, the proportion of pupils reporting exclusion from school was only 2 per cent of the sample, with 3 per cent reporting that they had been internally excluded in the inclusion unit. However, it seemed that more pupils excluded themselves through truancy (7 per cent). It might be useful to note that the school exclusion rate for the period the research was carried out was 8.9 per cent. This indicates that the school was excluding pupils in other year groups, further up the school.

6.1.2 Implications Regarding the Findings Regarding Frequencies of Misbehaviour and Delinquency

To conclude, from an initial exploration of the data and the frequencies of offences, I can make three general conclusions.

1. Just under half of the sample population (42 per cent) do not carry out any misbehaviour or delinquency.
2. A very small proportion (6 per cent) commits only delinquent acts outside school and no misbehaviour.
3. Over half the pupils in the sample (51 per cent) carry out at least one category of misbehaviour in school.

To follow is a visual depiction of some of the data and explanation of the misbehaviour data to be used throughout the thesis. These are charts depicting the misbehaviour category frequencies of whole sample. The response YES to any one of the

misbehaviours or delinquent acts was scored as one. Therefore the maximum score for misbehaviour was 11. Just under half of the sample had not committed any of the misbehaviours listed (this includes 12 pupils who commit delinquency but no misbehaviour in school) and a fifth had only committed one (and the majority of these were fighting or hitting at school without somebody getting injured and non-violent bullying).

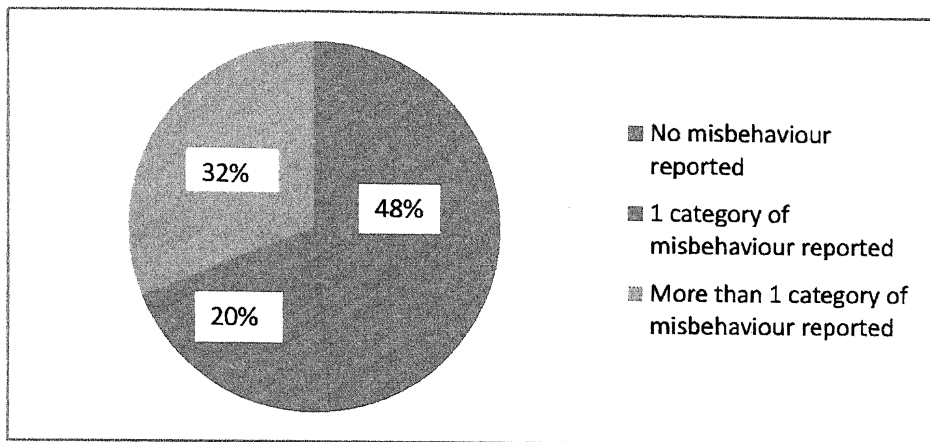


Fig 6.4 Proportion of Pupils reporting Misbehaviour (n=189)

The finding that a large proportion of pupils make personal attacks on other pupils - and that this is their only self-reported offence - is an interesting dimension. It highlights the findings of Spratt (2004) who found links between low emotional attachment to school and personal offences (and low academic attachment and property offences). Or it might intimate that more generally relationships between pupils in this school are weak. This point raises the discussion around a school culture; that a school may exacerbate a culture that does not seek to reinforce a strong bond between pupils within the school. This is surprising as this is the main secondary school in the area. Most pupils come to the school with friends and peers from their primary schools and the school endeavours to ensure pupils stay in peer groups.

The misbehaviours in school least likely to be committed by pupils is stealing something that costs more than £3 (only one pupil answered YES to this question) and threatening, hitting or injuring a teacher or other member of staff in school (three pupils).

I felt that to explore the attitudes of pupils who may commit one misbehaviour, would skew trends that I would like to explore around misbehaviour. Therefore I calculated - and will generally be using (unless otherwise stated) - the variable that sums the pupils responding YES to at least three of the misbehaviour categories.

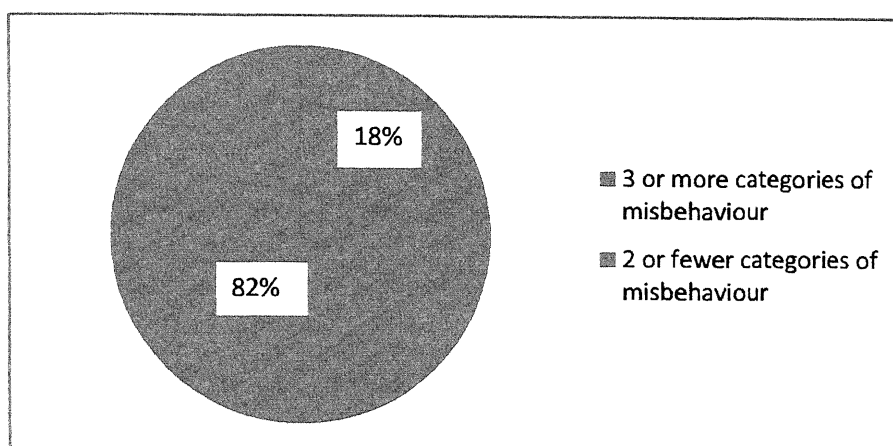


Fig 6.5 Proportion of Pupils reporting multiple Categories of Misbehaviour (n=189)

Only one pupil had carried out 9 of the offences (having not stolen anything over or under £3). One pupil had carried out 8 of the categories (but had not stolen anything costing more than £3, had not hit a teacher and perhaps more surprisingly given the commonness of the behaviour stated that *he* (seemingly proudly!) had not 'fought or hit at school without causing injury'). There were two pupils (1 per cent) who had committed seven and six of the misbehaviours, four (2 per cent) who had carried out five of the misbehaviours and nine (5 per cent) who had carried out four.

6.2.1.1 Property Offences

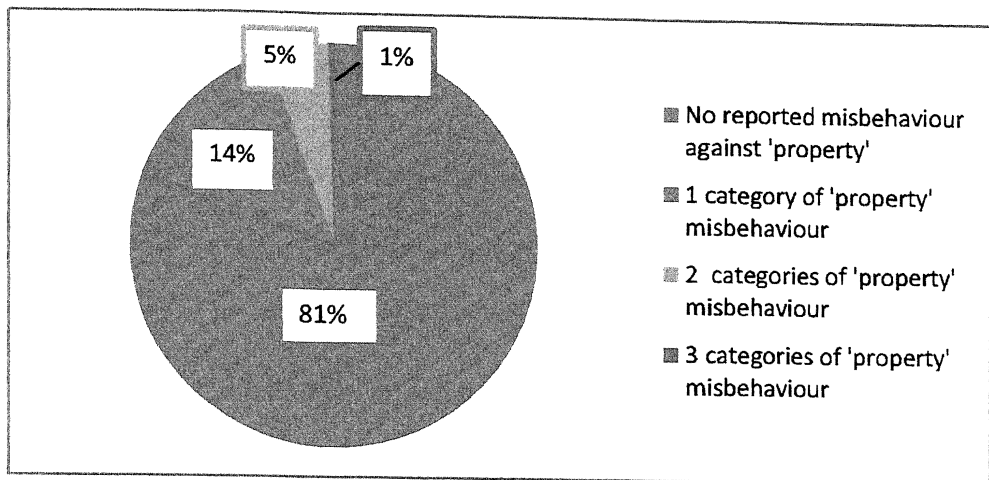


Fig 6.6 Proportion of Pupils reporting Property Misbehaviour (n=189)

The majority of those pupils committing just one property offence were stealing something to the value of less than £3.

6.2.1.2 Offences against Persons

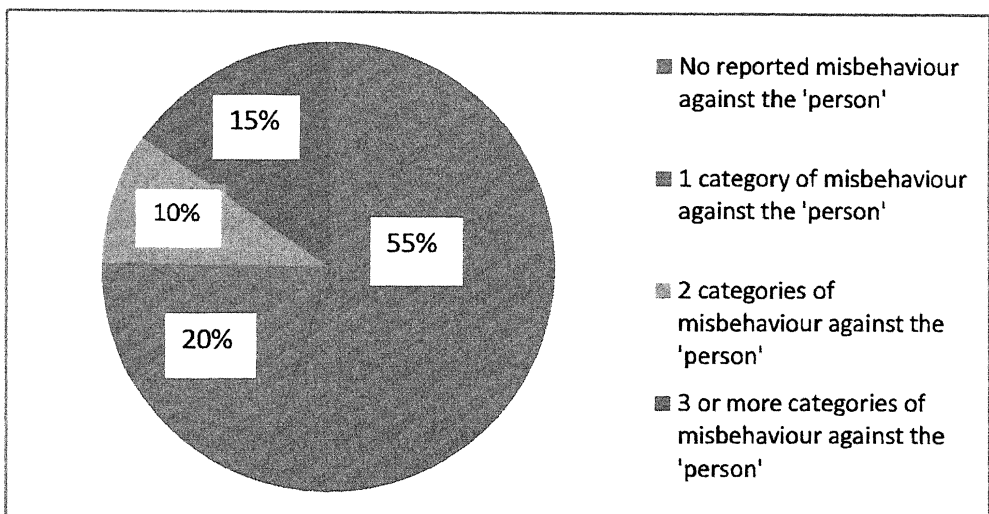


Fig 6.7 Proportion of Pupils reporting Misbehaviour against the Person (n=189)

Of the twenty-nine pupils committing three or more offences against persons, one had committed all seven categories of personal offence including threatening or hitting a teacher and fighting to cause injury.

It is clear that the considerable majority abides by the rules of school and society. Most exist peacefully in school whether or not they are overt or covert advocates for it. However, for all the categories of misbehaviour explored and presented above, it is important to remember the original premise presented in this thesis. I assert that challenging behaviour or misbehaviour is communication of a desire to belong, the manifestation of the child's 'best and only option' based on the costs and benefits to *him*. Whether one would agree that they had assessed the situation correctly and were making the *right* choice is academic, the child might be described as balancing the likelihood of belonging in the future with punishing the system for not belonging in the moment. However, in school and social systems, such unacceptable behaviour drives the child further away. To reiterate the introduction, it is surprising how often the child's behaviour elicits in others the exact opposite of that which he needs.

Interestingly, those pupils who commit offences against property and person do tend to belong to different data sets. When looking only at the 97 pupils reporting at least one misbehaviour, 12 pupils committed at least one category of property offence and zero cases of offences against the person. However, 61 pupils (66 per cent) of the *misbehaviour* group commit at least one category of personal offence (up to 6 categories) and zero offences against property. The remainder had committed at least one of both types of offence. Seemingly, pupils commit one or other type of misbehaviour.

Having explored the trends and frequencies arising within the self-reported misbehaviour data in school, I will go on to give an overview of the trends arising in the questions exploring the attitudes of pupils to school.

6.2 Attitudes to School

In this second section, I will present the findings and frequencies of responses to the 81 questions regarding attitudes to school. Within each sub-heading, I will present and explore several questions and draw general conclusions about these. These include academic attainment, the teacher, cultural differences, discipline and the pupil's sense of self.

A useful yet general first question asked the pupil whether they liked or disliked school. It gave a common overview of the attitudes of the pupils to school. Almost exactly two thirds (66 per cent) state that they *liked and disliked school equally* with just under one third liking (27 per cent) and only 14 pupils (7 per cent) disliking school. When controlling for each attitude to school the findings mirrored the proportion committing misbehaviour of the group as a whole. Approximately half of each attitude commits misbehaviour. Of the 7 pupils disliking school, 3 commit misbehaviour (43 per cent); of the 51 pupils liking school, 28 commit misbehaviour (55 per cent) and of those 124 pupils who like and dislike school about equally, 64 pupils report committing at least one category of misbehaviour (51 per cent). This indicates, very simply, that misbehaviour in school is not necessarily predicted by whether or not a pupil likes school or not.

6.2.1 Academic Achievement

Following on from this question are some regarding the pupil's perception of their academic selves in school? When asked to rate themselves against other pupils in the school, more than three quarters (77 per cent) considered themselves to be average school ability or above average with only 1 in 10 (10 per cent) considering themselves below average. However, a similar number (13 per cent) stated they *didn't know* where they rated.

More informative in terms of how pupils viewed themselves academically, was the question asking what percentage results a pupil was capable of achieving by the end of the year (the multiple choice responses were at 10 per cent increments). More than two thirds (67 per cent) believe they were capable of achieving over 70 per cent in end of year exams (over 90 per cent = 5 per cent; over 80 per cent = 27 per cent; and over 70 per cent = 34 per cent). Only a handful of pupils (6 per cent) believed they would achieve less than 50 per cent in exams (only 1-3 per cent for each 10 per cent increment). This leaves a quarter of the pupils who believed themselves capable of between 50 and 70 per cent (over 60 per cent = 18 per cent and over 50 per cent = 9 per cent). These findings are interesting as although 50 per cent is the median value, it is certainly not considered average- 94 per cent of pupils felt that they were capable of achieving over 50 per cent by the end of the year.

The pupils were then asked about how important the results they achieved in school were. When asked simply how important getting good school results was the vast majority (98 per cent) felt they were a bit to very important. The follow up question as to the importance of school results to a future job had only two pupils (1 per cent) responding negatively and 5 per cent felt that they had *no idea*.

The next series of questions asked about school and homework. When asked whether the pupil had trouble keeping his mind on studies, approximately two thirds (65 per cent) said this happened sometimes with similar proportions stating the extremes often (18 per cent) and never (17 per cent). The vast majority always or usually finish their homework (92 per cent - split fairly equally). The remainder either seldom or never finish their homework. Almost all (99.5 per cent) acknowledge that their teachers check their homework, but 15 per cent felt that this was only sometimes. A little over half the pupils (58 per cent) spend at least an hour a day on homework with the majority of the remainder (39 per cent) spending less than half an hour.

These questions regarding academic attainment and expectation indicate a collective self-efficacy or pupils' perception of their own capabilities (not necessarily high IQ but high success in terms of ability) Bandura (1997). The pupils in this sample generally have a positive self-efficacy and their behaviour toward school and homework is reflected in these beliefs. Although these findings are counter to other discourses regarding pupil's attitudes to school and the future, they mirror findings by Croll et al (2008) who with a similar age group found that generally pupils had a strong sense of the importance of school.

Thus these findings highlight again the complexity of the nature of the bond to school. In particular, they emphasise that the pupil's sense of self-efficacy is salient to a sense of belonging.

The following question is the first of several included to attempt to identify the overt and covert messages that underpin the 'exam factory' attitude that some schools have (Armstrong 2006c). When asked whether 'teachers care most about pupils who are going to go to university', the split was fairly equal. Although nearly half were

undecided (42 per cent) a similar number agreed and disagreed with the statement (31 per cent and 27 per cent respectively). Also asked - and to pre-empt the questions around behaviour and discipline and explore attitudes toward the function of school - was whether 'brains are more important in school than manners'. Over half disagreed with this statement (56 per cent) and only 14 per cent agreed. Seemingly, the pupils in this cohort view the function of school in multiple ways. Perhaps it is the age and stage of the pupils in the sample but the consensus was less academically driven than it may be in other year groups (older pupils) or in other schools.

An interesting stand-alone question is 'a person should never stop trying to be better than others'. It was hoped that this question would elicit responses regarding competition of success; academic, sporting, career, financial etc. It was therefore included to explore the extent of a competitive dynamic within the school and the winners and losers paradigm (Ballantine and Spade 2004). Almost equal proportions agreed and were undecided (40 per cent and 38 per cent respectively) that a person should never stop trying to be better, leaving 21 per cent disagreeing. The pupils' response may indicate that being better is important, however not at any cost. This is an important element to consider when discussing the third thread of belonging, the comparison of one's own bond with that of the school and other pupils. The natural progression from this statement was to one that investigated the link between competition and offending. In response to the statement 'to be better than others, you have to do some things which are not right', the frequency was reversed with over half disagreeing (56 per cent), just under half undecided (44 per cent) and only 22 per cent agreeing.

This section has attempted to examine the academic focus of the school culture as a whole. To explore the way the cultural milieu is enacted in the interactions in the school, the next section looks at pupils' attitudes to teachers.

6.2.2 Attitudes toward Teachers

In this section exploring the relationship with the teacher, both academic attainment attachment and emotional attachment is discussed, then the classroom experience of the pupils.

The first series of questions presents the teachers' relationship with the pupils with regard to academic attainment. One third of the pupils (33 per cent) believed that *almost all* their 'teachers cared about how well they did in school', a further third (36 per cent) felt that *many* teachers cared and the smallest third (28 per cent) felt that a *few* cared. The remaining proportion felt that *none* of their teachers cared how well they did in school. In terms of teachers' expectations, the vast majority (96 per cent) believed that their *teachers expected fair to excellent work*. The very small remainder felt that their work was expected to be *poor* or that teachers *did not seem to care*.

When asked whether the pupils *cared what the teachers thought of them*, one third (31 per cent) *cared a lot*, just under half (47 per cent) *cared some* and a fifth (21 per cent) *didn't care much*. These findings begin to shape the collective attitude of the cohort; that teachers are perceived to care about their charges' academic attainment. Pupils generally recognise there to be positive relationships with teachers regarding academic attainment in school.

Before moving onto the emotional nature of the teacher relationship, it is worth noting the interesting disparity in pupil attitude to their teachers caring about them. Just 3 per cent believed that *no teachers cared about them* yet a significant 21 per cent *didn't care what the teachers thought of them*. There may be a number of reasons for this. Firstly, although a large proportion might consider themselves as not achieving or have a low self-efficacy, only a very tiny proportion of these consider the reason for their perceived failure as the teacher not caring. Secondly, the word 'teacher' could be substituted for the word 'school'. Although very few pupils have only negative relationships with individual teachers, many more pupils identify with the general attitude of 'teachers' toward them being poor. This is important as it supports the difference between a pupil's individual relationships and his perception of culture – with the cultural influence being stronger than that of the relationship with teachers (Payne et al 2003).

The second series of questions probe the pupil's perception of the teacher's attitude and behaviour – their emotional attachment. Each is posed as a statement to which the pupil must agree or disagree, there is also a further option of undecided. Nearly half the sample (45 per cent) disagreed with the statement that 'teachers don't have time to talk about problems', although a third was undecided, a quarter (25 per cent) agreed. Furthermore, nearly half (46 per cent) agreed that teachers understood pupils, with only 16 per cent disagreeing. A large proportion of pupils experienced teachers as being available and interested in listening to them. The split for 'teachers just want you to be quiet' is more evenly proportioned with 40 per cent agreeing, 30 per cent disagreeing and 29 per cent undecided. However, this statement does not inherently have a negative connotation, to expect quiet may not mean that a pupil cannot be heard if he needs attention from the teacher; rather it may be a quality of calm or indeed, discipline. Also included in this series of questions, are the frequencies for 'it is hard to

tell people how I feel' as although 'people' does not expressly mean 'teacher', the teacher's role has an inherent element of emotional engagement (McNess et al, 2003 p59). Only 18 per cent state that they do not find it 'hard to tell people how they are feeling', but a not inconsiderable half (50 per cent) agreed that it is hard to tell about feelings, the remainder were unsure.

Moving onto the classroom and learning experience, more evenly distributed are those responses to the statement 'teachers use words that I don't understand' with roughly a third in for each option agree, undecided and disagree (31 per cent, 31 and 38 respectively). However the responses to 'teachers give enough examples to make things clear for me' are inconsistent and show that although the language in the classroom may be complicated, work differentiation is appropriate to the group. Well over half (56 per cent) agreed and only 18 per cent disagreed. Furthermore a similar number (55 per cent) believe that 'school helps make sense of the world', where only 11 per cent disagree with this statement.

The following question produced a much more certain response to a similar idea. More than half (54 per cent) agree with the statement that they would 'do better in school if the teacher didn't go so fast'. For this statement, only 20 per cent disagreed indicating that although a pupil may be enjoying and succeeding in school, they may feel left behind.

On a positive note, the majority of pupils are optimistic as to the teaching they experience. 82 per cent of pupils feel that 'teachers know their subject' and 61 per cent feel that teachers enjoy teaching. Only a little bit lower yet still more than half the sample (55 per cent) felt that 'teachers keep good discipline in class', with only 13 per cent disagreeing with this statement.

Although I am not exploring the gender differences of pupils in this thesis, I felt it was important to include questions that explored the impact of the gender of the teacher on the pupils. This is important as I felt that how the genders are identified and signified in the school might be relevant to the cultural Character of the school.

Pupils were asked whether they had had more male or female teachers over the previous year. The subsequent question asked whether they would have preferred more male or female teachers. Setting aside those who stated that they didn't know (12 per cent in both cases) this question showed some interesting findings. Pupils felt that they had more female than male teachers (45 per cent to 7 per cent) but a third (34 per cent) felt that they had had the same number of both sexes. However when asked what they would have preferred, the number preferring men was slightly higher (12 per cent) but those preferring more women dropped significantly by more than 50 per cent (to 20 per cent) and the rise of a third to more than half of the sample preferred the same number of men and women. These findings suggest a shift towards preferring more male teachers not necessarily instead of female but rather to balance the gender inequality common to the teaching profession. Although not explored is the significance of having male or female teachers, it seems that pupils are aware of the gender bias and furthermore, have a desire for a more even allocation.

In conclusion, the cohort's perception is that teachers care about learning and are available emotionally as long as the pupil is willing and able to engage. So although relationships with individual teachers may not be *as* influential as the pupil's perception of the cultural Character (Payne et al, 2003) generally for this school the collective attitude toward relationships with teacher is positive.

6.2.3 Cultural Preference

Although the ethnicity of the school is predominantly white, there is an interesting cultural dynamic created by the existence of two different national cultures. The cultural bifurcation in this locale of Wales is language; Welsh and English. I therefore included questions relating to this theme of cultural identity.

Parallel questions explored experience and preference of Welsh and English language teachers. Again setting aside those who state that they don't know as although interesting in itself, the proportion is the same. A fifth (21 per cent) felt they had had more Welsh teachers, this halved (to 10 per cent) when asked to indicate their preference for Welsh language teachers. The number stating they had had more English teachers was slightly higher when asked for the preference (39 per cent to 43 per cent) as did the number of pupils who felt they had had the same number of Welsh language and English language teachers (23 per cent to 32 per cent). Remembering that this is an *English language* school in a Welsh language area; it is unsurprising that the overall shift is away from Welsh language to toward English language teachers.

To continue an exploration of the significance of Welsh and English culture in this school, the pupils were asked to report on their perception of the school's attitude to the two cultures. With approximately 9 per cent missing data for these questions due to non-response, the findings echoed the antagonistic struggle between the cultures. Most pupils (58 per cent and 76 per cent) saw no difference in the Welsh and English language cultures. However, in response to whether 'teachers like them', the pupils identified the pupils from Welsh speaking families as *favoured* over the pupils from English speaking families (24 per cent Welsh favoured to 3 per cent English favoured). The same question in the negative prompted the shift with the 'teachers disliking' the Welsh only 1 per cent

and the English 15 per cent. The pupils who 'try hard in school' are the Welsh (13 per cent compared to 3 per cent English), the pupils who 'run the school' are Welsh (23 per cent compared to 10 per cent) and 'most likely to succeed in life' are also Welsh (12 per cent compared to 4 per cent English). The only area where the cohort identified more pupils from English speaking families in the majority was in response to the question who are 'often in trouble with the police', here more than a quarter of the respondents identified pupils from English speaking families (28 per cent compared to just 2 per cent Welsh speaking families) as 'often in trouble with the police'.

The final question in this section on Welsh language asked how well the two language cultures *got along*. With a quarter stating that they didn't know, only a handful (7 per cent) thought not very well, all the other pupils thought the Welsh and English speaking pupils got along fairly or very well. There seems to be a marked difference between how the pupils experience relationships and the perception of the culture established in the school. These responses regarding national identity suggest that the pupils perceive there to be no cultural conflict but they do acknowledge some degree of cultural divide or bias on behalf of the school. In response to the more general statement that 'pupils from all nationalities and races should attend school together' the consensus was that they should (85 per cent) with only 2 pupils (1 per cent) dissenting (the remainder did not know).

At this point it is worth identifying that although not specified in this research, but identified within the school are numerous 'cliques' and groupings of the sort typical in most schools such as 'chavs', 'emos', 'goths' etc. The pupils organise themselves into functional and non-functional groups in terms of a group dynamics (Bion 1961; Adams 2006) but these seem to cross the cultural background barrier. The exploration in this

study is the schools response to the pupils and how this is perceived by the pupils. In an attempt to look generally at groupings without making the specific grouping a factor, I did ask the pupils about how they felt their group was perceived by others in the school. Well over half considered their group to be the 'top crowd in school' (59 per cent) and under a quarter did not rate their group as a top crowd (23 per cent). Approximately half thought they were one of the leaders of their group and half not (43 per cent and 50 per cent respectively). Well over two thirds (71 per cent) thought that other pupils liked their group of friends but this was a little lower when asked whether teachers liked their friends (59 per cent).

These findings indicate an awareness of the attitudes of the school and teachers to the pupils and how they belong or fit in school. I believe that the difference between how they perceive their peers' opinions of their sense of belonging and those of the teachers/school, exemplifies the nature of the transaction and how it can be perceived in multiple ways. This accentuates not only the significance of the pupil perception but also the considerable influence of the school culture.

Further to the questions around how they and their friends were perceived by others - others being both peers and teachers alike. I asked how they would like to be 'well-known' in the school. Of the six categories offered, one third selected 'just average' (30 per cent), the next highest categories were 'popular' (25 per cent) and 'sports star' (21 per cent) then 'bright student' (17 per cent). The least regarded categories were 'leader in school' and 'well dressed' (both 5 per cent). This area of recognition of self by others is seminal to this thesis and I return to discuss this in detail in the Chapter 8:

Strengthening Belonging and School Cultural Character, where I look at how school can strengthen a sense of belonging by strengthening school cultural Character.

6.2.4 Discipline

To continue the exploration of the frequencies of attitudes to school, this section presents the pupils' perceptions of discipline.

The most equally split response came in response to the following statement, 'in an argument between teachers and pupils, the teacher is always right'. Almost equal thirds agreed, disagreed and were undecided (34 per cent, 31 per cent and 34 per cent respectively). This question was deliberately provocative, inviting the pupil to recognise the sometimes contradictory messages received from school and my hope was that it would indicate the pupil's sense of agency and position in the developing stages of morality. However, the response does not emphasise any particular attitude.

The school rules were supported by well over half the pupils (59 per cent) with only 14 per cent disagreeing that the 'school rules were fair'. Echoed by a similar split asking whether they would 'be very worried if sent to the senior management team' (named in the original document). Two thirds (66 per cent) would indeed be very worried and only 15 per cent would not. Again these questions are interesting in the light of the misbehaviour responses to be discussed later. Yet the reality of a rule intervening into a pupil's life is lightly explored in the statement 'it is none of the school's business if a pupil wants to smoke outside school', nearly half agree (45 per cent) that the school has no place intervening in the pupil's life, with the remaining half split equally between undecided and feeling that a school does have business in the pupil's smoking habits.

Encouragingly yet counter to much anecdotal discussion in the staffroom, the vast majority 'don't want to be excluded from school' (86 per cent), only 15 pupils disagreed with the statement (8 per cent). Again counter to staff room anecdotal expectation,

only a quarter of the pupils (26 per cent) believed that 'people who get into trouble should be excluded from school' with the remainder being split equally between undecided and disagree (38 per cent and 37 per cent respectively). Teachers tend to attribute a far stricter attitude to the pupils than this study (as well as my experience with pupils) bears out. This is also echoed in the responses in the interviews.

Only 21 per cent of pupils believed that 'most pupils in school commit crime' (the remainder are split between undecided and disagree). This figure fits with the offending literature being just slightly lower than the statistical findings of studies researching the proportion of a school committing offences (Hayden et al 2003; Graham 1988) putting the figure at 26 per cent. But is quite a bit lower than the 28 per cent of pupils self-reporting a delinquent behaviour. A small majority (45 per cent) agreed that 'you are more likely to get caught breaking the rules in school than out of school', with a little less than this being undecided (38 per cent). However, a large majority (75 per cent) felt that it was not 'OK to break the rules or laws if you aren't going to get caught'. But there was much indecision (43 per cent) when posed 'people who commit crime when they are young will commit crime throughout their lives' and those agreeing and disagreeing were almost equal (27 per cent and 30 per cent).

Although not an expression of the elements of belonging to school, these findings highlight the pupils' awareness of roles in school, including both recognition of others' behaviour and a questioning of pupil turpitude in school. These are aspects of school culture as expressed through school climate (Reinke and Herman 2002, see chapter 8 on school climate role relationships and norms of appropriateness).

6.2.5 The pupil's relationship to school

This series of statements explored the pupils' negative relationship to school. The statements are in the main asked in the negative and invite the pupil to refute the position. The reason for this, as explained in the methodology is that a positively framed question invites the positive response or a neutral one where the negative enables those who might otherwise be coerced into a positive response to answer honestly. Yet those who wish to answer positively will not be deterred. All these questions will be explored further when controlling for misbehaviour.

The most even split of response was for the statement 'most people at school don't care what happens to you'. An approximate third in each category of agreed, undecided and disagreed with the statement (32 per cent, 34 per cent and 34 per cent). But over half 53 per cent stated that 'people don't realise that my feelings can be hurt' and a quarter disagreed.

Furthermore, the responses for 'people are always picking on me' and 'teachers pick on me' are very similar and show a trend of over two thirds (67 per cent and 71 per cent) disagreeing with the statement, only 11 and 12 per cent agreeing. Likewise, most pupils (57 per cent) do not 'worry about school' but a quarter does (25 per cent). Even fewer pupils feel 'tense and nervous in school' (14 per cent) with a greater majority disagreeing (64 per cent). However the positive statement 'most people can be trusted' only initiated a 43 per cent agreement with 36 per cent undecided and a not significant 21 per cent disagreeing.

These findings intimate that the considerable majority have a positive attitude towards how they are treated in school. Most do not feel a sense of anxiety or tension.

6.2.6 Pupil's sense of self

The following statements attempted to explore the pupils' sense of self. Again the statements were posed in the negative frame. Unsurprisingly, but not at the considerable level that I was expecting, 68 per cent 'don't like being criticised by adults', and a not inconsiderable 24 per cent were undecided. This highlights again that it is the perception of the teacher behaviour and how it affects the pupil that is relevant here rather than the action itself. The shift in the opposite direction for the following question with nearly half (46 per cent) disagreeing with the statement that the 'often feel discouraged' with 38 per cent undecided.

The statements around how they present themselves in school offered an interesting dimension. A significant proportion (34 per cent) claim that they 'may seem happy to people, but on the inside I often feel unhappy'. However, age 12 for both boys and girls in a developmental stage racked with angst and challenge, this perhaps is not a surprise but this response coupled with the previous responses around finding it difficult to talk about feelings for example might indicate a need to change the approach of being with these pupils. Only a very small proportion (11 per cent) 'pretend to be someone they are not at school', well over two thirds (69 per cent) refute this statement. This element is explored more fully in the interviews as pupils tend to recognise the need to fit in but extol the ability to stay true to themselves.

6.2.7 The wider perspective

The following questions are around the future or forecast values a pupil has for school; how it fits into life as a whole. A third of pupils (33 per cent) believe that 'getting a good

education is harder than getting a good job' but a quarter (24 per cent) disagree, this is especially interesting given the limited choice of schools as well as the labour market in the area and the type of work available. Reassuringly, well over half (58 per cent) of the sample are 'satisfied with chances I hope to have in life' and only a small handful disagreed with the statement (6 per cent), there is a sense of optimism as to the pupils' futures and aspirations. However, the frequencies for 'you should not expect too much from life' was equal thirds for agree, undecided and disagree.

Nearly half (48 per cent) felt that 'you should live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself'. Similarly 41 per cent number disagreed with the statement 'thinking ahead is useless since one's plans hardly ever work out'. Even more pupils disagreed with 'I have no control over what happens to me' (60 per cent) and 65 per cent felt that 'if I might fail at something, I don't even start it' was not true for them.

Finally, and encouragingly, well over half (55 per cent) of the pupils asked felt that 'in Wales, chances for success available to everyone' with only 13 per cent thinking this was not true. In fact, three quarters (74) felt that 'the higher you aim, the more you will achieve'.

As a cohort, the responses indicate a generally positive framing of the school toward life in general and an optimistic attitude to the future. It seems that the school culture nurtures a purpose for the pupils, at least for those who embrace it.

6.3 The Links between Behaviour and Attitudes to School

At this point I will begin to look at some of the links between behaviour and attitudes to school. As established in the literature review, there are two distinct school based areas deemed influential on behaviour. The first exploration of the nature and extent of the bond between pupil and school was that of academic attainment. Widely accepted as being linked to delinquent behaviour, I chose five scores for academic attainment. The following questions were selected as they represented the pupil's perception of their academic ability and the importance of academic achievement.

These were:

- 1) How do you rate your academic ability compared with other students in your school?
- 2) What exam results (in percentages) do you think you are capable of getting in the end of year exams?
- 3) How important is getting good 'levels' (results) to you?
- 4) On average, how much time do you spend doing homework outside school?
- 5) If you could be well-known in school for one of the following, which one would you want it to be?

Each question had a range of multiple choice answers attached. These were scored as positive (1) or negative (-1) or neutral (0) depending on the response. For example Question 2 regarding percentages, options A, B and C were responses over 90 per cent, 80 per cent or 70 per cent and scored 1, the 10 per cent increments of D, E and F (over 60 per cent, 50 per cent and 40 per cent) corresponded to a 0 score, those predicting themselves a score of only over 30 per cent, 20 per cent or under 20 per cent were scored as -1. Similarly, the question 5 regarding the position or status in school was

scored as follows: Bright Student was scored 1 and all other responses (Sports Star, Popular, Leader in School, Well-dressed or Just Average were scored as 0). This scoring enable an overall Academic Attainment score which could be analysed along with their misbehaviour score.

When analysing the chi-square correlation between academic attainment and pupils who had committed three or more misbehaviours in school, there was a strongly significant correlation ($p=0.001$).

However, when the behaviour was split into property and personal offences, the link was not significant ($p=0.312$) for property misbehaviour.

The link between academic attainment and pupils committing three or more offences against the 'person' (other pupils or adults) the findings were again strongly significant ($p=0.000$).

The findings suggest that academic attainment is indeed linked to misbehaviour and particularly to that of offences against the person. This challenges the findings of Sprott (2004) who found academic attainment was linked to property offences – rather than personal offences.

The other widely explored area of literature explores the link between emotional attachment and misbehaviour or delinquent behaviour in school. Here, I selected the following five questions to explore the link between emotional attachment and behaviour in school:

- 1) How many of your teachers seem to care about how well you do in school?
- 2) Do you care what teachers think of you?

- 3) I feel tense and nervous in school.
- 4) Teachers pick on me.
- 5) I have no really close friends.

The first two questions invited selection of a multiple choice answer for example 'do you care what teachers think of you?' – I care a lot, I care some or I don't care much, these were scored accordingly 1, 0 or -1. The latter three questions required the pupil support or refute the statement scoring either 1 or -1 depending on the positive or negative bias of the question, or there was a neutral undecided option scored as 0.

The analysis of emotional attachment link to 3 or more misbehaviours chi-square correlation indicated again a strongly significant result ($p=0.018$) but not as significant as that for academic attainment.

The link for emotional attachment to property or personal offences followed the trend for academic attainment but again not as strongly. The correlation for property offences was not significant ($p=0.282$) but that for offences against the person was statistically significant ($p=0.012$).

Again there is evidence to support previous findings between emotional attachment and misbehaviour but that this is most strongly demonstrated in the link with offences against the person. However, the link with misbehaviour is more robust with academic attainment than with emotional attachment.

It was these findings that led me to explore the complexity of the link. Academic attainment is an 'instrumental' measure yet is highly influential on offences against the person. Yet the emotional attachment measure had less compelling influence on

misbehaviour. Both academic and emotional aspects must be at play dynamically in order to explain the nature of the bond.

6.4 Belonging Analysis

In this final section, I will discuss the conception of the sense of belonging and then make a detailed analysis of belonging and behaviour.

6.4.1 Selecting the Belonging Questions

Initially, I sought to organise the questions in to the four elements that made up Hirschi's bond; Commitment, Attachment, Involvement and Belief. But I felt that the responses for several questions were difficult to define into these categories e.g. 'A person should live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself' or 'Teachers give enough examples to make things clear for me' or 'Teachers pick on me'. So I began to think about filtering the questions initially through individual (personal) and institutional (instrumental). The responses would then be investigating the pupil's perception of the relationship and then the pupils' perception of the school as an institution and then could be discussed using the four elements of the bond. Again I felt that this was difficult as I was asking the pupil to consider what is 'felt' by the school. Effectively, is 'attachment' a one way process or a two-way relationship? How would the pupil make the observation about the schools' attachment to him?

I then attempted to rename the instrumental or institutional elements, considering 'belief', 'faith or 'trust' rather attachment, this facilitated an understanding of the pupil's perception of the relationship.

Separately, I began thinking about how the elements of the bond related to each other. I particularly thought about the possibility that the bond might be a two-way relationship; that the pupil's perception of the school's attitude was fundamental to the establishment of the bond. I began to consider the elements in stages; as part of a cycle or in a hierarchy where one had to be fulfilled before the next. This was reinforced by the research done by Jenkins (1997) who found that within certain parameters, commitment and belief had a strong inverse association with crime but attachment and involvement had no significant independent effect on crime. His ultimate findings were that although all elements of the bond were important, seemingly commitment was the most important influence on crime.

Rather than a corollary or hierarchy, was the ideal 'bond composition' the strong establishment of each and every individual element - attachment, commitment, involvement and belief? If so what was the relationship between the elements? I also tried alternative ways of exploring variables, comparing the 'here and now' questions to those applicable with the pupils' future.

Taking these three ideas – the four stranded nature of the bond; the concept of 'here and now' or past and future; and the interplay between the elements of the bond and how they are established – I sought to make sense of what was important. For example, in the case of 'commitment' is this simply 'playing the game'; meeting the requirements of school today for a job tomorrow or is there a genuine state of commitment that can be ascertained and therefore used to establish a pupil's bond.

It was here I made the paradigm shift to the concept of belonging. Incorporating ideas of Hirschi's bond, the academic and emotional attachment elements, and the concept of time and the pupil's perception of relationship into the three strands:

1. The pupil's perception of the pupil's own bond to school
2. The pupil's perception of the school's bond to him
3. The pupil's perception of the bonds between school and his peers

I decided to select 10 questions from the 81 to fall into each of the 3 strands of belonging, a total of 30 questions. Some of the questions appear in the questions selected to be analysed with regard to academic attainment and emotional attachment (see earlier). It also incorporates questions relating to all of the four strands of Hirschi's bond; for example Attachment (to teachers), Involvement (in school activities), Commitment (to aspects of school life) and Belief (in the school rules and purpose of school). Selecting the questions applying to threads 1 and 2 were relatively straightforward. However the questions relating to the pupil's perception of the bonds between school and other pupils were more difficult to select. In addition to five questions that addressed directly the child's perception of other children in the school, I also chose five of the series of questions that invited the pupil to compare English and Welsh pupils within school. I hoped that the categorisation and connotation of behaviour and bond of these two groups in this context could be extrapolated out to make assumptions about the subject pupil's attitude to difference in the pupil cohort and the attitudes of the school to the differences.

6.4.1.1 Bond between Pupil and School (*'Self'*)

The questions attempt to incorporate pupil's self-efficacy; combining elements of academic attainment, self-efficacy and his sense of agency.

- 1) What results in percentages do you think you are capable of getting in the end of year exams?

- 2) Are you active in any school-connected activities? (examples suggested, but open ended question)
- 3) I would be very worried if I got sent to the Senior Management Team (teachers named in original question).
- 4) I feel tense and nervous in school.
- 5) I have no control over what happens to me.
- 6) I have no really close friends.
- 7) At school, I pretend to be someone I am not.
- 8) I may seem happy to people, but inside I often feel unhappy.
- 9) I worry a lot about school.
- 10) I try hard in school.

6.4.1.2 Bond between School and Pupil ('School')

These questions focus on relationships with the school staff; teacher expectations and attachments.

- 1) How many of your teachers seem to care about how well you do in school?
- 2) What kind of work do most of your teachers expect from you?
- 3) Do you care what teachers think of you?
- 4) The things we learn in school help me to understand what is going on around me.
- 5) Teachers care most about students who are going to university.
- 6) Teachers don't have time to talk about problems.
- 7) Teachers give enough examples to make things clear for me.
- 8) Teachers pick on me.

9) Teachers use words that I don't understand.

10) The school rules are fair.

6.4.1.3 Bond between School and Other Pupils ('Others')

These questions explore the school climate and cultural *Character* as perceived by the pupil. In essence, how the pupil fits the school.

1) How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with other students in your school?

2) Would you say that your group was the 'top crowd' at school?

3) How much do you think teachers like the group of friends you hang with?

4) A person should never stop trying to be better than others.

5) In Wales, chances for success are available to everyone.

Which group does the statement describe best?

- A. Children of Welsh speaking families
- B. Children of English speaking families
- C. No difference

6) Are often in trouble with the police.

7) Run pretty much everything in school.

8) Teachers like them.

9) Try hard in school.

10) Teachers don't like them.

These final five questions are different to the others, they invite the respondent to acknowledge differences between groups and how the groups behave and are treated within the culture of the school. Most other questions have a logical attribution of score (1 or -1) but these follow a slightly different pattern. Here, if a pupil responds that there

is no difference, there is a score of 1 however, if the pupil perceives a difference in how Welsh speaking or English speaking children exist in the school, this is scored as -1.

Next I scored the questions (1, 0 and -1) depending on the answers e.g. At school, I pretend to be someone I'm not : Strongly/Agree = -1, Undecided = 0, Strongly/Disagree = 1. I was then able to select the top and bottom 12 who, according to my criteria, felt the strongest and weakest sense of belonging. I called these *Isolate* and *Belong*. I was then able to compare the self-reported in-school misbehaviour and outside school delinquency of the Isolate and Belong dozens using a Mann-Whitney to compare the medians of the data. To check the validity and rigor of my findings, I also selected the dozen most and least well behaved pupils. (The best behaved dozen were selected using a random number generator (random.org on 26/11/09 @ 14:16:38) from the 80 pupils self-reporting no misbehaviour or delinquency.

		Misbehaviour Mann-Whitney z =	Belonging Mann-Whitney p =
Lowest Misbehaviour (best behaved)	Highest Misbehaviour (worst behaved)	-3.15	0.0008
Lowest Sense of Belonging	Highest Sense of Belonging	3.32	0.0005

Table 6.4 Mann-Whitney comparison between Highest and Lowest Misbehaviour and Sense of Belonging (n=189)

At this point I went back to the original data and began again to look at the questions and responses to see if there were particular questions that stood out as being linked to behaviour.

Independently, there did not seem to be any questions that stood out as salient with regard to the link with misbehaviour or delinquency. I returned to the belonging questions and attempted to explore the three separate elements that I had defined.

Perhaps it was the combined responses within the strands of perception of own bond, perception of school's bond to the child and perception of the bond to others.

Using the data, I was able to further compare the three individual threads making up belonging and the corresponding behaviour scores for misbehaviour in school (and delinquency outside school). The following section of analysis begins to tackle the issues.

6.4.2 Analysis of Belonging

Using SPSS, the following variables were cross-tabulated with chi-square test.

	3+ Categories of Misbehaviour	Property Misbehaviour	3+ Categories of Misbehaviour against Persons
Belonging: TOTAL	0.029	0.026	0.006
Belonging: 'Self' Strand	0.042	0.393	0.010
Belonging: 'School' Strand	0.000	0.159	0.000
Belonging: 'Others' Strand	0.003	0.000	0.004

Table 6.5 Chi-square significance ($p < 0.05$) for Misbehaviour and Sense of Belonging

($n=189$)

This table shows the complexity of the nature of the bond and the multiple layers of belonging being significant. Where previously, the data had not supported findings between academic attainment and property offences and emotional attachment and personal offences, nuance becomes apparent.

With the exception of the self and school elements of belonging linked with property offences, there is a statistically significant link between all aspects of belonging and misbehaviour. These findings support those made by Brookmeyer et al (2006) and Rice et al (2008) who found similar links between belonging and delinquent behaviour. Furthermore this is most strong for offences against the person.

The following graphs depict the relationship between belonging and misbehaviour scores.

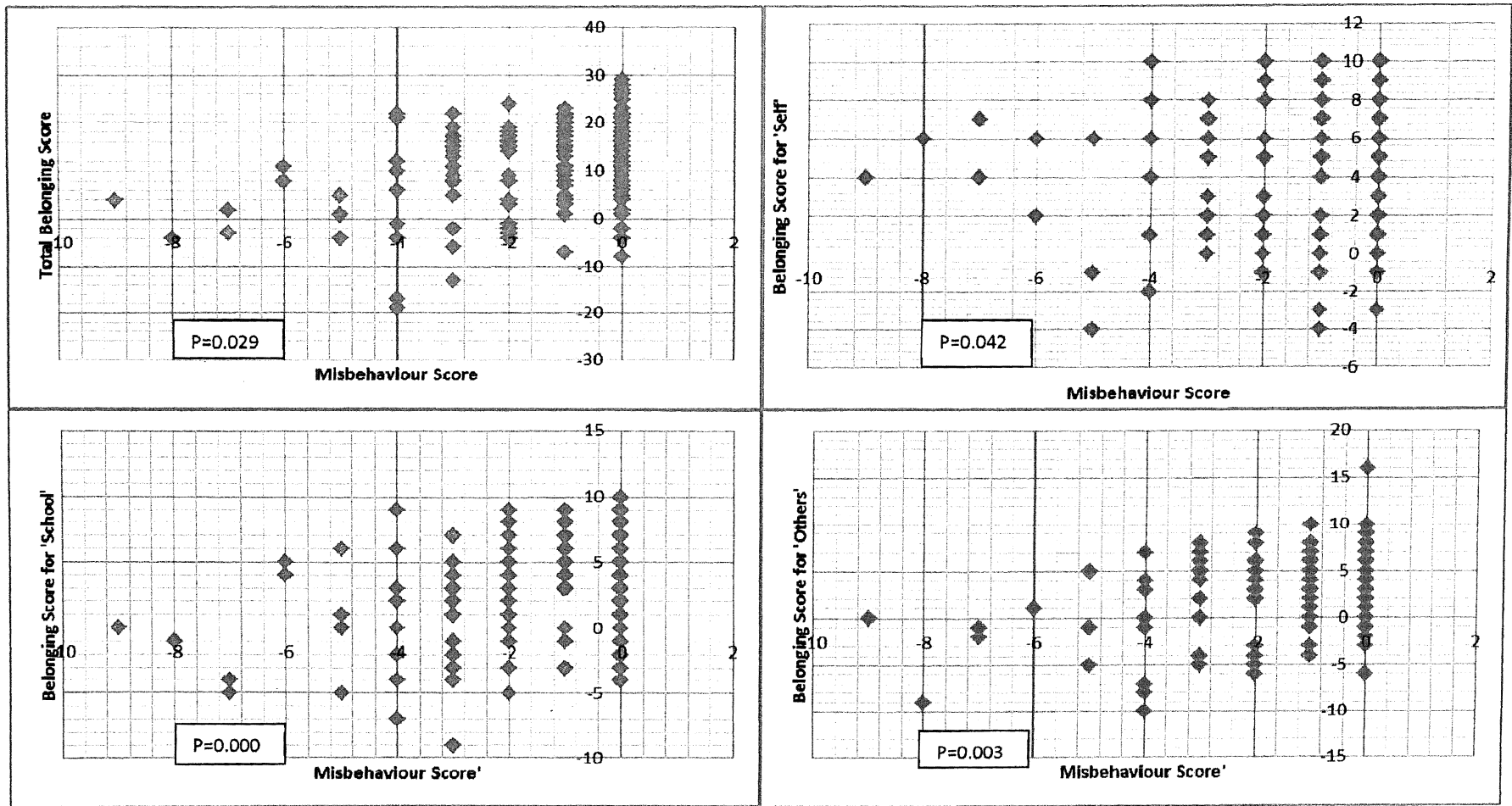


Fig 6.10 Graphs showing Misbehaviour and Belonging Scores (with Chi Square p values) (n=189)

I also ran Spearman's Rank Correlation analysis to explore the strength of any correlation between the belonging scores and behaviour scores. This extension of the analysis is attempting to find out if having a sense of belonging leads to certain behaviour. In the table below, I have separated belonging into the three identified strands of belong and the misbehaviour into property offences and offences against the person. The strength of the correlation is determined accordingly, a *p* value of 0 is a weak correlation and 1 is a strong correlation, scores nearer 0.5 are considered moderate.

	Misbehaviour	Property Misbehaviour	Misbehaviour against Persons
Belonging: TOTAL	0.357	0.368	0.396
Belonging: 'Self' Strand	0.197	0.281	0.248
Belonging: 'School' Strand	0.377	0.381	0.400
Belonging: 'Others' Strand	0.322	0.393	0.345

Table 6.6 Spearman's Correlation (*p*) for Misbehaviour and Belonging (n=189)

The coefficients indicate that there is not a particularly strong correlation between belonging and behaviour for any of the parameters but there is a correlation. However, what is noticeable is that the most significant individual strand of belonging is 'school'; the pupil's perception of the school's bond to him and slightly less so the strand of

'others' (the pupil's perception of the school's bond to other pupils). The weakest correlation is the 'self' strand, the pupil's perception of his own bond to school. This highlights the significance of the pupils' perception of the school culture, far more than a pupils' attachment to the school.

6.4.3 Links to Delinquency

At this stage, it might be interesting to visit some of the data obtained pertaining to belonging and delinquency. As discussed, due to an error in data collection, the data is not complete and only explores delinquent 'property' offences such as criminal damage and theft and does not explore offences against the 'person' such as assault. However, below I will look in brief at two areas, firstly the link between belonging to school and delinquency and second the link between misbehaviour and delinquency.

The following graph indicates a similar pattern mirroring the findings of the links between misbehaviour and belonging. This reinforces the significance of the findings that belonging does indeed have a significant link to behaviour both inside and outside school. Furthermore, the elements within the sense of belonging that hold most significance are the pupil's perception of how the school feels about them and perception of how the school feels about others pupils. Again this highlights the influential importance of the school culture on a pupil's sense of belonging and therefore behaviour.

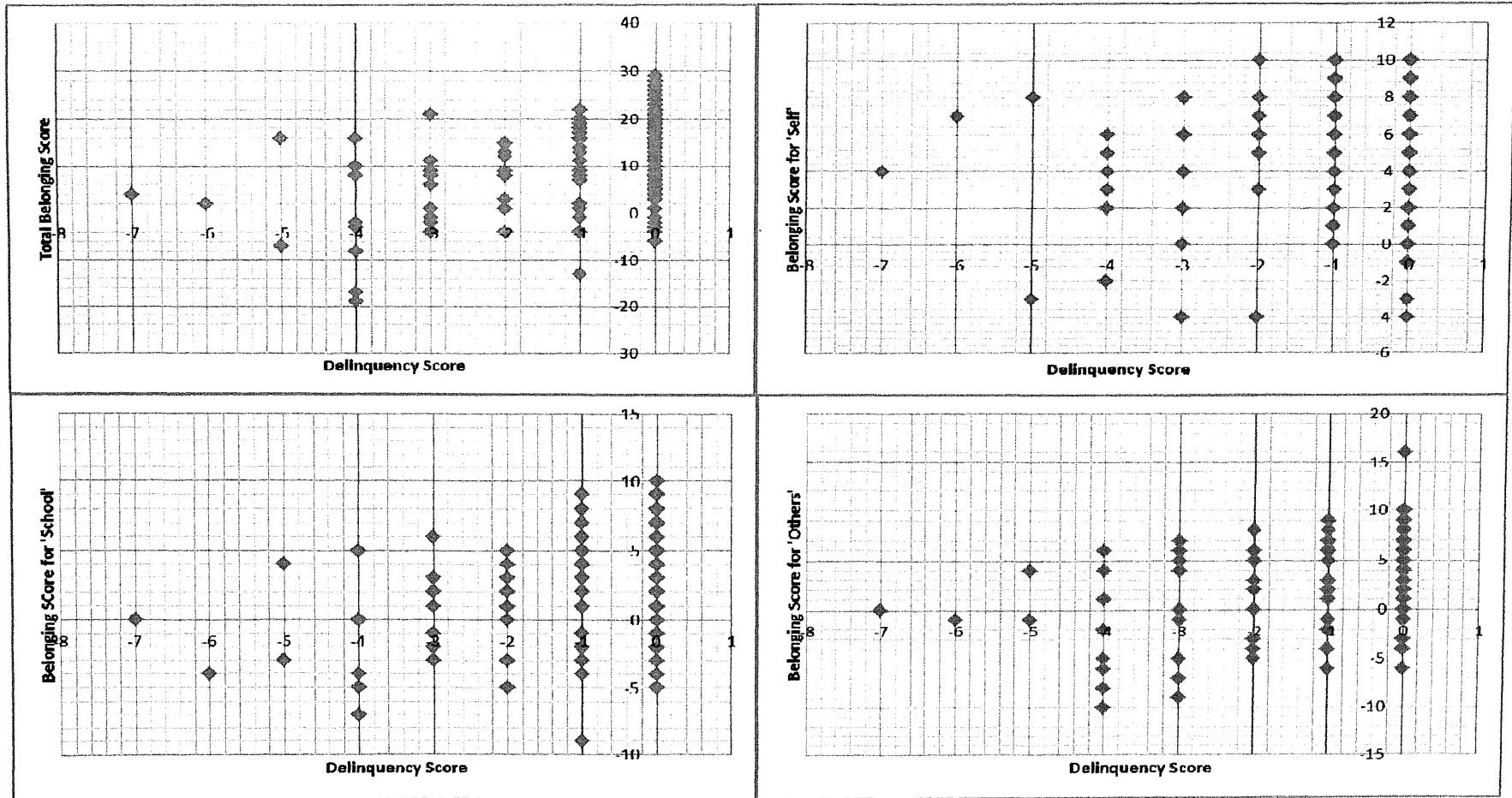


Fig 6.13 Graphs for Delinquency and Belonging Scores (n=189)

The following graph shows the relationship between misbehaviour and delinquency scores. It visually shows a positive relationship between the two sets of data.

Furthermore, when a Mann-Whitney test is run on this data $p=0.000$, indicating a highly significant relationship.

The Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient calculates the correlation between these two sets of data to have p value = 0.648, this indicates a moderate to strong correlation between misbehaviour and delinquency. This finding reinforces that of other studies (Stephenson, 2007) where misbehaviour in school is a correlate to delinquency outside school.

Information relating to the breakdown of delinquency into property and person offences is not possible from this data. Therefore it is not possible to link specific types of behaviour inside and outside school.

As discussed, conclusions about the findings from this study will relate only to misbehaviour in school and not delinquency outside school. However, the reinforcement of the pattern of the specific strands of belonging being influential on behaviour is useful to keep in mind.

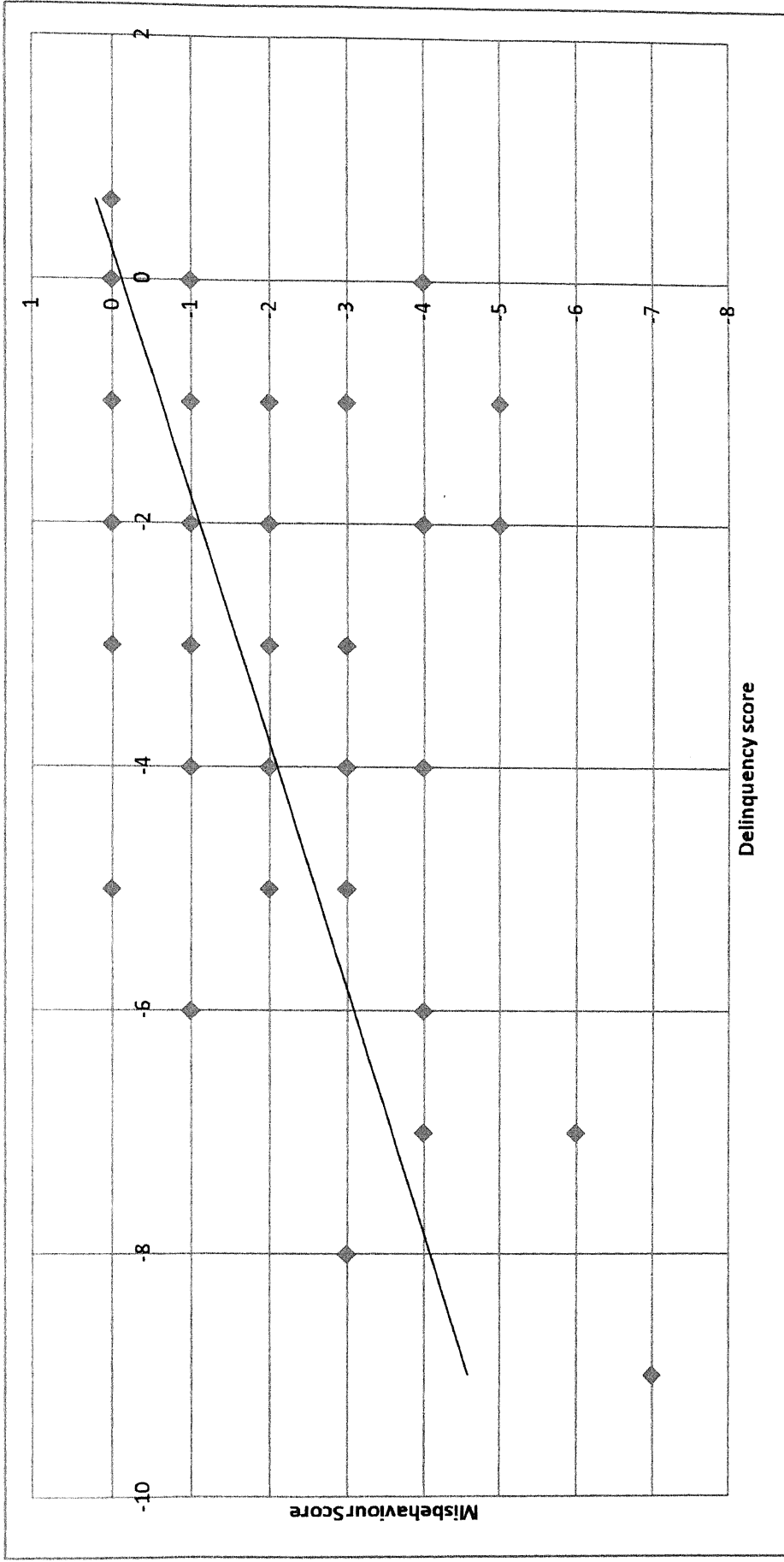


Fig 6.10 Graph to show relationship between Misbehaviour and Delinquency

6.5 Analysis Summary

In answer to the first research question 'How does a sense of belonging (including academic attainment and emotional relationship) affect the behaviour of pupils in school? The section summarise the three distinct findings with relation to belonging and behaviour.

1. The data analysis indicates that there is indeed a significant link between a pupil's sense of belonging and misbehaviour. These findings (coupled with those regarding academic attainment and emotional attachment) support and furthermore elaborate on findings linking belonging to academic attainment (Andeman, 2002; Rostosky et al, 2003) and delinquent behaviour (Brookmeyer et al, 2006; Rice et al, 2008).
2. The bond between pupil and school is indeed complex and multi-layered. The most significant strands of belonging are 'school' and 'others' i.e. the pupil's perception of the school's bond to him and that of the school and other pupils. And that the pupil's perception of his own relationship with school is not as an important dimension. This supports findings by Andeman (2002) who found that teacher-student relationship measures were more significant than student-teacher relationship measures.
3. Belonging generally and also when separated into the three individual strands, has a significant effect on misbehaviour against persons. The link is less established for the link with property misbehaviour. These findings contribute to and elaborate on simpler findings that assert that low academic attainment is

linked to offences against property and low emotional attachment to offences against the person (Spratt 2004).

In conclusion, these findings not only highlight the significance of pupil perception to the relationships and transactions that exist in school, but also the powerful position a school holds in terms of culture.

In the next chapter, I will discuss whether a school is able to affect a pupil's perception of relationships in school and therefore indirectly, the pupil's behaviour. This reiterates the point made in the introduction that it is not simply what the school does in response to success or failure, punishment or reward, community or hierarchical organisation (the etiquette and technics) but how the pupil perceives and experiences it, the cultural character.

Chapter 7: The Effect of School Cultural Character on a Sense of Belonging

In the previous chapter I explored the links between a sense of belonging and misbehaviour in school and made a number of key conclusions about the relationship.

There is indeed a significant link between belonging and misbehaviour. Furthermore, the most important elements of belonging are the pupil's perception of school's bond to him and to others rather than the pupil's perception of his own bond to school. In addition, the most striking links between belonging and misbehaviour are with offences against persons rather than against property.

Having ascertained the validity of the link between belonging and misbehaviour, this chapter will explore the second research question, looking at the link between cultural Character and a pupil's sense of belonging. Berne's (1973) concept of cultural Character is difficult to define using a measure, unlike Technics and Etiquette of an organisation. For example, exclusion policy (Technics), sanction dispensation (Etiquette) and the quality of the announcements/conversations in the staffroom regarding the excluded pupil (Character). So in this chapter I will employ a number of methodological approaches, integrated and triangulated in order to make valid and rigorous conclusions about cultural Character and belonging.

7.1 Measuring School Cultural Character

As discussed in the theoretical framework, the concept of cultural *Character* is a therapeutic paradigm and is therefore hard to define. Unlike other sociological theories

such as school climate and communal school organisation, *Character* has no standard set of measures or scales. Rather, it invites consideration of the transactions; how the organisation might express its *wants*. It is the unwritten and unspoken *feel* of the school; the zeitgeist of a culture. Therefore, in order to answer this question, I will examine the interviews, discussion with the interviewer and ethnographic observation of being an insider researcher in the school.

Here I will present and analyse some of the features of the school that go to create the school culture and make assumptions of the experience of being in this school based on my interpretation of the feel of the school. At this stage I will also present the findings of a preliminary piece of research that I undertook to support my professional role in school. This research explored staff attitudes to exclusion and behaviour and went to inform the development of the inclusion policy and practice but also provides an interesting snapshot of the attitudes of teaching and non-teaching staff in the school. Finally, I will analyse the interviews carried out with five pupils of both genders and look at the themes arising from their experience and their observations of others' experience.

7.2 Ethnographic Observation

7.2.1 Technics, Etiquette and Character of the School

The literature review considered some of the factors that influence a school; local and national, social and political. The following discussion focuses on the nature of the study school. As an insider researcher, I was party to an unusual understanding of some of the dynamics of the school, the area and the culture. I have articulated here the specific

Technics (structures and policy), *Etiquette* (approaches and how things are done) and also some of the elusive *Character* observations that I gleaned whilst working in the school.

7.2.1.1 School Size and Organisation

Historically secondary schools are defined using two potentially conflicting criteria, firstly how size affects the group members and the second, the optimum size for economic efficiency. Lee and Smith (1997) make recommendations for schools with a population of 500-600. Very small and very larger are either not economically viable or positively detrimental to the individuals at the school. Between 500 and 600 pupils enables an equitable social structure for the most economic cost.

Lee and Smith (1997) surmised that there were optimal sizes of school for specific outcomes such as achievement, e.g. Maths results are best in 600-900 rather than larger or smaller but literacy is significantly better in smaller school. Furthermore, teachers attitudes to students were also school size related with small schools fairing best.

Additionally closer quantifiable investigation revealed that, perhaps unsurprisingly, good relationships between teachers and pupils were more common in small schools. But surprisingly some students did not think that this was an advantage and they would prefer anonymity of their personal reputations and the lack of alternative teachers meant disturbed relationships for a long period of time – this has implications for subject choices and achievement.

The hypothesis associated to curriculum favoured the larger school as being more able to differentiate and offer alternative options. However, the small school also endeavours to offer the courses desired by the individual students.

The case-study school is a very large school indeed for the area; it is between twice and nearly four times the size of other secondary schools in the area. So despite not receiving double the per pupil governmental funding received by bilingual schools, the school benefits from extensive moneys from for example the '14-19 fund' and funding and resources for children with SEN. The school has an excellent relationship with the LEA and they work closely together to offer an unusually wide range of academic and vocational courses. However, there is a definite sense in the staffroom that the 'voc group' are not the priority. In fact in a number of instances, pupils who have previously caused behavioural problems are encouraged to take vocational courses to 'get them out of school'.

In terms of physical space, a difficulty facing pupils is their not having an allocated locker or peg. Although they have a form room where they are registered during the day, they are not allowed to leave possessions (bags, coats etc.) in the room. There are a few lockers in the school and these are allocated - at additional cost - to certain pupils if a need is justified. This means that pupils must carry all their possessions for the day with them. Furthermore, due to not being permitted to wear a coat in the school at any time, most come to school without this extra layer throughout the year; potentially travelling on foot or bus some considerable distance. I believe that not having an allocated locker or peg is indicative of the school's inability to provide space to meet pupil's needs. It taps into a recurring theme of fear or annoyance at the extra needs of pupils and their desire for space to meet these needs.

7.2.1.2 Local and National Influence

It is important to note at this stage that my reading of the context for this case-study and the multiple influences that go to create the culture comes from my background. I am myself an English incomer so have interpreted narratives of nationality from this position.

Some of the factors affecting other schools in the UK (England) do not affect Welsh schools. Wales is not subjected to league tables - as choice of school in a rural area is impossible especially given the language split. In fact one of the first acts of the Welsh Assembly Government was abolition of catchment areas. However, very recent developments under the coalition government indicate that primary schools may start to be measured and compared in this way. This is not to say that schools are not subject to the same pressures of competition; teachers talk about school as an 'exam factory'. Schools publicise their attainment figures and canvas for pupils each intake period as well as their academic data being a part of the Estyn (Welsh HMI Ofsted) inspection. So although the competitive nature of schools is, perhaps, more overt in England, it is ever present in Wales. Schools in England have notoriously found exclusion a convenient way of selective intake by the back door, and some schools in this area may also be accused of such practice. However, this school's size and emphasis on educational needs means it is the recipient of many pupils from other schools both through managed transfer or re-enrolment following a permanent exclusion. In the absence of a PRU (due to special measures and subsequent closure) this school is the destination for many challenging and disaffected children.

In addition, this school as for many other rural or isolated schools faces a challenge created by the lack of opportunity, accessibility and choice. Firstly, children attend the

same school that their parents teach in. Therefore, it is possible that a child misbehaving or being a victim of bullying might have different experiences to another pupil. There are also several husbands and wives employed in the school (including in the senior management team). Living and working together can throw up interesting dynamics both in the staffroom and for the pupils in the school. Incidents that might otherwise have been isolated events can cross over into various arenas and departments. Likewise pupils can take against both of a couple even if only one is involved in an issue. Secondly, generations of families pass through and are taught by the same staff, family names are tracked and behaviour 'expected'; presumptions, prejudice and labelling an ever present dilemma.

As discussed, this is an English language school in a Welsh language area and there seems to be an alienation that comes with this identity. Prevalent in the area is the historic sense of 'incomers' settling from England who are resented for not partaking in Welsh culture, language or identity. Placed here as council tenants (in the purpose built housing estate set up in 1950s to cater for English cities) a large proportion of this population are unemployed.

Hirschi (1969) explored the importance of national bond, identifying it as the strongest bond for attachment. This highlights another challenge for the non-Welsh pupils in the school and in the community. The school is English language whether the pupils who attend are Welsh or English speaking at home so the school as a whole has an awkwardness that comes from the lack of Welsh language. It might be useful to note that a considerable number of the teaching staff are Welsh first language so there is a mismatch between teachers and pupils in terms of culturally perceived status in the community and the school.

Furthermore, almost without exception, the pupils displaying behavioural problems are from English speaking families not Welsh speaking families. This language split is reinforced in the structures of the school and community at large, exemplified by the following example. Following the closure of the PRU due to it failing Estyn (Ofsted) inspection, alternative Teaching and Learning Centres were established with a slightly different remit (to focus on pupils out of school for reasons other than persistent or severe misbehaviour). Within two years of this change of focus (and name) the contracts of the entire staff were terminated. All staff had to re-interview for their jobs and only Welsh speaking staff were re-employed; approximately half the staff were made redundant.

The school is a genuine comprehensive with a range of socio-economic backgrounds, nationalities and abilities. This is noted and credited in the Estyn Report for the school in 2008.

The question posed by Stephenson (2007) *'what had more impact on delinquency levels in school, the intake from a vulnerable community or the organisation and process within the school?'* has been attempted to be answered by many (Hayden 2007, Power et al 1972 and Farrington 1973) Certainly the catchment of this school is potentially an influencing factor as there are disadvantaged children and families with very few prospects for young people. However, the organisation of the school is one of a 'high excluding school' (Munn et al 2000).

7.2.1.3 High Excluding School

As discussed in the literature review, Munn et al (2000) explored the make-up of schools that seem to encourage exclusion (see p 48). The case study school's processes and structures fit each and every of Munn's criteria for a high excluding school. This is further shown in its extensive use of exclusion, as indicated by the exclusion rates.

Both pupils and teachers in the school perceive exclusion as futile, ineffective and overused (see staff questionnaire research later). Moreover, given that exclusion represents the final sanction - the limits to school tolerance - the number excluded is likely to be smaller than the number displaying the problem behaviour. In the staff questionnaire (see later) it is reported that challenging behaviour throughout the school is unacceptable.

In most instances, exclusion is 'one off'. Only a handful of pupils are repeatedly excluded and generally the exclusions get progressively longer. Having said that, the Head of Pastoral Care endeavours to ensure that the exclusion fits the misbehaviour committed, so that the pupil doesn't just get arbitrarily punished.

This school does have occasional serious offences committed such as violent assaults against staff or other pupils but these are rare; the majority of misbehaviour is low level. One 'exclusionable' offence regularly discussed by staff and pupils is that of swearing. If a teacher is verbally assaulted, a three day exclusion is standard. However as certain language becomes part of everyday parlance, muttered swear words are ignored rather than escalated by some teachers but not all. Some staff object to swearing in the classroom directed at them or not. Although the final word is with the Head of Pastoral Care, there is some confusion.

Furthermore, the confusion and decision-making process for these and other offences committed in school leads to a delay in the sanction being applied. A home exclusion must be preceded by a letter posted to the parents which further delays the implementation of the exclusion. The majority of pupils attend regular mainstream school for up to three days before their exclusion commences. This is sometimes considerably longer if, for example, the offence is an incident that requires some investigation or if the misbehaviour is committed prior to a school holiday. The ethos of the school is affected by this as there is negativity from the pupil who is waiting for their sanction. What's more, if the incident occurred in a classroom situation, there is unsurprisingly some negativity on the part of the teacher and the rest of the class. Part of the protocols required for the new inclusion approach was to provide a 'holding bay' for pupils prior to exclusion, to resolve the potential conflicts.

An additional frustration for teaching staff in the run up to and during exclusion is the setting of work. Inevitably the work set is a pared down version of the class work - often less creative and stimulating - and the teachers regularly voice their resentment and frustration at having to spend time devising and preparing additional work for the errant pupil. Both in theory (opinion voiced through questionnaire) and in practice (observed behaviour), staff are frustrated by exclusion and management of pupils who misbehave in school.

7.2.1.4 Future Citizens

The school is subject to the other external factors arising from the geographical and cultural variation. The locality (and indeed the county as a whole) has a limited labour

market. This has a significant effect on both teachers and pupils. The study on teacher efficacy in Cyprus (Georgiou et al, 2002) highlights the ability and expectation of teachers to be able to move schools and develop their careers, the like of which is not at all possible in this area. Spratt (2004) touches on the fact that the school and classroom climate can be moulded through attracting the best teachers to the best schools, but here, choices for movement between schools are limited. This factor is not necessarily negative as excellent teachers can become permanent fixtures in the school. Similarly, the likelihood of finding a job in this area is small for school-leaving pupils, therefore there is not the drive for attainment of qualifications. Both for the high achievers and those with a less academic bent, a young person will most likely have to leave the area to obtain long-term and fulfilling employment. This is even more likely for the non-Welsh speaking pupils as all council services, educational and many local businesses positively discriminate for Welsh speakers.

This school is navigating the path through the alternatives to exclusion and the best way for the school to mould the morally rounded citizens of the future with the best academic attainment that pupil could aspire to. Through re-establishment of positive relationships and bonds, the pupils will attain more than grades but a sense of self efficacy and identity that is healthily contained and nurtured by the school culture.

7.2.2 Preliminary Research

As a part of my position in school, developing inclusion policy and protocol, I carried out research in order to establish the most appropriate approach for the school. As identified in literature review, perhaps the most important aspect about inclusion

development in school is to ensure that it is embedded in the culture of the school (Lovey and Cooper, 1997; Ebor et al, 2001).

To ensure that I developed the most appropriate service for this school, I visited several other schools with low exclusion rates and innovative inclusion policies in order to explore best practice as well as sourcing the relevant literature for theory and practice. In addition, and certainly integral for the implementation of the service eventually devised, I invited staff to complete a questionnaire designed to ascertain existing attitudes to exclusion and alternative approaches.

7.2.2.1 Staff Voice

Teaching and non-teaching staff were canvassed through a questionnaire for views on exclusion and inclusion and how best to reduce behaviour that leads to exclusion at the school. Although encouraged to engage with the process by the head teacher, I had a completion rate of 51 per cent. This response rate is in itself interesting given the polarised split in attitude to my role and the pupils that I work with. A response rate of this size is considered average for an academic questionnaire of this kind (Baruch, 1999) and is therefore acceptable. Moreover, it provided a general spread of opinion rather than getting all the responses from one position i.e. for OR against inclusion. It would be interesting to know what position the remaining staff held.

I started by asking staff to rate the problem of exclusion. The school staff did not perceive exclusion from school as a problem for the school, judging the problem of magnitude 3 or 4 out of 10. Similarly the staff underestimated the number of pupils who were excluded each year. The staff estimated 3.6 per cent of the school role was

excluded, not far over the national average of 2.6 per cent of a school population (Hayden et al, 2007) and considerably lower than the 7.5 per cent rate for Welsh secondary schools (Welsh Government, 2010). Yet the subject school's actual exclusion rate at the time (academic year 2006-2007) was 8.9 per cent. Staff's perception of the effectiveness of exclusion was assessed as a magnitude of 4 out of 10.

Staff did not see exclusion as a large problem and significantly underestimated the actual numbers of pupils being excluded, they also recognised exclusion to be relatively ineffective. These findings go to support my assertion that there is a collective school attitude, cultural Character, which is highly influential. And possibly does not acknowledge the extent of its influence.

Staff were invited to explore the options and make suggestions as to what they believed might be effective. This would enable me not only to begin to explore the school's cultural Character but also to incorporate directly staff's ideas into the service provision. By far the most popular choice when asked to grade ten options for preference was early intervention and preventative work. The next top three ideas with similar scores were more effective training and support for teachers, parental involvement and multiagency support.

Staff overwhelmingly recognised that exclusion had a negative effect on the pupil excluded but stated that the effect on the teacher and the classroom was generally positive. Having said this, the staff did consider inclusion to be important.

The following comment sums up the verbalised school culture about inclusion, at least in terms of corporate position:

- *'Because every student is worthwhile. Every student is someone's child, every student wants to be a success. How would you want your own child to be treated by his school? No one student is more or less important than another'*

Yet there was a clear conflict within the staff perception as to how or even whether this should be achieved:

- *'I feel that pupils are often given too many options as to what measures can be taken. We as teachers are working with groups of 25-30 pupils at a time. We cannot reasonably be expected to adopt 6 or 7 different strategies in one lesson. We should be allowed to have one set of classroom rules that all pupils obey. Failure to obey should lead to removal and exclusion. We need to be allowed to teach the majority of the pupils who do follow the rules' [underlined in original]*

Other staff voiced their concerns about the lack of communication and awareness of issues with specific children within the school and how this goes to reinforce the disempowerment of an individual teacher, for example:

- *'Situations escalate before anything is done, teachers are not kept informed. Also inconsistency between teachers' reporting, some teachers leave discipline to the LSA, [it is] not their job'*

However, schools are hampered by the fear of the effect of labelling within a school.

Perhaps the issues raised in the previous comments regarding communication and sanctions imposed were the problem.

- *'There is certainly a sigh of relief in morning briefing at times [when someone is excluded] – understandable, but not really desirable or constructive'*

However, the benefit to the classroom of the absence of the troublemaker was short lived, as classrooms tended to remain fractious, there was resentment around having to set extra work and foreboding on behalf of the whole class as to the child's return. This belief was also upheld in the attitudes of the pupils in the interviews (see later).

I attempted to establish the Character of the school from the comments made around how the staff felt the issues should be tackled and the hurdles that might be faced using the ideas asserted in Tatum's (1982) and Lawrence et al's (1984) differing definitions for disruptive behaviour. They each set the focus of the approach for tackling behaviour on how the behaviour was defined -be it an issue of the *school context* or the *pupil*, respectively. The differing positions held by staff in the school highlight the challenge of capturing an organisational cultural Character. Some staff tended to hold the pupil responsible and therefore look to blame and punish the pupil as the solution:

- *'Individuals must be responsible for their actions'*
- *'Pupil's attitudes to authority prevent inclusion'*

Others suggested that it is the context of the inappropriate behaviour that needs to be focused on to become more inclusive, some even holding the teachers responsible:

- *'[We] need strategies for teachers to help pupils'*
- *'Some teachers create an us and them feeling in school, some seem not even to like pupils'*

From these comments, it seems that the cultural Character of this school is complex and layered with diverging positions around inclusion and exclusion. Using the terms defined by Berne (1973), the school is allowing and encouraging changes to the *Technics*

(structures and policy) and *Etiquette* (dynamics and approaches), yet the Character remains unchanged and unconsidered.

There was also a conflict between the 'corporate' position and that of the staff on the ground. Generally, I concluded that staff wanted to believe that things could be different (exclusion/ inclusion /culture) but were fearful of making change. There was a sense that, just as for the pupils in the interviews (see later), the teachers wanted to be seen to say or believe the right thing but in reality the school did not allow for this attitude. This tied in with Berne's theory, that the individual might genuinely hold certain beliefs and attitudes but these are superseded by the Character for the school. If Character is 'what one wants to do' then for this school, the Character seems to *want* to change but is fearful of doing things differently, it does not *want* to rock the boat, it *wants* someone else to fix the problem. It is certainly not wanting to or knowing how to create space for change.

7.2.2.2 Pupil Voice

At the time of setting up the inclusion service, I also arranged to meet with pupils from the lower years in school to determine their thoughts about exclusion and children with challenging behaviour. I met with representatives from every form in years seven to eleven (every year except sixth form) and invited comment from the pupils with regard to what they felt was needed in the school. First I asked general questions about challenging behaviour in school and why some children behave in this way then more specifically what this school needed to work with those children.

I had been warned by staff that the pupils were likely to be extremely punitive and reproachful of pupils displaying misbehaviour. Interestingly, despite staff prediction, the cohorts that I met with did not have a punitive attitude and recognised that pupils behave badly for a number of reasons, most of which needed supporting.

The year sevens (age 11-12) seemed to have the most general ideas, finding it hard to identify the reasons why a pupil might be excluded. Following some discussion, the focus group decided that talking about problems and feelings would help but they shouldn't be forced to.

The year eights (age 12-13) said that pupils might be victims of 'abuse', 'divorce', 'grieving or upset' or are trying to 'get attention'. They said that the solution was rewards or 'golden time' and 'more praise as teachers don't have time'. They did identify that the school should 'make the parents punish them'. This focus group came up with several ideas to enhance the service with specific ideas for reward and sanction as well as meditation sessions and a feelings box.

The year nines (age 13-14) were slightly more strict, detailing rules and sanctions very quickly, however, they too thought that time and space for 'reflecting on what they've done' and having teachers to listen was important. They also asserted that all pupils should be 'trusted at the beginning'.

These attitudes regarding exclusion marry up with those of the staff. The pupils recognise that there needed to be an alternative to exclusion but were unsure of what this should be. However the consensus was that it would involve communication. And most clear was the requirement of the need for 'space' to do this. I took this less to mean in terms of physical accommodation rather a metaphorical space; an acceptance

of opportunity. This idea indicates that although there might be staff to listen and opportunities for support, the culture does not include the existence of 'space' in which to do this. Also identified was that the school seemed to start from a position of mistrust of the pupils.

7.2.3 School Cultural Character

How these factors affect the school and the experience of pupils is highly subjective. As highlighted in the methodology, subjective qualitative approach is always at risk of skewing otherwise rigorously obtained findings. However, I believe there is considerable value in exploring culture through Character and assert that my experience and perceptions of the school culture are valid.

In this section, I will initially look at my perceptions and observations of daily school life and cultural quirks and norms. Then I will present a series of true case-study examples through which I can present my perceptions of cultural Character.

7.2.3.1 The Staffroom

Like many staffrooms the country over, staffrooms are the school culture in microcosm. How the staff relates to each other in the staffroom is a good template for understanding the relationships in the school as a whole between all within. Again like many staffrooms, there are unwritten rules of engagement but unlike many schools, this staffroom does voice these rules.

In terms of staff segregation, there was clear demarcation for certain roles and individuals. Observation during staff briefing revealed a great deal about the anxiety

and conflict that exists. The LSAs sit separately and it is seen as entirely inappropriate for a teacher to sit amongst them; new or temporary staff (cover or student/trainee) sit apart; senior teaching staff sit together; 'trendy' young creative teachers - English and Drama together; finally, there are those who always arrive late and stand near the door. These groupings were not necessarily about non-school commonality but seemed more about values and attitudes to the school, pupils and each other.

The remaining staff circulate but understand the status quo in the staffroom. In my first couple of weeks I was told on three occasions that I was sitting in the wrong place. Once was near but not with the LSAs – '*was I supposed to be?*' another was when I was sitting with other new staff and the third when I was asked whether I '*really needed a chair as [I] was rarely in the staffroom*'.

It was right back at this time that I began to think about belonging and fitting. Although I found it ironic that I (along with the pupils that I worked with) was being excluded, I did recognise the feelings that accompany the experience of not having a niche or full acceptance by the school.

As I became more familiar with staff, I received the full gamut of attitudes towards my role. Although some wanted to challenge my role, some seemed to want to let me know how inclusive they were - I was often being told how much [a teacher] respected the LSAs and had very good working relationships with them (whether or not this was true!). For every comment like; '*Oh look! Is that where they're going to put the prison?*' when identifying the new cabins being built to house the Hafan (Safe Haven) inclusion unit, there was another where a teacher came to ask for help from the inclusion support staff to resolve a conflict with a pupil and furthermore ask for a report that could be included in a professional development portfolio.

Throughout the school, the split between for and against inclusion and the pupils at risk of exclusion is evident. But even those who wanted to support us and do what they could for the pupils did so quietly. There was a definite fear of publicly supporting the school's efforts of inclusion.

Despite not being provided with a platform to address all the staff as to the approach, I repeatedly invited staff to presentations and trainings that I ran for LSAs as requested in the school wide questionnaire that indicated a desire for training. Only two teaching staff ever came to a training session.

I was also approached on several occasions to deliver training to the PGCE and NQT staff working in the school as they felt they had not been given adequate support in intervening early with challenging behaviour. I offered what I could in impromptu conversations and encouraged them to approach their supervisors to arrange formal opportunities for training. I am told this did happen yet I was not approached to fulfil this request.

On a public level, the school and the senior staff were fully committed to an alternative approach to exclusion and inclusion and I was given carte blanche and significant responsibility. However, when offered alternatives, the school was fearful of change.

7.2.3.2 The Playground

Again, this school follows many others. The pupils group themselves as *Emos, Goths, Chavs, Hippies* etc. and this counterculture crosses over and engulfs the full socioeconomic range. There is a clear sense of belonging to peers that exists in this school. Although this study does not explore explicitly the significance of peer influence and acceptance on belonging, it is worth noting that within the playground groupings,

pupils do tend to follow suit. There is occasional fracas between groups and attitudes and behaviours are explicit throughout a group however, there is not a sense that belonging or not belonging to a certain group means a pupil is more or less likely to misbehave. The influence of peers and peers acceptance on individuals is a vast area (Dishion, 1995; Wentzel and Caldwell, 1997) but this research study is specifically looking at the relationships and bond between the pupil and the school.

7.2.3.3 My Perceptions of Character through Contextual Case-study

To follow are a series of contextual incidents or transactions that I observed and recorded. I have included them as they give colour to the type of issues the school faces and how they are dealt with. Inevitably, my very presence in the room alters the dynamic considerably but I hope the examples help to show the dynamic of the climate and explore some of the ideas around a classroom and school's cultural Character.

i. James and Science

In this example, the first of the two paragraphs is written as an observation of the lesson. It is observed and recorded in the 'here and now'. The second paragraph gives a brief background to the dynamics created in the classroom. I have given an overview of my observations of the on-going relationships that exist for the pupil. Although the external influences constructing this role are highly presumptive they are there to support the observed transactions.

The year eight (age 12/13) class must be silent in this science lesson. The female teacher talks purposely quietly to ensure that the classroom remains quiet. Several pupils but one in particular, James, finds this silence very difficult to exist in. Within the first five minutes of the lesson when settling into his seat, he is boisterous and there is a

scuffle over a chair. James is seen to be catalyst of the conflict based on behaviour in previous lessons and is reprimanded loudly. After the 'telling off' James sits quietly. However, he becomes more and more agitated, silently in his head. After 20 minutes, I watch him begin to clench and unclench his hands and his face is flushing. There has been no further confrontation to cause this escalation of strong anxiety within him. As he sits staring at his page where he has written 'count and breathe', I go over and very quietly recognize with that he is becoming agitated and furthermore that I understand why, we discuss letting the feeling wash over him, there is no threat to him and he can sit relaxed and calm. The boy visibly relaxes his shoulders. The class is eventually given a task to do and they are allowed to pick up their pens. James immediately begins to doodle, finding it hard to regain the focus required for the written task. James does settle into the work but is easily distracted and seems uncomfortable in his seat. After a short while the class is stopped for further instruction, silence is again expected and pens put down for this brief announcement. James does as required and returns to staring at his 'self-help' words on his page, muttering quietly. The teacher, standing at the rear of the classroom, then quite surprisingly asks him to look up at her whilst she is talking, he turns to her briefly and then back round. She repeats the request, using his name again, this time irritably. When I scan the room I see at least 10 pupils are also not facing her, but James is the boy she targets. On this occasion (probably because of my presence) James manages to keep his cool and remains so to the end of the lesson.

James has a reputation of being challenging in this, and other classes. He has created a role identity in school of being 'hard' and goes to lengths to perpetuate this role by facing up to pupils and teachers. A further element to his identity is one eager to please, thoughtful and scared of conflict. James has entered a labelling spiral. As discussed in the literature review, Becker (1963) discussed the two stages of labelling, firstly the

identification of difference to the norm and second the difficulty made for the individual to return to normality. This downward spiral is typified by James. Possibly due his home life (single father with inconsistent mother figures some of whom resent James' presence) played a part in the role he developed in school. Initially his desire to be perceived as 'rock hard' by his peers set him apart from the rest of the group, then his difficulty in following instructions given by female adults gave James a reputation. James would require the female teacher to become authoritative before he would respond, an assertive request was not enough. This dynamic unfortunately perpetuates the experience he has with women. Then once identified as difficult, the teacher has to maintain an aggressive stance and is expecting and requiring confrontation from the outset. Throughout the school, James is met with similar confrontation that reinforces his experience, each time making the likelihood of his being able to change the dynamic, smaller.

In terms of a sense of belonging, this example highlights the pupil's positioning of himself as apart from the others and at odds with the teacher. He has a self-confessed desire to be recognised as different but this difference is perceived by others as bad rather than unique (a theme that arises in the interviews). He seems conscious of how the school is bonded to him and recognises that this is not the case for other pupils. This awareness is displayed as anxiety, rage and an inability to recognise what to do. It is interestingly similar to the school cultural *Character* is also one of wanting change but fear or inability to risk making a change. The influence of the school cultural *Character* on this dimension is that his role is fixed, history and previous experience of the pupil, the teacher and the rest of the class ensure that behaviour is not tackled in the here and now.

ii. The Boys and Classroom Collapse

In this example, I will detail a requested intervention to support a year nine (age 13/14) French lesson experiencing classroom collapse. I arrived at the lesson following an 'urgent' request with no previous knowledge of the group or why I had been invited to attend. The class was already seated and I was met by the female teacher who thanks me for coming. She introduced me and explained to the class (and me) that I had been invited to the lesson as the class is failing as a group and she is worried. She goes on to explain that very little learning takes place, that the class is continually disrupted by a small group of boys and that she feels guilty for the rest of the class and bad about her teaching and discipline. This very honest and genuine confession is met by most in a solemn and supportive manner, but a handful of three boys begin swearing and mocking. I thanked the teacher for her honesty and bravery and reiterated the salient points, I then asked the class what they thought. Generally the feedback was agreement and recognition that the class was falling apart. However, the boys became visibly anxious and resentful of the implied responsibility. I invited the boys to listen to the thoughts of their peers. The boys continued to become hostile towards the rest of the class. Rather than escalate the bad feeling that existed, I invited the three boys to come out to discuss the situation away from the class. This would not have been my ideal scenario as I prefer to address issues as close to the context as possible but the negative feeling in the room prevented this. Ideally, with notice I would have met with key individuals first, and then reorganized the layout of the room for a whole group meeting. Instead, I went with the three boys and we discussed the issues. What came up very quickly was the fact that the boys felt that 'there was no point' anymore as they had ruined their reputations over the previous years and now it was 'too late'. I asked them what sort of behaviour there was and whether there had been more recent

instances. I then asked what behaviour the rest of the class was rejecting. The boys were open about their behaviour, naming their experience of how past behaviour was preventing change in the here and now. Following our conversation, we returned to the class and fed back; explaining how they would like to do things differently but don't try due to known expectations of others. The rest of the class agreed to be aware of this expectation and 'make room' for change in behaviour. The boys agreed to try to do things differently.

I learned later that this class is a *token* class; these pupils are not able to achieve GCSE level but were one of two groups who had been entered to complete a NVQ. However, due to financial limitations making it impossible to enter all the pupils, those most likely to pass were moved to one group and the rest moved to this group. This group is no longer working toward any qualification as well as being the weaker pupils in French.

It is clear that, just as in the previous example with James, the expectations of behaviour, labelling, was perpetuating a dynamic in the classroom. Pupils who are labelled as different to the norm are treated as such and the cycle continues. There is then not (metaphorical) space for a change in dynamic and therefore behaviour. For both of these examples the not fitting with the norm, undermines the pupil's sense of belonging.

One week later, the teacher sought me out to thank me for the change in classroom dynamic. The group's next class had been very different. Although two of the boys were not present, the classroom dynamic was palpably different in the following lesson. I wondered whether this was inevitable due to the absence of two of the boys however I referred to the feedback from my preliminary research into exclusion in the school. As detailed in the previous chapter, the classroom dynamic does not automatically change

with the absence of the challenging behaviour. Instead, withdrawal or absence can aggravate the issues, they exist in the classroom anyway. This effect is also found by Munn et al (2000) where on return to the classroom following exclusion or absence, rather than a change occurring, there is a renewed negative peer attitude to the pupils. So I was therefore very encouraged that the pupils and teacher both felt as though something had shifted in terms of the dynamic. There was more positivity and more optimism. Furthermore, pupils who had previously not spoken, had become more involved indicating not just a palpable change for the pupils with previously challenging behaviour but a change for those pupils affected by it.

I was subsequently informed that the class continued to be more positive, even following the return of the absent students.

iii. Anonymity of the Virtual World

The following example is different to the two previous in that in a class with known 'troublemakers', there appeared to be very little conflict. I attended this lesson as I wanted to observe a lesson with the least capacity for transaction. This year eight (age 12/13) IT lesson was peaceful and unproblematic. One of the quietest lessons I have ever observed, all the pupils were engaged in the task on screen. The teaching style was 'matter-of-fact' (one that perhaps in another subject might be considered uninspiring) however every pupil worked almost entirely silently for the full period.

When asked later, this teacher has never had any discipline issues but contrarily the pupils do not feel motivated by this class. At the time my initial thinking was that the computer screens ensured that every pupil effectively had one-to-one attention with a receptive tutor, each was having a virtual transaction constantly so did not require

interaction elsewhere. I considered the familiarity of the screen as companion most evenings, this factor feeding into the virtual personal transaction. However, my feeling now is that the computer provides a safe place away from transaction. There is no judgement, no expectation and no risk from this interaction, the pupil can tune out the rest of the class. In addition, as every pupil has a computer, there is equality and equity in the classroom, no one is identified as different, and everyone belongs.

iv. 'Key Skills' for Whom?

This example comes out of a 'Key Skills' lesson, in some schools called PSHE (Personal, Social, Health and Emotional), other schools have additional letters such a S for Sexual and M for Moral but the gist is the same. A catch all subject to raise and discuss some of the less measurable 'soft' skills required for life. Most pupils tend to dislike this subject as there is no clear purpose (in terms of qualification) and the subject matter can be uncomfortable to discuss. However, I believe that this subject could be both fascinating and very useful.

This year nine class (age 13/14) are thinking about relationships with their Key Skills teacher (normally a Maths teacher). The topic is families; what's normal?, what's the purpose of a family? etc. This is a mixed class (unstreamed) and happens to have a wide range of different family and home lives in it. The teacher has been having difficulties settling into class in previous lessons so the head of year (HOY) had started the lesson with a 'telling off' and a new seating plan, the class was then left to carry on. The room was expectedly quiet following the HOY's intervention. The initial task was set to agree or disagree with statements regarding family. This was done relatively quickly in silence, however, the time given to complete the work was excessive. Most managed to sit in silence until I asked the teacher what the pupils should do if they had finished, he said

wait quietly, by now nearly 8 minutes had past. Then the next task was given to discuss in groups and come up with a list of reasons why family was important. At least one boy had had an extremely hard home life and following a disturbed childhood, he was now in care. He began to talk about his experience with his small group quite openly (and courageously) giving exceptional and valuable insight into families for the group. As he became animated in his story telling, the teacher asked him not to talk. This was unfortunate timing as he was appreciating the opportunity to discuss his attitudes and values about family that still viewed love and support as most important despite hating his family and believing they hated him. This lesson deteriorated with only the 'good and normal' kids being allowed to answer questions to the class about families. Those who broke the norm withdrew through non-engagement and began to display challenging behaviour.

Of course not all pupils are prepared to be this open, but given that he was, this was an ideal opportunity to change this boy's role identity (of troublemaker) and offer him way to be heard within the structure of the lesson. This teacher could have invited the pupil to normalise his difference through acceptance from his peers. This is the again arising theme of desiring unique difference rather than bad difference. Attending to him in the here and now as well as altering the dynamic of the classroom as one of tolerance and acceptance. The fear of such an intervention, loss of teacher control and the potential repercussions if managed poorly meant that this opportunity was lost and the pupils left the class just a disillusioned about the 'key skills' as they had previously. Furthermore, the pupil had his role of different reinforced negatively.

v. Not in Control but in Charge!

This art class is one of the few lessons where creativity and personality are championed; and this year nine class (age 13/14) class is no exception. The teacher openly states that he is not the last word in creativity and he welcomes all other ideas and approaches. This culminates in an extraordinarily permissive ethos to the classroom. The lesson is introduced openly and freely. In today's lesson on natural art, the teacher shows examples of previous pupil's work. For each he tells a little story about the maker and what they're motivation was. At one point he chats about an episode of Grand Designs. The class (on the whole) is focused, still and thoughtful. As he encourages the class of 31 to build and create their own projects from stones, wood and sand he notices someone eating. 'please don't eat in the classroom' he says without any malice, judgement or resentment. There is no follow up about 'the rules in this school' or that 'the pupil had had plenty of time at break to eat' rather the statement is neutral and in the here and now. The pupil stops eating and begins his work.

In the corner of this large studio, there are two boys who are not on task. Interestingly, these boys have similar backgrounds in terms of home life; neglect, abuse and foster care. Art is a 'dangerous' subject as it invites emotional expression, however, their responses to art are very different. One refuses to engage and has not done any art since the start of term 6 weeks ago, in fact, his bag is still on his back and he appears to be emotionally numb, entirely disengaged from the lesson. The other boy's approach is starkly opposed. He is throwing things, attempting to disrupt others, destroying the art materials and generally being highly challenging. The teacher approaches both of these boys but talks to them quite differently. This teacher has also experienced hardship in his life and has always been open about that. There is something in the way that he

attempts to engage the boys, that is accepting and assured. The quiet boy is welcome to take part under any guise; he is not pushed to complete the task but is invited to be engaged in the process. The louder boy is publically angry with the teacher's invitation. The teacher tells him he doesn't like the behaviour and asks him not to disrupt others. What is interesting for the class to observe as well as these two boys is that although unsuccessful, neither transaction 'bothers' the teacher, he continues to move around the room engaging the pupils in their work. The whole class remains to the end a positive, relaxed (and very noisy) class.

After the class, I ask the teacher about his experience of the lesson. He says that art is play, and some children have lost that ability to play or find play too emotionally risky. He asked me if there was something more he can do for these boys. I praise his consistency and his noticeable purpose to remain in the here and now and tell him that with children with this sort of experience we need luck and timing. If we can be there at the right time and say the right thing for that situation and the child is ready then things may change for them.

This example highlights that schools are not entirely fixed in terms of *Character*, that it is possible to create physical and metaphorical spaces for acceptance, difference and change. Even if there is a pocket of good practice, where the cultural *Character* is not being reinforced, it is still within a system already established. It is a place resisting the culture rather than without the culture. It is in response to the culture, a dynamic in itself.

7.3 Interviews with Pupils

As explored in the literature review, perception is a challenging thing to measure or gather information on. When academics talk about awareness, they often make reference to agency (Coleman, 2011), autonomy (Ryan, 1995) or self-efficacy (Zimmerman and Cleary, 2006). When a practitioner discusses awareness, the emphasis is on the relationship and how it is manifest. There is more subtlety, nuance and subjectivity, considerably more difficult to measure and discuss empirically, yet no less valid. The validity is particularly relevant to this research as it is not only a marriage of practice and theory, but also hopes to attain a greater understanding of exactly that, the subjectivity, the perception of the relationship. This information will be gleaned from the interviews. Although conducted by another practitioner, I have the transcripts of the interview. In addition, I asked the interviewer to write a short piece regarding her thoughts and perceptions of the interviews and any sense of belonging or school culture that may have been evident but that did not arise specifically in the interview. I believe this is an incredibly important aspect of understanding awareness and perception, as so much of our identity is constructed through the internal conversations (Archer, 2003) and the non-verbal communication. Of course an obvious limitation of analysing the interviewer's thoughts and feelings is that the information will be second hand, already filtered through the bias of the third party's subjective attitudes. However, my professional and personal confidence in this individual's skills and ability to 'bracket' (Joyce and Sills, 2001) her attitudes as well as the consistency in her interviewing ensures that this is the most ethical way to ascertain the greatest amount of in-depth information regarding a pupil's sense of awareness. Furthermore, I feel that given the nature of this research study, I am interested to hear the perceptions of the interviewer

whether 'bracketed' or not. The interviews will enable my making informed judgements as to the pupil's sense of awareness of the relationships around him.

So directly following the themes arising from the interviews, I will present the themes that arose from the interviewer's perceptions of the interviews.

I would like to reiterate at this point that the third person masculine is used throughout the discussion and analysis of the interviews. This is purely for ease of reading and does not indicate the gender of either the interviewee or those being discussed. But it needs to be highlighted that both young men and women were interviewed.

7.3.1 Themes Arising

I have arranged the themes that arose in the interviews into two areas that reiterate the two strands of this thesis; the child and the school culture. This is the structure – agency argument that resonates throughout this sociological topic. The focus of the thesis and schedule for the interviews was openly explained to all participants. Vignettes were used that invited exploration of a range of aspects.

The interviews were not split into exploring the child and the school separately rather the interview was free and ranging, and all comments were invited; 'no wrong answers', the ideas flowed between all the arising themes.

7.3.1.1 The Child

7.3.1.1.1 Recognition of Difference

The most striking theme to arise from the interviews and it came up in some form from every pupil spoken with, was the recognition of difference. In essence, pupils desire to be seen as special, unique and different yet this had to be achieved by being 'true to oneself'.

- *'I think if you're just yourself you can belong anywhere'*
- *'Some kids act like others but they shouldn't coz everyone is different and that's ok too. If they happen to act the same then that's chance'*

However, there was an inherent danger that this difference may be bad and could cause problems for the individual.

- *'If you're seen as different as in 'not good' then you feel, 'Oh I don't want to be like this' but if you're seen as different and unique which I'd like it to be thought of as unique as a personal character then [] I think that they would like it... 'I'm different to everybody else and people like me for it''*

This pupil articulates the challenge of the balance between being yourself and what others want you to be. When asked what this might look like, it was explained as having one's own ideas, a good imagination, being creative, being confident to dress differently, being bubbly and bright. All of these are qualities associated with a confident, happy and competent young person. But furthermore, they are associated with a young person who has been allowed the space and time required to develop agency and self-awareness; to establish a healthy sense of self.

The challenge of being able to create this unique self appropriately and without developing a negative identity was alluded to by most of the pupils. The following quotes articulate the confusion of establishing a school identity and the 'right' way of being accepted.

- *'...if you are popular then you like popular people, you try and like hang out with them because they're popular, I mean everyone wants to be popular, sort of, I mean some people don't want to be popular, I mean, I don't want to be, I don't really want to be popular, I want to be known, I want people to be like 'Oh yeah, her, she's a good person' ... and like talk to me and stuff and things like that but there are lots of popular people'*
- *'It's a secondary school, not everyone will fit in with what people say is the normal, even though everybody is normal'*

Belonging is about being fun and working hard maintaining the balance; *'someone who doesn't try to make friends or try to have fun'*.

One interviewee discussed the difficulty and resentment when regularly mistaken for another 'less normal' pupil. This other pupil in the same class had the same name and had a special educational need and also had a skin condition. The pupil used to strongly resent being confused for his namesake and asserted that the other pupil used to get 'an unfair advantage because he's disabled'.

The recognition that pupils were treated differently was explored in all the interviews. And, this difference arose from a sense of not belonging. It varied as to whether this was bias in favour or against the pupil. One interviewee acknowledged that a pupil who behaved badly probably did notice that he was treated differently *'but maybe he just*

doesn't care' and 'he might quite like it'. 'Maybe they want to be treated differently so that people recognise him out of a class'.

There was also recognition that a pupil *'might notice and realise that he's treated unfairly and isn't liked by others and although he might want to, he cannot change his reputation'*. Another pupil identified that some pupils who did not belong didn't just behave differently but also looked different.

- *'He's got a bit of a weird face but he not like weird as in weird like he's not pretty. He looks a bit funny, so you would sort of accuse him of something'*

All the interviewees explored the idea of belonging and fitting in at school. The general consensus seemed to be about attitude. This attitude was described as *'what they think and what others think about them'*, this fitted well with the definition of belonging I had defined. To reinforce the agency - structure paradigm, some of the interviewees went further to say that a sense of belonging was the responsibility of the pupil *'if they don't bother to try to make friends then it's their fault' or 'it makes me feel sorry for him and also frustrated, we make an effort and he pulls away'*.

The interviewees acknowledged that certain pupils think school is a *'waste of time'* and *'think there's something wrong with the school rather than themselves'*. These pupils don't realise that *'at some point you're supposed to settle down'* and if you don't *'you'll be a dustman'*. Another described the lack of resilience of some pupils. If things happen you *'shouldn't take it with you', 'some kids hold a grudge'*. This pupil said that it was the *'kids' responsibility to leave it [the issues] in the room'*.

This condemning attitude was at odds with other comments about their desire to help their peers to belong. Every pupil interviewed described a pupil who was either not

liked by others, didn't fit in, behaved very badly etc. but made it very clear that they themselves make an effort with them or found them to be OK or even were able to intervene in challenging behaviour. One even went so far as to say they felt 'happy' when they saw another pupil being rewarded or given special treatment. This highlighted for me the salience of the paradox between general attitudes and the actual experience of the transactions that they might have.

This section explored the pupils' attitudes to belonging from the point of view of the child. The defining features of this section are the recognition of the difference between pupils. Furthermore, it is the establishment of a healthy sense of self that enables some pupils to belong and others not. There was a definite sense that belonging is about being OK with yourself and having a strong sense of self. There was also the acknowledgement that this is difficult to change; a factor identified in labelling theory. This leads on, therefore, to the influence of the school.

7.3.1.2 The School Culture

7.3.1.2.1 Space

Another arising theme is the idea of the environment, the physical surroundings. Several of the interviewees identified that knowing the school environment was important. One interviewee equated a strong sense of belonging with the ability to orient oneself in the school, with a pupil being identified as strongly belonging to school as having '*orientation sorted in a week*'... he had made a big '*effort to remember the school*'. There was recognition by several interviewees that feeling '*safe*' and '*free*' in the surroundings was key. Others described the best classroom climates as 'happy and

home-ish', 'warm' and 'big but not too big'. The words used literally imply a familiarity with the surroundings particularly in the case of 'home-ish'.

In terms of specific places to go, most stated that they struggled to find somewhere to be at breaks, with rules around where they could 'hang out' and for how long. Two pupils expressed annoyance about not having a base and having to carry everything all day.

Both these points imply that the pupil needs to truly know where he is and understand the structures that he exists in but then to be able to have choice and freedom within them. This is the instrumental side of an equally salient metaphorical aspect of the same key issue; freedom to develop agency and a sense of self within understandable and acceptable structure. This is a key argument in the following chapter and conclusion around what a school can do to strengthen belonging through cultural Character.

7.3.1.2.2 Teachers

Although not specifically probed as the reason for belonging or not and behaviour or not, teachers were discussed at length by all the interviewees. The interviewer explored the differing accounts of 'good' and 'bad' teachers through supplementary questioning.

- *'[teacher] is really nice I mean I'm not saying he's like bad, I'm just saying he's just not trying to teach us all that we can achieve really'.*

The general consensus amongst the interviews was that there was a desire for consistency and structure but this was termed differently. One pupil felt discipline should be expected at all times, another described a desire for the class to feel safe,

another thought all teachers should be *'strict'* and that *'nice teachers mean people get away with it'*.

The other consensus was about how the teachers made them feel. *'A bad teacher makes us feel like we're dumb'*. In addition, this feeling not only affected them but also resonated throughout the class.

- *'I think, umm they should be strict but they should be nice as well, but I want that person to like make you feel like really confident in that class, and make you feel like you're not the only one in that class, that loads of people around you are like really confident as well.'*

There was a sense that teachers ought to make time to see pupils as people and encourage their development of agency and self-awareness.

- *'I think that's really nice to like show interest like in a pupil rather than just showing interest in just teaching them'*

This reinforces the findings in the earlier section where a healthy sense of self and identity made for a stronger sense of belonging. And those teachers successful in doing this made the learning experience significantly better.

- *'I remember in year seven, because umm, we'd had a lesson and we just asked the question and he'd answer and I learned loads more in that than I did in like three lessons of him saying right 'just do this' because he was giving us the freedom to have our queries about it so that we would know'*

These attitudes resonate with the previous theme of environment; the pupil desiring a clarity and understanding of the surroundings (rules and structure) but with freedom

within. This poses a challenging balance for teachers; to offer structure and consistency but also allowing for the space of self-discovery. I suppose that it is fear of what might emerge in these spaces that stops a teacher from creating them, as it is presumably these spaces that pupils with challenging behaviour, seek to fill.

Most of the interviewees identified teachers turning against the whole class when the behaviour of one is challenging. Several even articulated the '*tension*' and heightened '*sensitivity*' teachers have and described the seeming anxiety a teacher has of being behind in the syllabus. One interviewee even equated teaching a class to training dogs. Stating that they should be assertive not aggressive and '*they shouldn't shout but change their voice and tone*' then you realise they are angry.

Having in the previous section identified the need for the pupils to have a strong sense of self to have a strong sense of belonging; this was also identified for teachers. Several identified specific teachers describing them as open; one stating '*he's proud of himself and happy with himself*'.

The interviewees also attended to the teachers most likely able to resolve problems and issues. This explored the perception of a teacher's ability to have time and space to help. There was a sense that although teachers say come and talk to them, they don't have the time, inclination or power to do what is needed

- '*...it's not gonna get done if it's just a teacher, because teachers got a lot of things to do, but like my form teacher, my form teacher would say 'Oh go and talk to [head of year] or go and talk to [school counsellor] about it. Because he's that kind of person, who's got a lot on his case and he's like 'come talk to me,*

come talk to me', so we'd go and talk but he'd probably say 'oh I wouldn't be able to sort that problem out, you'll have to go to [head of year]'

7.3.1.2.3 Exclusion

The attitude towards exclusion was very similar to that found in the preliminary research staff questionnaire. Ultimately the pupils interviewed recognised that exclusion was not good for the individual but good for those in the class who wanted to work, and the others don't care either way. One interviewee described how the class as a whole suffered as there was an unpredictable absence. They equated having someone intermittently missing as just as disruptive as having the pupil there with his disruptive behaviour. This married up with the suggestions made in the second situational case-study (ii) – The Boys and Classroom Collapse (p192) - where it was the atmosphere or character of the classroom that needed to change rather than specific pupil presences or absences.

Earlier, an interviewee described the class as training dogs, another pupil used a similarly powerful metaphor to help explain the ineffective use of repeated exclusion; *'If you only shout at a baby, they get used to it!'*

When asked for alternative approaches, the consensus was clear. People should be talked to about problems. However, how this was arranged or implemented was more fuzzy as several interviewees identified the unwillingness of pupils to talk. Some went so far as to say it was the pupil's fault if they didn't get help. It is important to remember here that all those pupils interviewed would consider themselves as 'belonging' and were confident in their attitudes and ability to communicate. They had a strong sense of self and were able to suggest who they could approach if they needed

support. There was a palpable sense of vilification towards those who didn't or couldn't seek help. The annoyance indicated by the pupils at others' perceived need struck me as emanating from an irrational fear or ignorance of another's weakness. This is similar to the findings of Menzies (1960) who found the nurses rejected the vulnerabilities in others to control against the fear of vulnerability in them.

7.3.2 Summary of Findings

The themes arising from the issues have a common thread and that is around an individual's ability to develop a healthy sense of self, for example a sense of agency, self-awareness and self-efficacy and deal with situations in the here and now.

The pupils' ability to identify those who do not belong, and furthermore why they do not belong was powerful. There was a recognition that those pupils who know and like who they are, belong. There was also the recognition that some pupils strive to be seen and this can mean a bad difference rather than a unique difference.

The desire in both environment and teachers to have clear (and enforced) structure yet with the freedom to be autonomous within that is very interesting. This attitude resonates with the idea of the bond to conformity (Hirschi 1969). If there is a bond, it will control us, we know the rules and we chose to move within them. If there is a weak or non-existent bond, we cannot be controlled by the conforming structure. For the pupil to feel able to be free within the structure, they must first bond to the structure. Also significant was the sense that teachers have issues too, that they are tense or over-sensitive and need a strong sense of self too.

The final theme regarding exclusion resonated with feedback from the staff questionnaire. The pupils and staff indicated that those who behave badly represent something to be feared and shunned. They signify the abject, those who can't be helped. When attempts are made to support, if unsuccessful then it is the fault of the child. However, inevitably, if one approaches a situation in this way (even subconsciously) this is evident in the transaction.

7.3.3 Interviewer's Perceptions

My colleague is an experienced researcher and interviewer. She has worked with a range of different groups including marginalised and vulnerable groups. I was confident that she would be able to put the pupils being interviewed at ease and prompt conversation that would explore the issues of belonging to school. The relaxed responses of the interviewees confirm this.

I felt, however, that I would like to explore some of her thoughts following the interviews. To ascertain which topics, areas or issues were most significant as perceived by her in the interview rather than purely what was said verbatim. Of course, this highly subjective opinion might in fact skew the attitudes that were presented but I feel that the interviewer's perception of what was important is key to understanding this area. I was careful to ensure that I analysed the officially obtained information prior to exploring the comments made by the interviewer after the interviews so as not to bias my findings.

To follow are the three themes that struck the interviewer as significant, directly following the interview process. They seem to echo the findings of the interviews themselves.

1. Teachers Focus on Academia not Support

The interviewer felt that there was an assumption that teachers automatically like academic attainment. This attitude rose out of one of the vignettes that invited consideration of two pupils.

In brief, Jack was popular with kids and pupils but low achieving and Jim was high achieving but disliked by both pupils and teachers. This vignette prompted considerable discussion with a confusion around the fact that teachers would always like a high achiever, however he behaved.

This attitude persisted when talking about 'good' and 'bad' teachers, with the interviewer noticing the conveyance and perception of tension and stress around achievement and performance.

Her other strong sense was around the lack of space for listening and hearing on the part of the teachers. Furthermore, the interviewer was surprised to hear that the Inclusion Unit (IU) was perceived by the interviewees as a punishment, that there was no support rather just an expectation to work in silence. However she did comment that this was the attitude of very confident and self-assured pupils with no direct experience or knowledge of the IU. She speculated as to how many pupils come out of IU telling others how they addressed their problems.

These were interesting points to consider alongside the previous interview findings as they flag up the need for space to address issues but also the lack of awareness that this space might already be available.

2. Environment

The second theme arising directly ties in with that of the previous section. What came across to the interviewer very strongly were the importance of the environment (colour, light etc.) and the ability of the teacher to make the class feel like home. Furthermore she identified the comments around freedom within the class and school as a very powerful theme.

3. Stage of Pupils

This final theme was identified and named both in terms of the interviewer's perceptions of attitudes of the pupils in the interviews but also as a ubiquitous theme for pupils in the school. The interviewer was very impressed with the competence and awareness of all the pupils interviewed and their ability to clarify their beliefs and attitudes. She described the strong sense of self that came across in the interviewees and this was evident in the non-verbal communication. The interviewer was able to distinguish the differing positions on the continuum of self-acceptance and school sense of belonging with one pupil in particular being able to describe eloquently and candidly experience nearer the boundaries of acceptable behaviour in school.

In terms of school, the interviewer emphasized the theme of how pupils believe they are perceived by others. Highlighting as significant, the sense of popularity amongst peers but also drawing attention to the empathy that pupils feel for each other. The interviewer perceived a sense that there was a difference in the way some pupils communicate, that there was an 'interpersonal breakdown', a 'blockage' which meant that some pupils could not exist comfortably within the school. This final element ties back up with the former, being about space to communicate.

7.4 Analysis Summary

In this chapter, I have explored how the school cultural Character affects a pupil's sense of belonging. I took first the ethnographic observations made about the school, highlighting the specific features of this school that go to create the school's unique culture. These are the influencing factors such as language and community culture as well as the policies and practices that feature in the school. I believe this first section highlighted the complex, wide-ranging and potentially contradictory factors that challenge the school and those who work and learn there. I then went on to discuss the findings from an early piece of preliminary research exploring staff attitudes to behaviour and exclusion in school. With my conclusion from this section reinforcing the contradictory position of wanting to offer support to pupils who don't belong but being unable, ill-equipped or disinclined to follow through.

Through contextual examples, I explored some of the dynamics of classrooms. These threw up recognition of the difference between those who belong and those who don't. Furthermore it underlined the recognition of the difference by the pupils themselves and the reinforcement of this position by some in the school.

The final summary of analysis comes from the interviews and the comments from the interviewer. Again the experience of difference between pupils as treated by the school and perceived by the pupils was evident. Pupils desire to be recognised, to be seen. Those who are *seen*, are then 'happy' to accept themselves within a greater body, those who are not *seen* strive to be so, to their detriment, never finding their place within the system. The pupil is held responsible for not being 'normal' or 'better', or for not accepting help. The school is held responsible for perpetuating the position by not providing the space to address issues effectively. Rather they are removed as they

represent the weakness and vulnerability of individuals and the school itself. This final point made me question the validity of many diagnoses of need and disorder as the teacher excuses his own failings as a fault in the child.

Chapter 8: Strengthening Belonging and School Cultural Character

The previous two chapters have explored the developing thesis that school cultural Character has an effect on a pupil's sense of belonging and subsequent behaviour in school. In this third analysis chapter, I will explore the third and final research question. This question considers what the school can do to strengthen a pupil's sense of belonging. The previous chapter indicated that certain dimensions of Character are significant when thinking about belonging based on my and a selection of pupils perceptions. For example, one of the themes arising as most significant regarding a sense of belonging is around difference. This supports the findings in the first analysis chapter that found the pupil's perception of the school's bond to him and to others as linked to belonging and behaviour.

Throughout this thesis, I have identified the challenge in bringing together two fields of theory; criminological and psychotherapeutic. I also recognized the challenges of an integrated methodology where I collate quantitative and qualitative approaches and findings in a valid and convincing way. In the previous chapter, I focused on cultural Character through ethnographic observation and perception but highlighted the difficulty in capturing such a quality. In this chapter, I will explore the issues of school culture through existing and accepted measures. The use of school climate measures to quantitatively analyse data collected from pupils will allow me to strengthen conclusions relating to school climate, belonging and behaviour made in the previous chapters. These will also begin to offer practical solutions as to strengthening cultural Character in terms of areas to focus on. The second part of this chapter will focus on approaches implemented in this school to address misbehaviour, exclusion and inclusion. In this section, I will present the policy and practice I developed for this school and will also

include statistical information as to the effect of the Inclusion Unit (IU) on inclusion and exclusion. I will leave the recommendations regarding how this thesis can be used to support school cultural Character change and strengthening sense of belonging to the final chapter, the conclusion.

8.1 School Cultural Character through School Climate Measures

As recognised above, taking a measure of school cultural Character is difficult but exploring the Technics (rules, policy and structure) and the Etiquette (approaches, practice and delivery) is more straightforward. As Berne's is a more therapeutic model rather than a sociological model, the construct of even these elements are not specifically articulated. However, as considerable investigation has been made into the defining of school climate, (see literature review) to ensure investigative rigor I will use accepted school climate measures in order to quantitatively explore this concept.

Questions were selected from the questionnaire to give an overview of the pupils' experience of school climate. Coming out of the literature on school climate by Reinke and Herman (2002) but also incorporating the ideas from Welsh (2001), Spratt (2002) and others the questions selected were intended to represent communication patterns; norms about appropriateness; role relationships; patterns of influence and accommodation; and reward and sanction (Reinke and Herman 2002:522) and these are the headings chosen for the discussion of climate.

Under each school climate heading, I will examine the distribution of responses made by the year group as a whole and then of those who have self-reported three or more categories of misbehaviour (n=35). In the following discussion, this group will be termed

'misbehaviour group'. The emphasis is to look at the group data from different perspectives. The year group data set is made up of pupils who behave and those who misbehave so give an overview of the school culture. The misbehaviour group overlaps in terms of data but gives the specific perspective of pupils with a certain attitude and sense of belonging.

For ease of visual comparison between the two groups (year group and misbehaviour group) I have presented these findings in pie charts. In labelling these, I have interpreted disagreement with the statement as the opposite of agreement rather than labelling *agree* or *disagree*. For example, for the first statement, *Teachers don't have time to talk* has a polar position of *Teachers DO have time to talk*. The reason for my making this interpretive conclusion is for ease of comparison of the two positions. I do acknowledge that the disagreement with the statement may be less definite. In the cases where there is a potentially alternative response, I will discuss this specifically.

It is to be expected that these findings will be different, with the misbehaviour pupils having a skewed attitude to the school's climate, different to that of the year group as a whole. As concluded in the previous chapter, I can assert that these pupils with the most misbehaviour are also those least likely to '*not belong*' to school. Therefore, in each case (question or statement) I will explore the implications of the attitudes to the school cultural *Character* (school climate measures) amongst those who have, to use the terminology of this thesis, the weakest sense of belonging.

8.1.1 Communication Patterns

8.1.1.1 'Teachers don't have time to talk'

Three questions were selected to refer to communication patterns in school and also incorporate an element of 'pupil voice'. The first question was 'teachers don't have time to talk'.

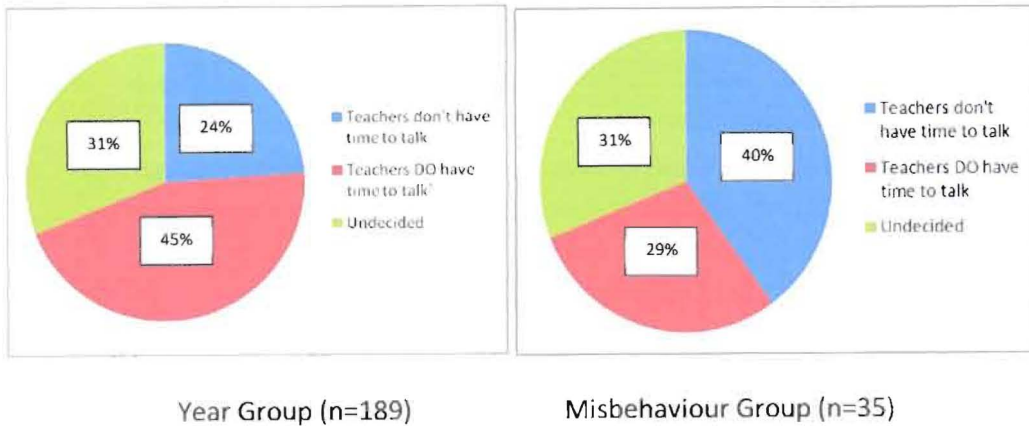


Fig 8.1 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'Teachers don't have time to talk'

In the main, the year group consensus was that teachers were available to talk. For the 35 pupils who reported committing three or more misbehaviours in school, the misbehaviour group, there was a marked shift to the negative position - an almost reversed finding to that of the year group as a whole. This indicates that trends highlighted by the year group as a whole for communication, are not wholly reflected by the attitudes of those pupils who commit three or more offences. It seems some pupils in the misbehaviour group experience the school as not fulfilling the communication patterns desired for a school with a good climate.

8.1.1.2 'Teachers just want you to be quiet'

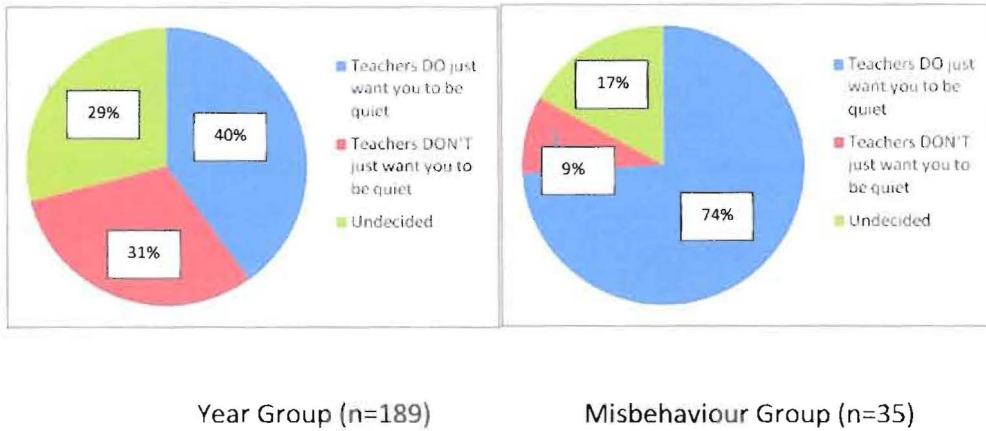


Fig 8.2 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'Teachers just want you to be quiet'

The implication of these findings is that pupils who 'don't belong' have a sense of not being able to express themselves; that their voices are not heard. This reinforces the literature regarding the importance of pupil voice in school climate, but highlights that possible changes to the climate in the area of communication attend only to those who perceive it as such, not necessarily those who are most in need of experiencing it. Although pupil voice may be assessed by a school population as fair, those pupils who *least belong* and who it might be argued are most important to hear, do not perceive the climate as such.

8.1.1.3 'I have no control over what happens to me'

The final statement in this section regarding communication patterns refers to pupil participation; 'I have no control over what happens to me'. The difference between year group and misbehaving group is less stark.

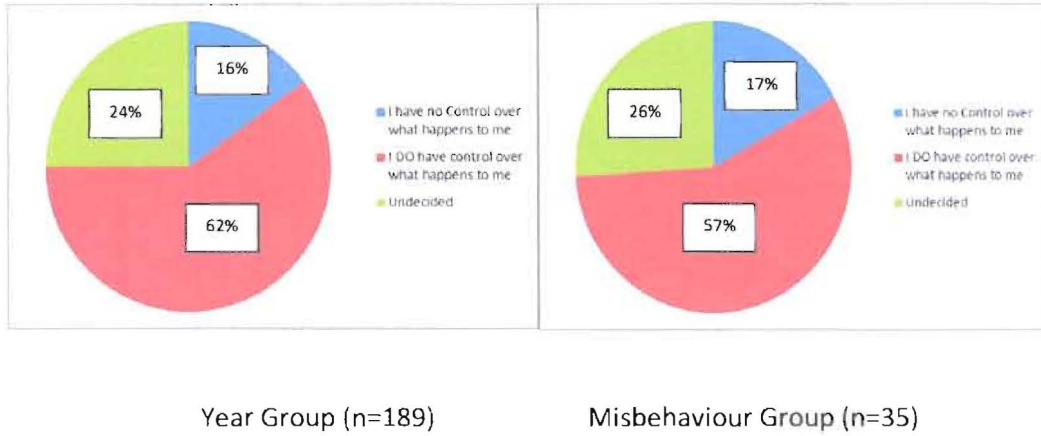


Fig 8.3 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'I have no control over what happens to me'

Already in the exploration of school climate, seemingly significant is the individual pupil's perception when compared to that of the consensus of the year group. Although the year group as a whole found the school relatively strong in terms of communication patterns (using these three measures only), for two of the measures there was a difference when the perception of those who misbehave was explored. Although there is no difference between the attitudes of pupils who misbehave and the whole sample when responding to 'how much control they have over what happens to them' the other two measures tell a different story. Pupils who self-report three or more misbehaviours are less likely to perceive the school as having time to talk to them or having their voices are heard.

8.1.2 Norms about Appropriateness

8.1.2.1 'To be better than others, you have to do some things which are not right'

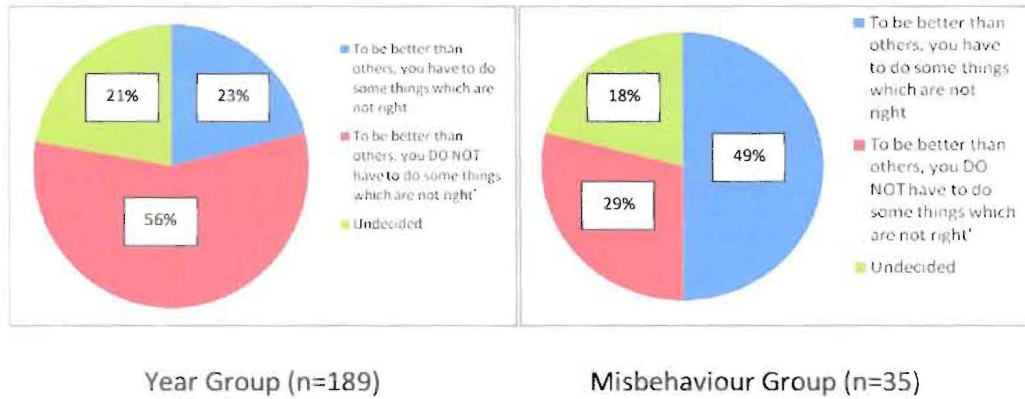


Fig 8.4 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'To be better than others, you have to do some things that are not right'

This year group consensus does imply a healthy recognition of the norms for behaviour. However the misbehaviour group, perhaps unsurprisingly, shows an almost reversed position. The implication of this finding is clear: pupils who exhibit misbehaviour in school tend to shift their perception of and adherence to norms. These pupils excuse their behaviour by making it acceptable in terms of norms. This question is one of those that might have alternate positions in refuting the statement. Rather than a pupil having to do or not do some things that are not right, it might be that the response refers to the earlier part of the question, to be better than others. However, I am most interested in specifically the perception of the relationships fostered by the culture, so am reading the responses to this question as such.

8.1.2.2 'Most students at school commit crime'

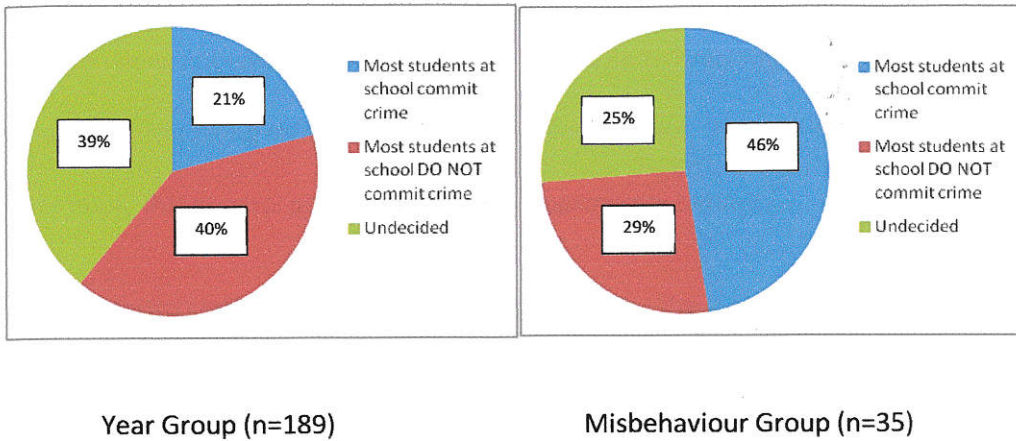


Fig 8.5 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'Most students at school commit crime'

The reversed findings depicted in the above charts highlight again the difference in attitude to norms about appropriateness that exist in the school between the year group as a whole and those who misbehave.

8.1.2.3 'It is OK to break rules or laws if you aren't going to get caught'

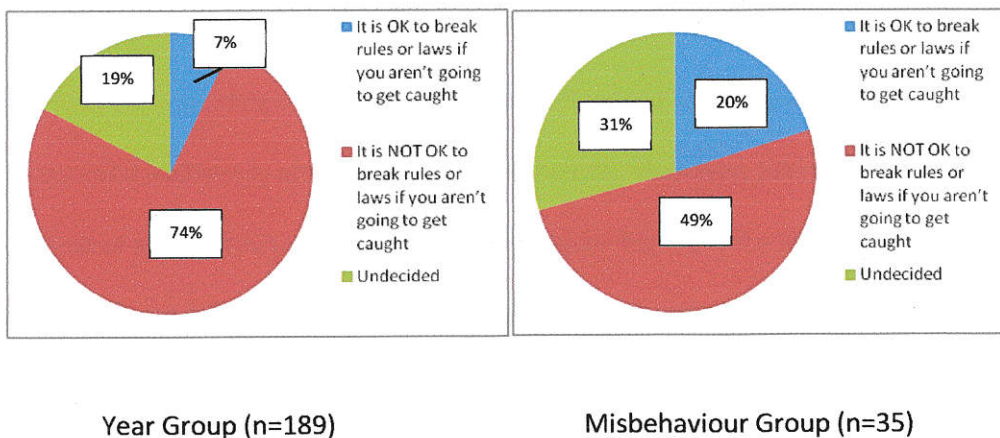


Fig 8.6 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'It is OK to break the rules if you aren't going to get caught'

The misbehaviour group mirrors the year group, with half of this group disagreeing with the statement however nearly three times as many agree. However, the phrasing of the question does not take into account pupils' response to breaking rules generally whether or not being caught is a possibility. Nonetheless, the refuting of this statement does imply this general position in terms of appropriate behaviour.

This is a particularly interesting question as it explores the idea that although a pupil might display delinquent behaviour, he is able to recognise right and wrong. This is one aspect that further supports control theory as opposed to strain theory or particularly cultural deviance theory that intimate that an individual might not be able to identify the norms that are acceptable for society. Control theory on the other hand recognises that the individual is aware of the expectations and norms of society but that the bond to conformity is weak or broken. This statement is therefore useful to reinforce that for some in the misbehaviour group, norms about appropriateness are recognised but not adhered to. Thus changes to school climate through reform are again about perception and strengthening of the bond for all not just the many.

Of course the attitudes around norms about appropriateness are not merely the construct or moulding of the school, but are influenced by numerous other factors such as parental and family attitudes and peer influence. However, taking the findings in the context of school however constructed, does again highlight the importance of the school climate for reinforcing (if not co-creating) such attitudes.

Similar to communication patterns, the climate in terms of norms of appropriateness is due to perception of the pupil. Therefore changes to these norms need to be accessed specifically by those who contradict them rather than the general population.

8.1.3 Role Relationships

I selected three questions that attempted to explore the relationship between pupil and teacher. This is slightly different to communication patterns as it attends to the pupils' expectations of theirs and others' roles in school. The role relationships intend to define the clarity by which a school defines its roles and in this case, the statements selected explore the role identity of the teacher in relation to the pupil.

8.1.3.1 'Teachers understand students'

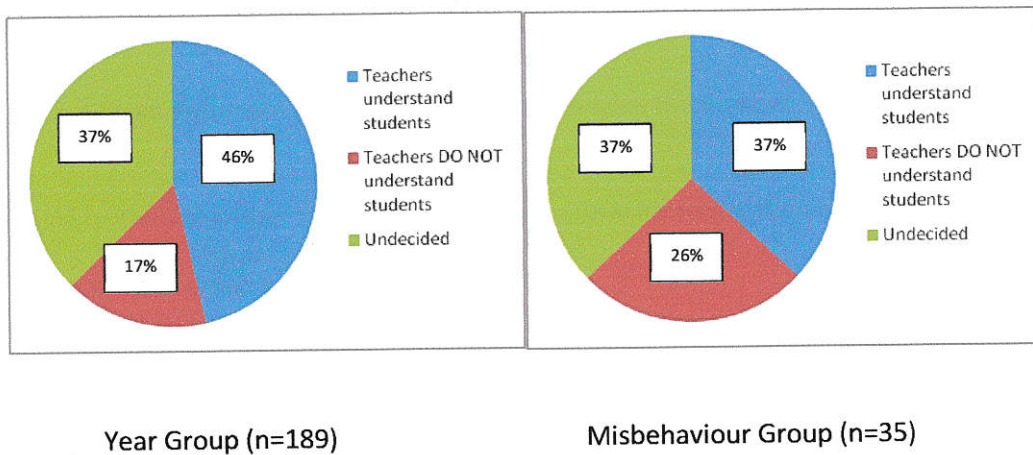
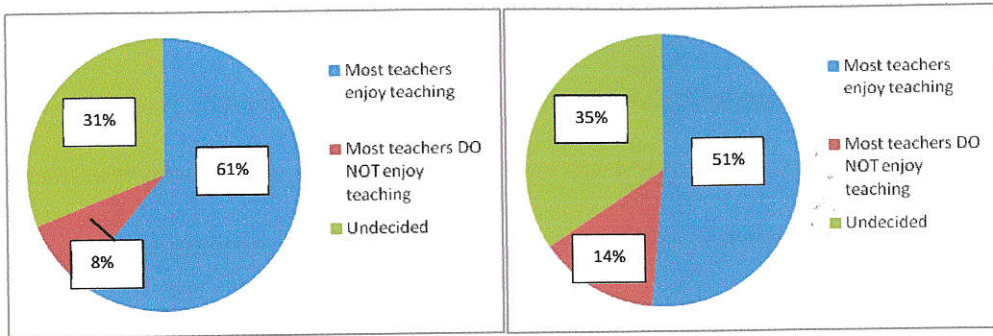


Fig 8.7 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'Teachers understand students'

The pattern with both groups is similar but for the misbehaviour group, the clarity of the attitudes toward role relationships is less distinct.

8.1.3.2 'Most teachers enjoy teaching'

The small group also echoed the larger group for this question, and again the misbehaviour group shows a slightly less marked proportional split than the year group as a whole.



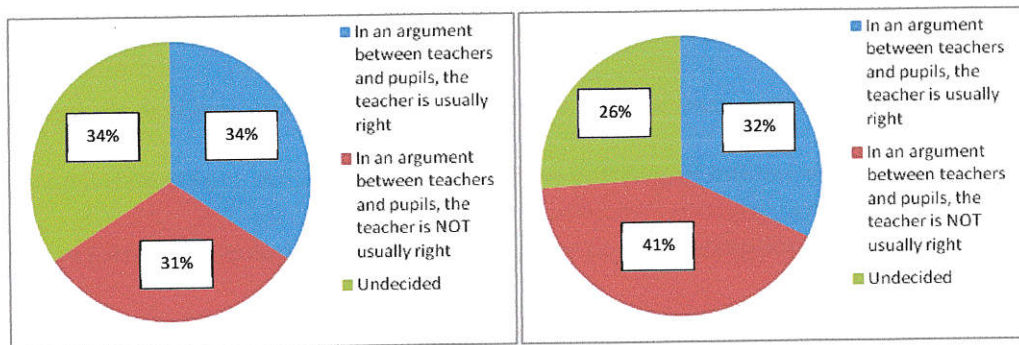
Year Group (n=189)

Misbehaviour Group (n=35)

Fig 8.8 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – ‘Most teachers enjoy teaching’

8.1.3.3 ‘In an argument between teachers and pupils, the teacher is usually right’

Again responses follow the trend of the small group mirroring the year group as a whole but to a less marked extent.



Year Group (n=189)

Misbehaviour Group (n=35)

Fig 8.9 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – ‘In an argument between teachers and pupils, the teacher is usually right’

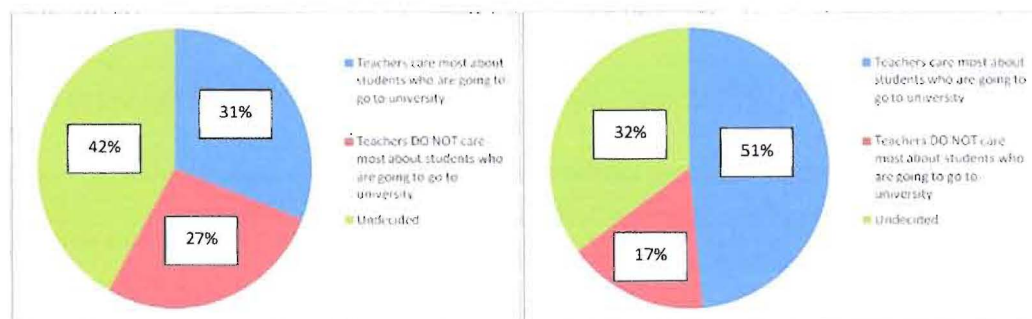
All three questions in this category of Role Relationships suggest there to be little variation as to the attitudes and perceptions of a pupil; irrespective of their behaviour.

This implies that role relationships of teachers are clearly defined by this school and maintained for all pupils in this school. This may be a finding specific to this school or indeed it might be a common finding in school climate measures in all schools. It would therefore suggest that potential reformations within this and other schools to address this aspect of school climate are likely to influence attitudes of all pupils.

8.1.4 Patterns of Influence and Accommodation

This is a 'catch-all' expression, capturing ideas about school and class size and the structure of the school day with more elusive measures around influential ethos and drives. I have not selected questions regarding accommodation such as class size, supervision etc. as they are not aspects of school life that can be changed in this school. Instead I have included three questions and statements that go to describe the driving motivations behind the school. It is hoped that analysis of questions around the school's attitude to academic achievement and how the climate encourages pupils to be perceived by others, information regarding the patterns of influence can be explored. This in turn is particularly useful in capturing the pupil's perception of the school's influence.

8.1.4.1 'Teachers care most about students who are going to go to university'



Year Group (n=189)

Misbehaviour Group (n=35)

Fig 8.10 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'Teachers care most about students who are going to go to university'

The majority of the year group as a whole chose undecided when asked whether the teachers cared more about the children who were going to go to university. Overtly, this neither supports nor refutes the notion that the school focuses on academic attainment. It seems that despite this school (as for many others in the UK today) suffering from a staff room based attitude of the school being an 'exam factory', the pupils do not seem to view it as such.

However, the findings for the misbehaviour group suggest that despite efforts to ensure the climate represent the school as academically inclusive, those most likely to misbehave and who have the weakest sense of belonging (and are often but not always least academically able) do not perceive it as such. Rather these pupils perceive the climate to be academically driven.

8.1.4.2 'Most teachers know their subject'

This was a reassuringly positive finding across both samples. Both as a year group but also in the misbehaviour group, a clear majority believe that 'most teachers know their subject'. Overall the trend highlights that the school employs teachers with good subject knowledge and it is perceived as such throughout the year group irrespective of behaviour. This indicates a similar pattern of findings as for Role Relationships.

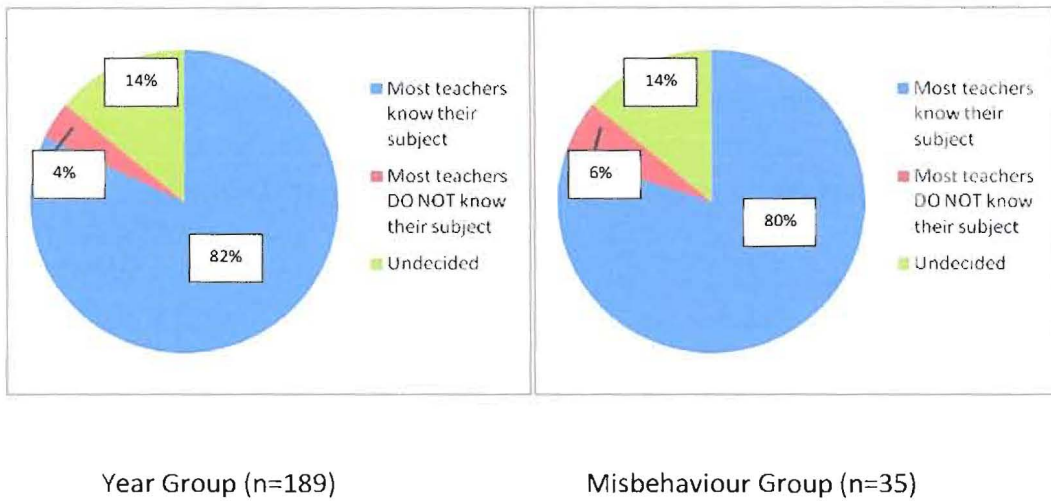


Fig 8.11 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'Most teachers know their subject'

8.1.4.3 'At school, I pretend to be someone I am not'

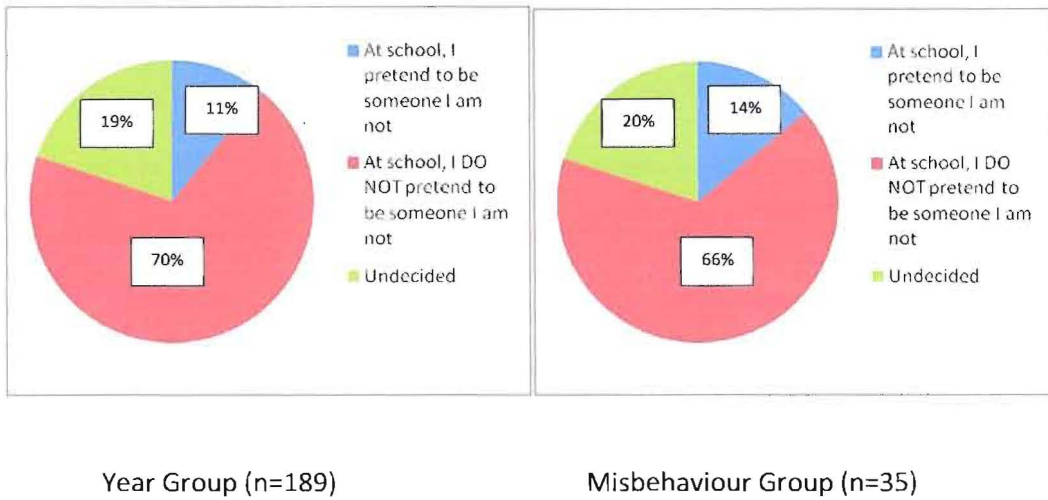


Fig 8.12 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'At school, I pretend to be someone I am not'

The following two questions explore how the school influences pupils in terms of how they feel they should be perceived by the school and others. The consensus for the year group suggests that the patterns of influence at school are experienced by all pupils irrespective of behaviour, therefore a potentially powerful element to impact when addressing cultural change.

The overall findings for this patterns of influence category of school climate, suggest that pupils' perceptions of the school's focus and how the pupil should be perceived by others hold irrespective of behaviour. Similar to the findings of Role Relationships, the measures for Patterns of Influence generally indicate a consensus irrespective of behaviour.

8.1.5 Reward and Sanction

This study has not explicitly explored reward and sanction as it is my firm belief and the driving thesis that it is not necessarily the 'what' but the 'how' that is relevant. The relationships and the authenticity of the reward or sanction is what foster the sense of belonging, not the outcome in and of itself. However, I have included three statements that explore aspects of reward and sanction.

8.1.5.1 'The school rules are fair'

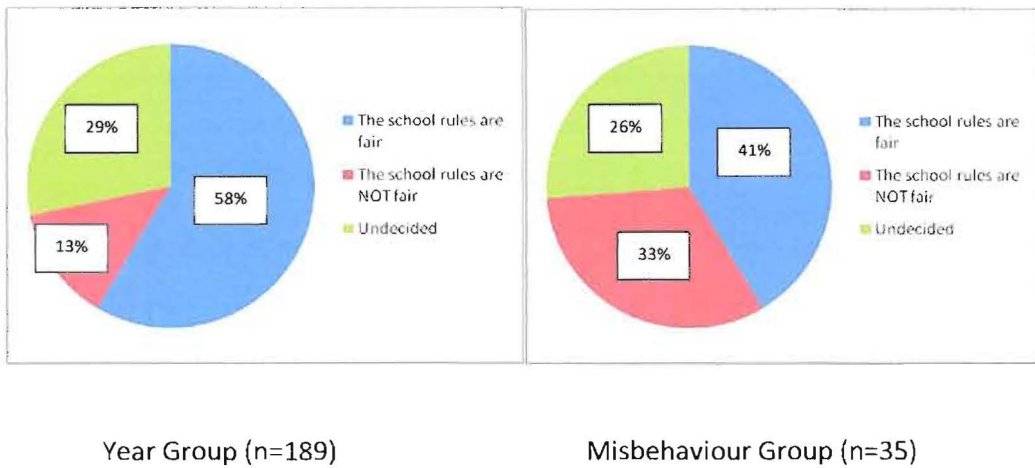


Fig 8.13 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'The school rules are fair'

Within the general year group trend, the majority is in agreement with the school rules. The smaller misbehaviour group show a different split in attitude to school rules. The majority do maintain a concurrence with the fairness of school rules. But the proportion of those asserting that the school rules are NOT fair is more than double that of the year group.

8.1.5.2 'Most teachers keep good discipline in class'

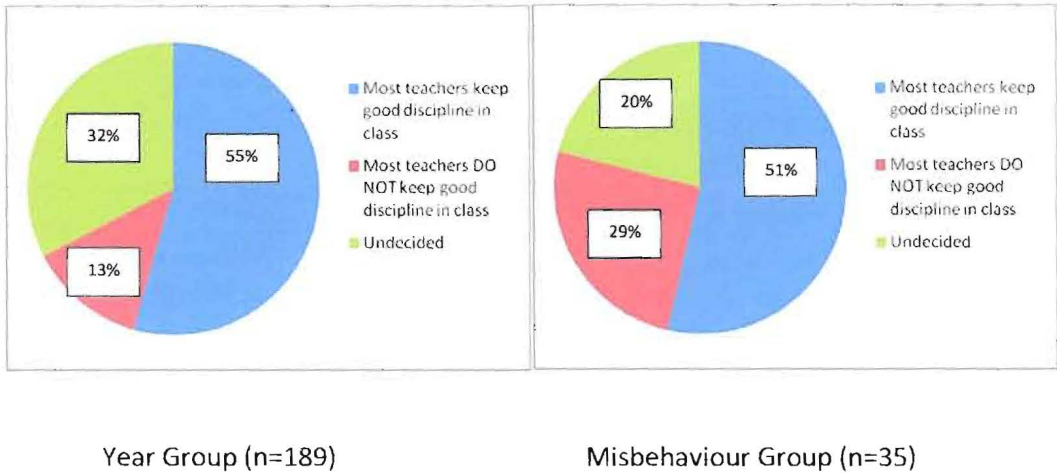
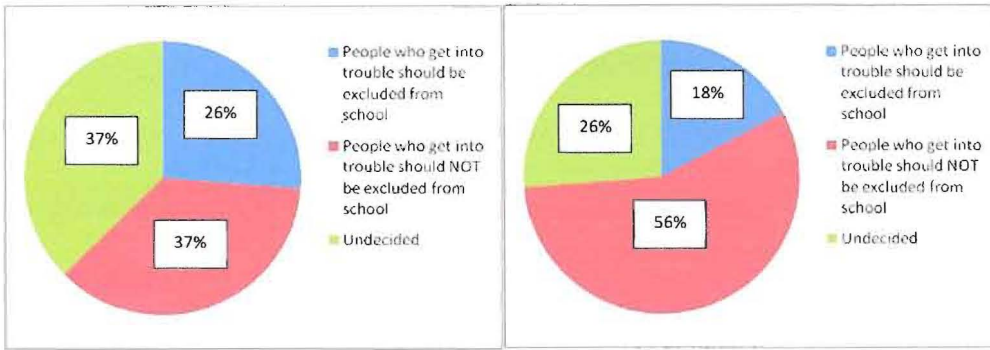


Fig 8.14 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'Most teachers keep good discipline in class'

Although the majority of both the year group and the misbehaviour group identify good discipline being maintained by the teachers, more than twice the number of misbehaving pupils identify teachers as not having good discipline. Seemingly, pupils in the misbehaviour group attribute poor teacher discipline, and by extension responsibility for their misbehaviour, to the teacher. This point (attribution of teacher responsibility) was also articulated in the interviews.

8.1.5.3 'People who get into trouble should be excluded from school'



Year Group (n=189)

Misbehaviour Group (n=35)

Fig 8.15 Comparison of Year Group and Misbehaviour Group – 'People who get into trouble should be excluded from school'

The distribution of response was proportionally very equal in the year group with three quarters of the pupils either sure that exclusion was not the best response or were unsure, indicating that exclusion might not be the best response. This finding indicates a pupil position at odds with exclusion policy and practice. Both in terms of a policy imposing a regularly implemented sanction and also the wide-held belief within senior management that it is the pupils who are strict, and who want the troublemakers to be excluded, not the staff. The discussion around exclusion emanating from the interviews explored this area more fully.

The misbehaviour group are even more adamant that exclusion is not the most appropriate response to troublesome behaviour. Perhaps, these pupils hold the answer as to the best response as to an appropriate sanction to people getting into trouble, but certainly they concur as to the importance of continuous education and do not think that exclusion from school is appropriate.

In terms of reward and sanction, although rules are generally considered fair, the sanctions in response to behaviour are not necessarily supported when controlling for behaviour. Although the differences in the two samples are not as marked as those for two measures of communication patterns and norms of appropriateness, there is a difference in attitudes between the pupil body as a whole year group and those who self-report three or more categories of misbehaviour.

8.1.6 Conclusions Regarding School Climate

From these findings, I would assert that the climate of this school is generally positive and is perceived as such by the general population of pupils. The attitudes of those who misbehave - indicating a weak sense of belonging - follow the general trends for measures around Role Relationships (school and teachers' creation and maintenance of their roles) and Patterns of Influence and Accommodation (how these roles influence the pupils). It could be argued that it is these two measures that can and are defined and monitored by the Technics and Etiquette – what one has to do and what one is supposed to do. These are understood by the whole school population clearly. However for the other three measures; two aspects of Communication Patterns (how pupils and teachers interact), Norms of Appropriateness (the co-created expectations of behaviour) and Reward and Sanction (acceptance and belief in the written and unwritten rules and expectations) there is a substantial difference in responses from the year group and those who misbehave. It is these that define the *Character* of the school – what one wants to do – and it is for this reason that there is disparity between the two groups.

This variation in perception of some school climate measures and not others invites key questions:

1. Where the misbehaviour group mirrors the general consensus of the year group, what is the perception of the school climate? What can be done to address the school climate?
2. Where there is a difference between the pupils who misbehave and the year group trend, how can this climate measure be addressed for those who misbehave specifically?

In answer to the first question, the general perception of the school is positive. In terms of Role Relationships, the majority believe that teachers understand pupils (a much smaller proportion believes they don't). However, a similarly large proportion were undecided, this indicates that although not necessarily a negative opinion, automatic agreement was not the case. A large proportion cannot confirm that they are understood by teachers. This attitude was echoed in the question regarding whether teachers enjoyed teaching. Most concur, but a not insignificant proportion could not decide. This again indicates that there is a sense of unease or recognition of teachers' unhappiness in their teaching role. Finally, the split was very even between agreement, disagreement and undecided when identifying the moral winner in arguments between pupils and teachers. I would take this to be a cultural or general indication of indecision in the school. There is no clarity in the role relationship when there is conflict. From this overview, I would suggest that more could be done to establish and support role relationships in the school, in terms of pupils experiencing more positive interaction and transaction in the classroom and in non-subject specific arenas.

In terms of Patterns of Influence, there is a much more positive response regarding the climate of the school indicated by more consensuses. Teachers do know their subject and although there is a small acknowledgement of a teacher preference to pupils who will go to university, generally the response indicates no bias, probably due to the respondents being only in year eight. Furthermore, generally pupils report being able to be themselves (not *pretending to be someone I'm not*), indicating being able to do so. This final question does elaborate on findings in other areas where pupils are striving to be recognised as different but clarifies that the pupil believes this to be the 'real' them not a pretence version. Overall, these findings suggest that the school cultivates a sense of equality and acceptance amongst the pupils and that teachers are able to deliver the subject matter required.

The other three school climate measures; Communication Patterns, Norms of Appropriateness and Reward and Sanction need to have a more tailored approach to attend to the attitudes of those who misbehave.

Communication Patterns could be addressed through increased opportunities to listen and hear pupils. As indicated in the interview analysis in the previous chapter and the situational case-study (iv) set in the Key skills lesson (p196), there is a sense that those who misbehave get side-lined or ignored as the teacher might fear the responses given. Furthermore, pupils can be given opportunities to make suggestions, or input influence of decision that are going to affect them such as subject choice, vocational options or sanctions. This marries up with Munn et al's (2000) suggestions for a more collaborative approach to exclusion rather than hierarchical.

Norms of Appropriateness can be addressed by fostering an acceptance of differing outcomes or ability rather than fostering competition (Mone et al 1995). Furthermore,

this can be done with openness about what's OK and what's not OK and how behaviour affects other people rather than quiet blame and rejection. Again, there needs to be clarity of rules and sanctions being made part of everyday ritual to ensure that everybody is conscious of expectations.

Finally, Reward and Sanction, there is a definite perception amongst those who misbehave that they are treated differently and unfairly; that rules are unfair and sanctions are inappropriate. This also ties in with the interview findings. To address these areas with those pupils most in need of strengthening the sense of belonging, opportunities to enable said pupils to be part of the contributory process of rule-making and sanction setting would be effective. This requires the school taking a risk, listening and hearing the comments and issues that are voiced by these particular pupils.

It is important to remember that these are the aspects of school climate that attend to the child's perception of their own identity in school rather than that of the school staff. This marries up with the findings for belonging that put the child's perception of the school's bond to him and to others as significant in the establishment of a sense of belonging. It is therefore important to address these aspects specifically in order to change the experiences of those with the weakest sense of belonging.

However, simply implementing intervention to correct for certain aspects to improve school climate is not appropriate. As discussed in the literature review, implementation of inclusive approach is challenging at best as it requires changes to *Technics, Etiquette and Character*. It is the pupil's perception of the efforts and influences of school climate that is important, how the school implements the climate and it is this aspect that is intrinsic in the school cultural *Character*.

8.2 Perception of Self- in School

Given the seeming significance of how a pupil perceives his identity in the school. I felt, although not a school climate measure specifically, it was important to explore how pupils wished to be well-known in school. This dimension arises as salient as the pupil seems to aspire to connotations made by the school and others as part of the sense of belonging. Therefore, the following question was selected for analysis.

8.2.1 'If you could be well-known at your school for one of the following, which one would you most want it to be? - Bright student, Sports star, Popular, Leader in school, Well dressed, Just average'

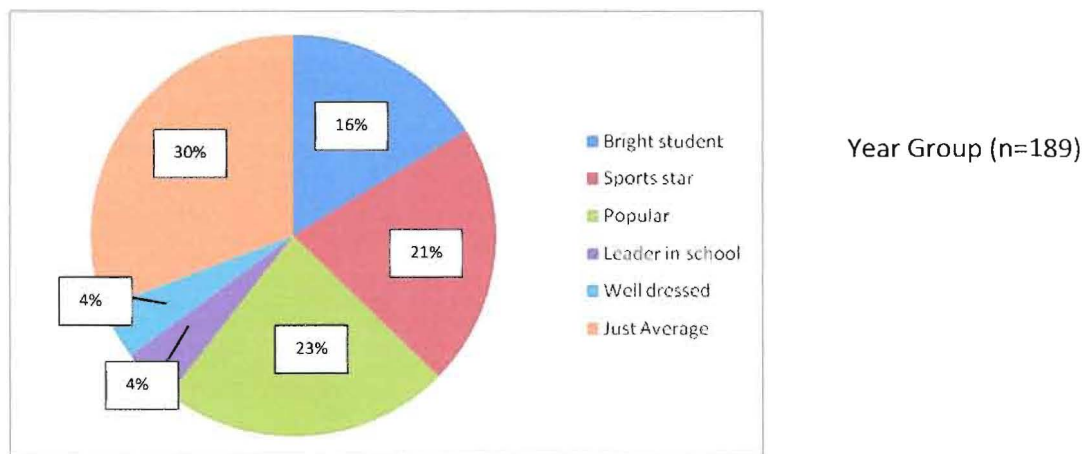
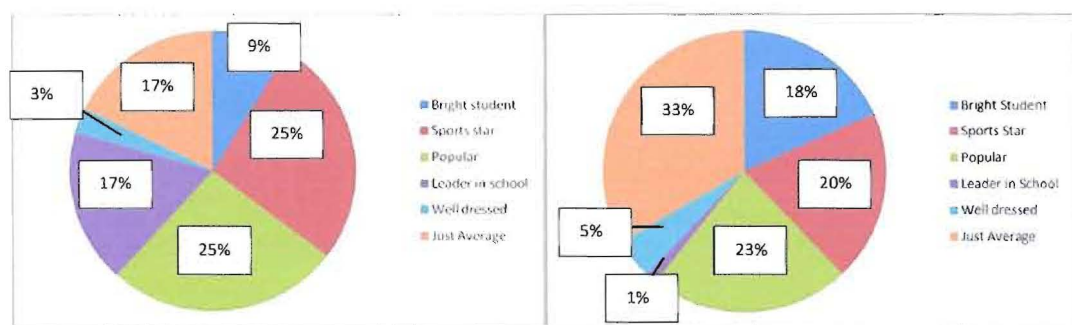


Fig 8.16 Responses of Year Group to: 'If you could be well-known at your school for one of the following, which one would you most want it to be?'

The largest proportion is to be seen as just average, I take this to mean to merely 'fit in', an interestingly overt response highlighting the significance of belonging. The next highest choice was to be popular. Popular is an important influential factor in terms of peer acceptance and fitting in. The sports star option is also highly ranked suggesting a

strongly held belief of being valued for being part of a specific group. Sports teams and clubs are considered highly salient for particularly boys, in order to develop a sense of belonging. This is especially pronounced when a pupil is less strong academically. Although writing about the US high school system, Lesko (1988) posits that secondary schools foster a competitive, masculinised nature cultivated and maintained by administrators, teachers and policy makers. She describes school as a paradox of unification and differentiation; seeming to bring the school together through ritual, assembly, sport or academic achievement but all the while pitching one pupil against another. This paradox is highlighted in the interviews with pupils at this school. A possible reason for the smaller proportion identifying Bright Student does imply that pupils were responding to the question in terms of being well-known to peers rather than to school or to teachers.

When it comes to analysing the misbehaviour group data, to enable a visual comparison I have also included a chart for pupils committing two or fewer categories of offence or none at all.



Misbehaviour Group (n=35)

'Behaviour' Group (n=154)

Fig 8.17 Comparison of Misbehaviour Group and Behaviour Group : 'If you could be well-known at your school for one of the following, which one would you most want it to be?'

With the *behaviour* group mirroring but accentuating the choices of the year as a whole, the misbehaviour group has starkly different desires for how they are perceived by others. As was discussed in interview analysis, there is a strong sense of wanting to be recognised by one's peers, not as different and weird but different and unique. These findings support this position that for those who have a strong sense of belonging, being average and fitting in is a good choice. However, for those who have a weak sense of belonging it is important to be seen as a leader. In other words, pupils who have a weak sense of belonging want recognition.

With regard to the bright student findings, given that for the majority of the misbehaviour group, low academic attainment is also part of a pupil's problems in school, being known as Bright student is not a priority. This also supports the findings that a sense of belonging comes from having a secure perception of the school's bond to the pupil (rather than the pupils' bond to school). The misbehaviour group have a weak sense of belonging so have a poor perception of the school's bond to them.

Furthermore, this perception made by the pupil becomes a reality as they move further from the school ideal of bright student.

Popularity is an important issue for children especially those at middle school age (Ballantine and Spade, 2004). When discussed in terms of micro-level interaction theories, popularity has the function of being visible to others and furthermore holds a position in the symbolic hierarchy of power. Popularity can be gained relatively easily by 'winning' in athletics, beauty or ability, but this fosters a competitiveness that ensures that where there are winners, there are also losers. By contrast, these individuals are negatively visible and hold no cache. Perhaps more interesting are those in the middle who achieve invisibility. Transactional Analysis talks about a hierarchy of 'strokes'

(contact in relationship) that get increasingly valuable in their payoff but have increasing risk attached (Berne, 1973).

Although, the significance of popularity and 'being seen' was discussed in the interview analysis section in the previous chapter, attention can be drawn to the link between popularity and the suggestion that pupils who do not fit or have a sense of belonging are striving to be seen as different and unique, something special.

8.3 The Approach Developed for the Case-Study School

To fully discuss what a school can do to strengthen cultural *Character* to strengthen a sense of belonging, it is necessary to analyse the approach that I attempted to implement in this school. As a practitioner, I had a distinct and defined role to develop and integrate an approach to inclusion in this school that would hope to tackle some of the dynamics that perpetuate the culture of exclusion. So in the section to follow, I will present the approach I implemented and the barriers that prevented full adoption of this approach. I will detail the elements that remain and those that have been jettisoned by the school. I will also attend to why the approach in full was unsuccessful and conclude with the reality of school-wide change to Technics, Etiquette and most importantly, Character. I will also include and analyse exclusion and inclusion data collected over the last five years from prior to inclusion intervention to present.

The Technics, Etiquette and Character of the school had to be considered at all times in the development of the inclusion policy and protocol in order to ensure that it was supported both emotionally and financially. Despite the school's reticence to embrace the unit in its entirety, elements have been adopted. However, the day to day approach

working with young people at risk of exclusion can be maintained in an attempt to develop the sense of belonging with the pupils. They can then take the emotional attitude and literacy and 'manage upwards'. In other words, even if the approach is metered by a larger school policy, real change can happen for the pupils and this is fed back through the school slowly. This reminds me of the Van Ryzin et al study (2009) that found that changes to 'autonomy' had an immediate effect on engagement of pupils but changes to 'hope' were much slower. Change to school cultural *Character* does indeed seem to follow the maxim, evolution not revolution. But the evolution comes from many small but significant 'revolutions'.

8.3.1 The Inclusion Unit

I became aware of a number of dimensions to the acceptance of my role and my approach within the school. To a large extent I was given free rein to pilot alternative approaches within the philosophy of the unit. The school appointed me in the knowledge that I was a practitioner academic. Through evidence based research and academic rigor I would attempt to establish the most appropriate approach and policy for this specific school.

The school management made no secret of my appointment and supported my encouraging debate and openness in feedback relating to the issues surrounding exclusion and inclusion at the school. However, undoubtedly, my very presence in the school would lead to an altering of school opinion, approach and behaviour.

From the outset, I was conscious of my being viewed with suspicion by some and as a saviour by others; both staff and pupils. I was also aware that my appointment

responded to many critics of current policy and practice but that did not necessarily go to say that the school was ready and willing to find an alternative approach.

The approach that I developed within the school was an integrated unit that would enable the support of pupils facing exclusion as well as those at risk of exclusion. The philosophy underpinning the Inclusion Unit (IU) and policy established in the school was to offer the pupil an opportunity to re-establish or strengthen the bond with school through academic and emotional support. As the pupil strengthens his bond to school through the relationship with key staff in context, the pupil will become open to relationships with other elements of the school process and thus will alter his experience of school and conform to it.

The IU has three elements: 1) To provide an alternative to exclusion 2) To offer support to pupils at risk of exclusion 3) To provide a place where pupils are encouraged to build positive relationships with the school. In all three elements, fostering a sense of belonging was equally important to maintenance (or development) of academic attainment. The staff working in the IU are trained in dealing with social, emotional and behavioural issues and receive enhanced pay as well as having a different job title; Inclusion Support Worker (ISW) to promote recognition of their importance within the school. Through building a relationship, the ISW's role is to enable pupils to develop self-awareness, academic and emotional self-efficacy and an ability to understand and manage expression of emotions. With support, a pupil is able to develop his own strategies for tackling the challenges in his life.

Pupils receive one-to-one or small group intervention and pupils are supported in classroom situations to experiment with strategies. Teaching staff are invited to

participate in adopting alternative approaches for dealing with that individual's behaviour.

In addition, pupils and their families can be supported in school or in the home and clear and consistent communication channels are available throughout the pupil's intervention. Furthermore, a member of the inclusion team attends every PSP meeting held in the school to ensure that all pupils are able to access the support they need.

Plus, to ensure positive interaction and pro-social modelling (Berridge et al, 2001), a voluntary Activity Club was run every lunch break offering all comers, as well as those placed in the IU, a range of positive activities, from softball to cooking to craft making.

I also helped establish a multiagency Youth Inclusion Support Panel (YISP) (YJB, 2008).

This Referral Action Group meets fortnightly to discuss and bring about action to support young people at risk of social exclusion. The group has decision making and resource holding representatives from many agencies; Police, Youth Offending Team statutory and prevention services, Health and Social Services as well as other schools in the area. This group has been and continues to be active in supporting children and their families.

8.3.2 The Barriers to Implementation

Despite my best endeavours to deliver a service that met the needs of the school, both in terms of 'political' lowering of exclusion rates and misbehaviour as well as in terms of the spoken and unspoken attitudes and values of the staff; as is common in implementation of change within an organisation, there were barriers. These were due

in part to difficulties in communication and fear of change on the part of key decision makers. I would assert that both these challenges were born out of the cultural Character. Although on the face of it, the school was fully supportive some senior management and staff had an alternative perspective and therefore agenda. Changes to culture are feared even if they are desired.

One element that quickly became and remained a contentious issue was what I was to be called. The use of my first name was to instil a sense of equality, mutual respect and shared values, all essential when developing a sense of belonging and inviting a child with a weakened bond to conform. However, I was told that I must be called by my surname as 'some staff had raised concerns about respect'. However hard I explain that my role was different or that there should be mutual respect between all individuals or that I am respected very well by pupils, the senior staff found this contravention of cultural protocol particularly challenging. Part of my role in school was to decide which battles to fight.

The school is at an early stage in its move to being an inclusive school. It is clear from the responses from staff that the cultural Character of the school needs to be explored openly and safely to allow the evolution of the change. Berne (1973) recommends that a change to a culture's *Character* occurs through open dialogue between those involved allowing evolution through awareness of the Character. This can only happen through relationships being enabled and feedback and responses heard. Perhaps through the continued conversations, attitudes and behaviour of those associated to and those believing in the IU, the dialogue for change may occur within the school. It is this principle that the approach hopes to foster. As identified in the examples described in the previous chapter, it is through changes to the cultural Character through

relationship with the children that means that the evolution or change happens bottom up rather than top down. The Character of the school changes with the pupils and this slowly brings about change throughout the school as pupils disseminate the attitudes of belonging outwards.

This thesis for cultural change highlights the need for the establishment of relationships within schools, not merely between the pupil and the school but amongst those within the school. To create truly inclusive schools that foster a positive regard for conformity, the relationship must be acknowledged. The relationship must be the driving force and this cannot be controlled with a target.

8.3.3 Exclusion and Inclusion Data

As I was appointed to post in October 2007, data pertaining to inclusion begins shortly after this time. I began to receive pupils in December 2007 and was fully operational from January 2008. Exclusion data is available prior to my appointment but for this thesis, I have only included the academic year directly preceding my appointment.

The graphs and table below show the pupils fixed term and permanently excluded and included in the school to present. Please note that the breaks in the graphs indicate the month of August and that the data applies to pupils from year seven to year eleven.

It is clear from the data that exclusion rates have reduced over the years. The trend lines on the graphs indicate a reduction in both number of pupils excluded and number of days lost to exclusion. The number of pupils permanently excluded has also come down but this is less clear an indication. Toward the end of 2010, the PRU was

reopened and a number of pupils were moved to the PRU on an indefinite basis. These pupils were therefore not recorded as excluded but no longer attended the school. In the year 2010-2011, six pupils either attended the PRU or were long term fixed term excluded.

Academic Year	Number on School Role	Number of Days Lost to Fixed Term Exclusion	Number of Pupils Fixed Term Excluded	Fixed Term Exclusion Rate	Number of Pupils Perm. Exclusion	Perm. Exclusion Rate
2006-2007	1075	735	96 (163 exclusions)	8.9 %	8	0.7%
2007-2008	1043	515	82 (127 exclusions)	7.9 %	4	0.4%
2008-2009	1054	583	66 (123 exclusions)	6.2 %	5	0.5%
2009-2010	1037	474	49 (90 exclusions)	4.7 %	1	0%
2010-2011	1052	395	45 (73 exclusions)	4.3 %	0 (6)	0%

Table 8.1 Exclusion Data

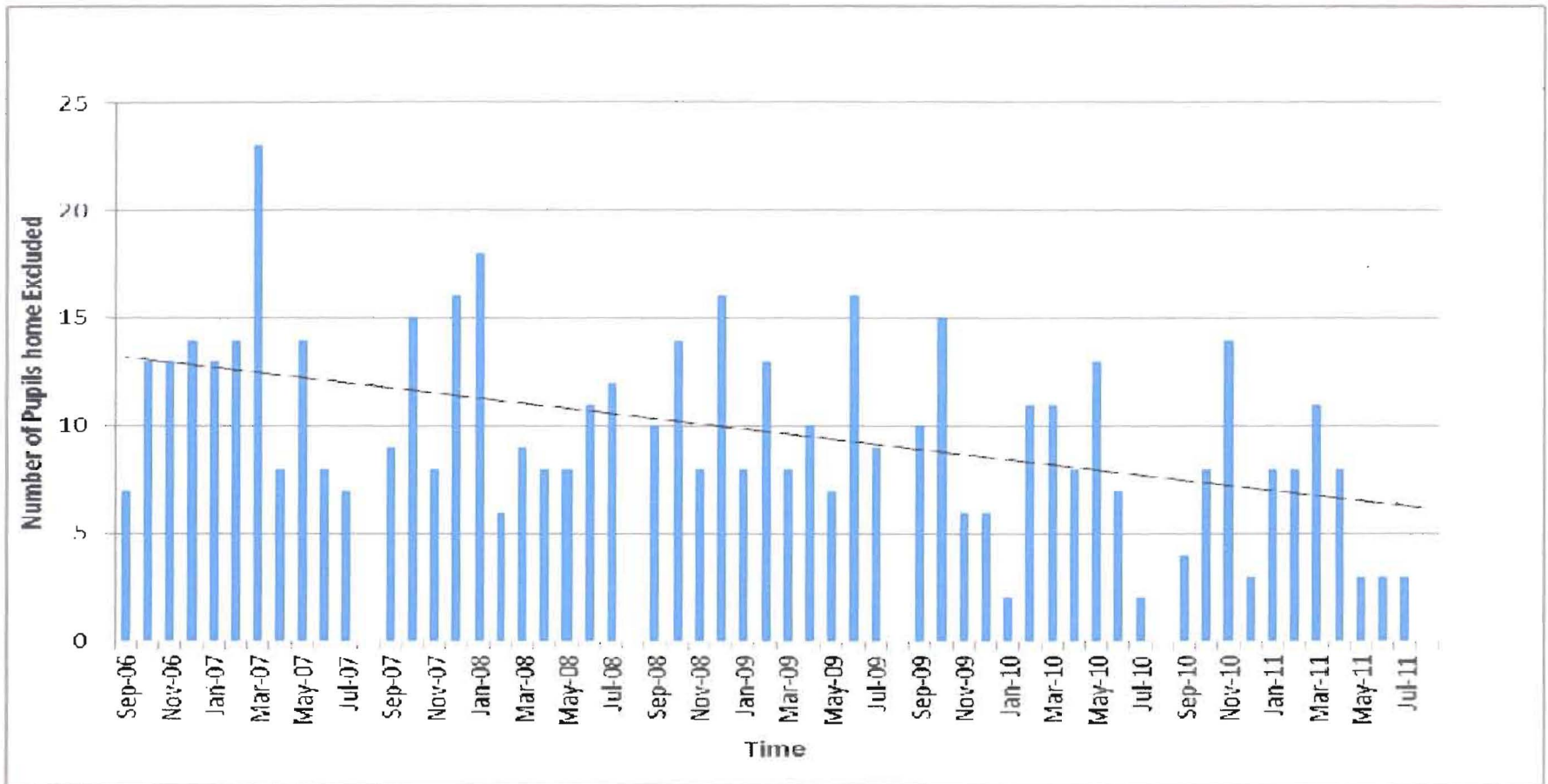


Fig 8.18 Chart showing Number of Pupils Excluded over time(with Trendline) (n=189)

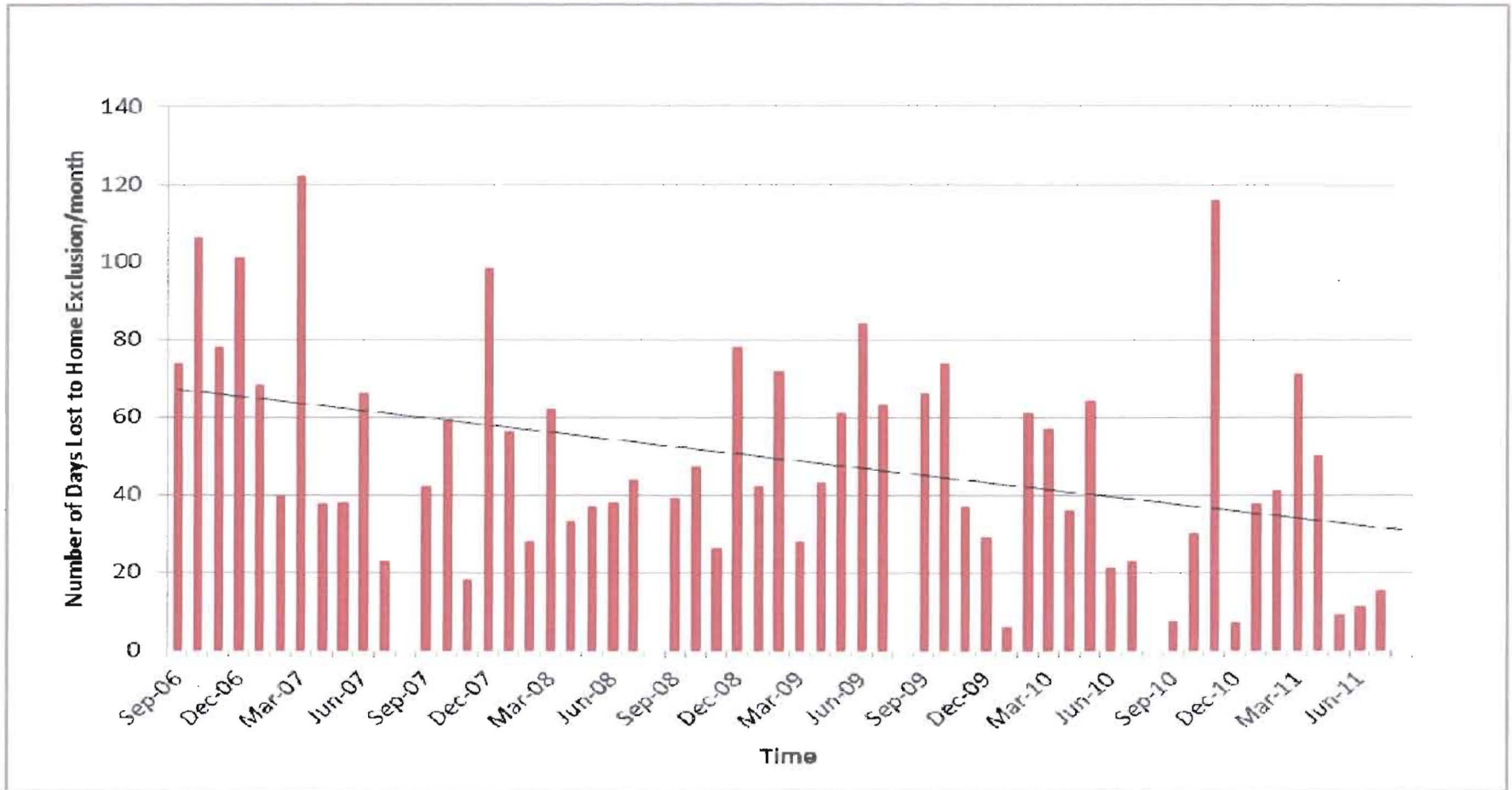


Fig 8.19 Chart showing Number of Days lost to Exclusion/month over time(with Trendline) (n=189)

The following graph depicts the data collected regarding those pupils referred to the Encil part of the Inclusion Unit. The Encil part is the internal exclusion to be used as an alternative to home exclusion. On this graph I have also included the data for home exclusion so that these two sets of data can be observed together. The graph shows the steady decline in home inclusion alongside the steady incline of pupils accessing the IU.

What this graph also shows is the considerable number of pupils being identified for exclusion; both internal and external. The proportion of pupils being identified for 'exclusion' is substantially higher than it has ever been. The supposed alternative to exclusion has merely swelled the number of pupils being identified. As with many services of this kind, the need has swollen to meet the resources available.

This marked rise is indicative of two opposing positions. Firstly, it may be that the school remains a high excluding school, although the destination of the exclusion is different, the outcome is the same. Or second, that the school is making a shift in attitude to challenging behaviour. Pupils referred to IU are meant to be supported and their behaviour reflected on. Furthermore, the school is holding the pupils in school, not pushing them out, thus ensuring a continuity of care and academic support. They are invited to belong to school, despite their behaviour indicating their not belonging.

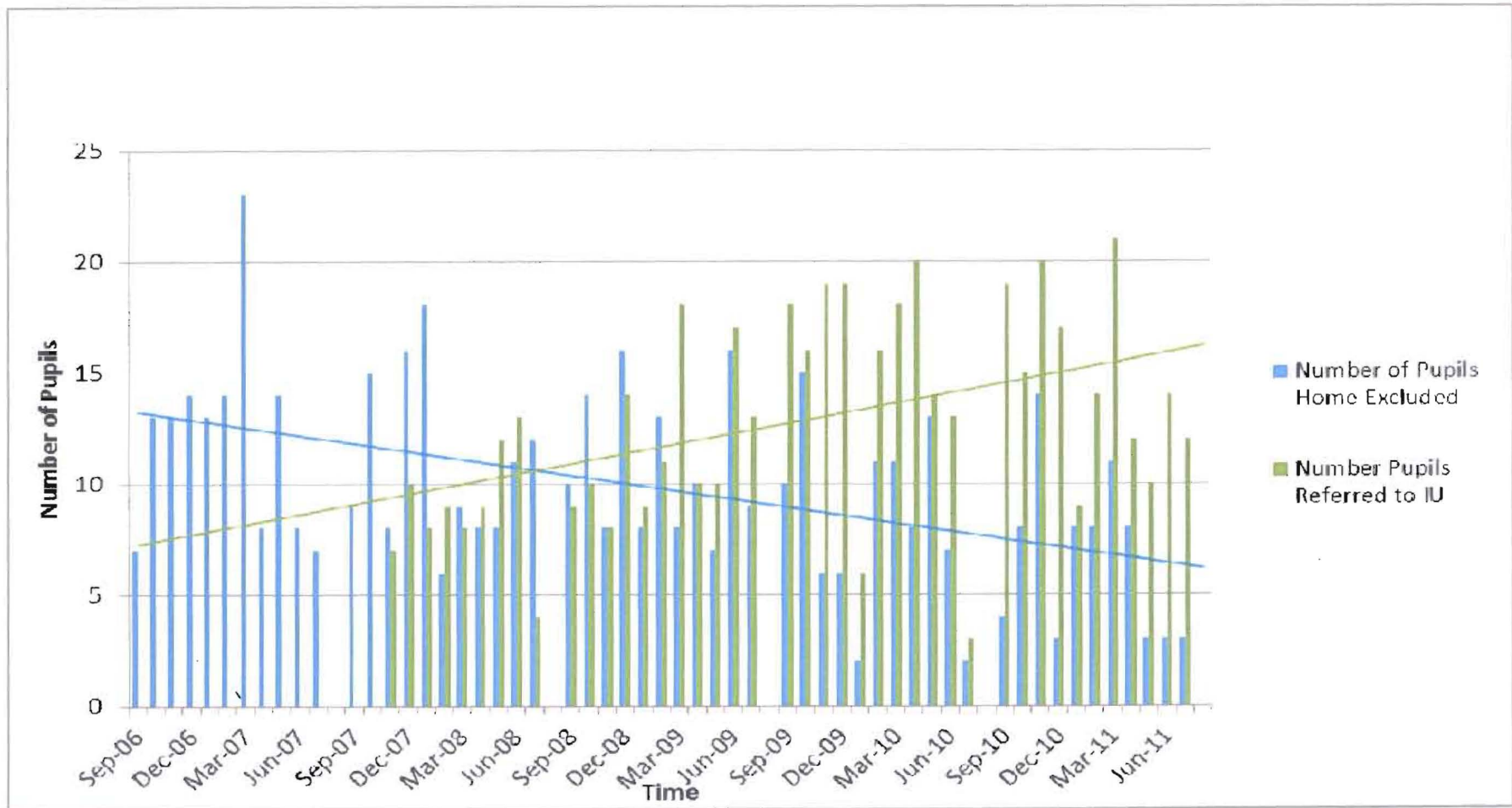


Fig 8.20 Chart showing Number of Pupils referred to Inclusion Unit & those Excluded (with Trendlines) (n=189)

Although there is data for the referrals (self and school) to the Hafan part of the Inclusion Unit kept by the support staff, it is considerable. The Hafan supports those pupils who require a space for a variety of social, emotional and behavioural reasons. Some are referred by form teachers and HOY as they are unable to attend some or all mainstream lessons (for example a year eleven with depression or a year nine with a highly chaotic home life); or have the IU as identified as their chosen destination if a situation requires self or staff removal; or have a specific programme of support referred in a PSP meeting. Others still, approach us asking for support with anger, self-esteem, decision making etc. Then through the 'drop-in' nature of the unit during break and lunch, pupils are able to have space and support on an ad hoc basis.

The reason for the lack of explicit information relating to these pupils is that this support – through both formal and informal arrangement – should be without judgement or label. However, dozens of pupils are offered and receive excellent support and care to enable the development of a positive sense of self and identity.

During my time at the school, I have witnessed change in the school. This is in part due to the unintended consequences of the budgetary cuts brought about by the 'credit crunch'. The hefty reduction in school budget prompted the departure of several key senior managers. The reality of the reconfiguration of responsibility is that although the remaining senior staff now have extremely heavy workloads, the absence of senior staff has forced a redistribution of power to middle management such as the form teachers and heads of year. Interestingly it has shifted the very steep decision making hierarchy to a much more wide and collaborative approach. However, the pressure on teaching staff is considerable with all teachers working to maximum legal (as per union guidelines) capacity. The time available for non-teaching related issues is greatly

diminished. This in turn has led to increasingly punitive measures, policies and procedures when dealing with behaviour in an attempt to resolve issues as swiftly as possible.

Having left the school, I am no longer able to drive forward the ethos and the school is left to adopt the policy and practice that it deems most suitable for it. The conflict within senior management and the staff body remains but a legacy for a cultural change does too.

There remains a team of staff who are trained in and resolute in an alternative approach to inclusion (although, a newly appointed member of the team who was promised training has received none despite the team's concerns and my repeated offers to come in to deliver). There is currently excellent accommodation dedicated to the IU (although one of the IU rooms is being given over to a senior teacher as office space).

Representatives from the team still regularly attend the multiagency meeting (Referral Action Group) and since I no longer facilitate clinical supervision sessions, the team are striving to establish regular group supervision sessions with similar workers from other agencies. Other than what the team push for and arrange themselves, there is no facility available to support them in their highly stressful roles. A member of the IU team is still present at every PSP meeting but is unfortunately still not permitted to have contact with the parents directly only through the HOY.

8.4 Analysis Summary

By using school climate measures, I am able to make conclusions regarding this school's climate. They in turn can be used to triangulate other findings regarding the school cultural *Character* which is a more subjective process less easy to define.

The school climate measures suggest that there are two types of climate measure that can be affected to influence change in the pupil's experience. The first is those where all pupils have a similar experience of the school irrespective of pupil behaviour (these were Role Relationships and Patterns of Influence). The second type is where those pupils reporting misbehaviour have a markedly different experience of the school to the year group in general (these were Communication Patterns, Norms of Appropriateness and Reward and Sanction). By addressing these climate factors in different ways and with different focus, a shift can occur in how the school is experienced by pupils.

Generally, the school needs to look at increasing the positive interactions between pupils and teachers; creating spaces in and out of subject lessons, for interaction and recognition (being seen). This should include opportunities for all pupils to speak their minds, to be heard and have an influence on their own education. This can be fostered through openness and authentic transaction regarding, in particular, rules and expectations.

Given the significance of the desire of pupils to be recognised, particularly those who misbehave, the aforementioned changes would create an environment where all pupils are acknowledged as unique and are respected for their difference.

Having researched best practice and spent considerable time in this and other schools, I developed a service for inclusion appropriate and relevant for this school. Moreover,

the approach was underpinned by my findings regarding the sense of belonging experienced by pupils in this school and attempted to address the school's cultural Character in the implementation. Although not fully embraced by the school, elements of the model are becoming integrated and embedded. The elements that remain attempt to address the considerable influential factors discussed, how these are manifest in the school cultural Character as well as the real time experiences of both pupils and staff in order to cultivate a stronger sense of belonging.

The statistical data collected over the years indicate that changes to Technics and Etiquette do go some way in affecting change to school culture. However, as the data indicates, this change is not significant and in some ways indicates a continuing emphasis on exclusion rather than inclusion. For genuine and substantial change, the shift needs to occur in the cultural Character.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This thesis has explored the idea of a pupil's sense of belonging to school and the nature and extent of this bond. It has sought to establish links between belonging and behaviour in school and furthermore, to examine how the school cultural character shapes the pupil's sense of belonging by investigating the three research questions:

1. How does a sense of belonging affect the behaviour of pupils in school?
2. How does the school cultural character affect the pupil's sense of belonging?
3. What can a school do to strengthen the pupil's sense of belonging through strengthening the school's cultural character?

After introducing the thesis, I reviewed the literature; I examined the historical and political context and made a thorough examination of the research and ideas emanating from three previously distinct fields of literature; criminological, educational and psychotherapeutic. This exploration underpinned the ideas around delinquency, pupils and schools, school culture and policy culminating in the theoretical framework laid out in chapter 4. The driving theories for this thesis are a development of Hirschi's bond to conformity (1969) and Berne's theories of organisational culture (1973). Following the methodology chapter exploring the approaches used to investigate the thesis as well as the challenges of insider research, I presented my findings relating to the three research questions.

In this final chapter, I will draw conclusions on the findings laid out in the previous three chapters. I will also acknowledge the limitations of this thesis and suggest further work that might extend or develop on the ideas explored here. But this being a professional

doctoral thesis, the main purpose of this conclusion chapter is to disseminate the important messages regarding young people's experience of school and make recommendations as to how school might be able to address factors in school in order to strengthen the pupil's sense of belonging through enriching the school cultural Character.

9.1 Summary of Findings

The first analysis chapter examined the link between a sense of belonging and behaviour. It explored the findings from the pupil questionnaire and led to three main conclusions linking a sense of belonging to school to school misbehaviour.

To reiterate, the questionnaire asked pupils to self-report misbehaviour and respond to questions around their attitudes to school. This latter section was developed out of Hirschi's Richmond Study questionnaire (1969). The concept of the sense of belonging evolved out of the responses to the questionnaire and thus developed the idea of the bond with regard to the pupil's perception of the bond. The sense of belonging is made up of three strands:

1. The pupil's perception of his own bond to school
2. The pupil's perception of the school's bond to him
3. The pupil's perception of the school's bond with other pupils

The findings indicated a significant link between the pupil's overall sense of belonging and reported misbehaviour. The greater the sense of belonging score, the lower the

misbehaviour score. Furthermore, the most important elements of the sense of belonging are the pupil's perception of the school's bond to him and to others. The pupil's perception of his own bond to school was not an important element, in and of itself. The link between belonging and self-reported categories of behaviour where a person is the victim was particularly strong (and considerably less strong with offences against property).

In essence, there is a significant link between a pupil's sense of belonging - in terms of how he believes he is perceived by the school and in comparison to other pupils – and his tendency to misbehave, particularly regarding offences to harm other people.

Having clarified the significance and nature of the bond between pupil and school (the sense of belonging), further conclusions can be drawn regarding how the cultural Character of the school affects the pupil's sense of belonging.

The cultural Character of the school was analysed using several methodologies; pupil interviews, ethnographic observation and a staff questionnaire. A number of key features were evident regarding the Character of this school that enabled me to make conclusions about how the Character affects the pupil's sense of belonging.

Firstly, the pupil interviews as well as the analysis of school climate measures indicated that there was a strong association between a pupil's identity in the school and his sense of self. The pupils had a desire to be seen and recognised by others (peers and staff).

This sense of recognition was identified as being acknowledged by others as different or unique amongst the norm. Those pupils who 'belonged' had a strong sense of self.

They felt recognised, or seen, in terms of their identity in school and therefore I propose that this enabled them to adhere to expectations and norms of the school. The school

helped shape the pupil's sense of belonging through recognition of the pupil and his developing sense of self. It seems that for those who did not belong, had not had their identity acknowledged or accepted by the school, had no such allegiance to the school. Misbehaviour seems to arise in an effort to be seen and recognised. The findings regarding recognition are supported Berne's earlier work where he details the three human hungers; stimulation, recognition and structure (1961). To help these pupils belong, all three need to be satiated.

The second conclusion made here, related to the school's efforts to make space for pupils who do not belong. Arising from the interviews with pupils and the responses given by staff in the preliminary questionnaire, there was a definite sense of fear of the weakness of a pupil with a weak sense of self, a negative identity or vulnerability associated to lack of belonging. As asserted in the introduction; a pupil's challenging behaviour seems to elicits in others the opposite of what they need. The ironic truth for the pupil who does not belong - and misbehaves - is that he desires to be seen and accepted in order to develop a healthy sense of self and identity in relation to the school; however he is shunned, ignored or rejected.

The analyses and discussion also consider the possible actions a school can take to improve a sense of belonging through improving the school milieu; the school cultural Character. As asserted throughout this thesis, the Technics and Etiquette of a culture can be changed (relatively) easily but it is the Character that influences the covert, nuanced transactions on a daily basis.

Exploration of the five school climate measures as identified by Reinke and Herman (2002) (see p216) reinforced subjective findings - from pupil interviews and ethnographic observation (see chapter 7) - of school cultural Character. They indicated

areas that this school could improve in order to impact school belonging through Character.

The school needs to increase the opportunity for positive interactions between all pupils and teachers but particularly those who have a weak sense of belonging. This is in areas both relating to academic work but also in an extra-curricular context. All pupils should be attended to as valuable and their opinions valid and need to be perceived as doing this by the pupils.

When discipline or sanctioning is required, there needs to be openness as to the decision-making process and where appropriate include the pupil in possible outcomes. This is particularly important for those pupils who have a weak sense of belonging. Given the significance of the desire of pupils to be recognised, particularly those who misbehave, the school needs to foster an environment where all pupils are acknowledged as unique and are respected for their difference.

In terms of my personal experience in the school, I have also made important conclusions regarding the reality of making changes to a school's culture. Merely having access and permission to develop a school-wide approach for inclusion, behaviour change and a change in ethos is not always enough. The school needs to be ready to make changes to its *Character* and this is a difficult and 'scary' process for the school and the change-agent.

9.2 Recommendations

Given the findings relating to a pupil's sense of self and sense of belonging and how these are shaped by how he is seen and recognised by others – and indeed how he desires to be seen and recognised - I posit that it is how relationships, rules and rituals are perceived that is important. So to follow are recommendations that are intended to enrich the cultural *Character* of a school. Simply changing policy or improving some individual relationships between pupils and teachers, although valuable, is not necessarily enough to influence the pupil's perception of the school cultural *Character* and thus the pupil's sense of belonging. The focus must be on improving the general relationships that exist in school, the cultural *Character*.

All of the recommendations made here could be changes made to the case-study school. Some build on practices or structures that already exist, others would require a more elemental change.

Before I lay out the recommendations, I offer a short story that highlights the challenge for school cultural *Character* change. The following story was written by Michael Michalko, originally in the area of business culture and creative thinking in business but it beautifully highlights the challenges faced by any and every organisation. Behaviour can be so fixed and ingrained in the *Character* of the culture that even when the 'rules' change, the culture does not.

Start with a cage containing five monkeys. Inside the cage, hang a banana on a string and place a set of stairs under it. Before long, a monkey will go to the stairs and start to climb towards the banana. As soon as he touches the stair, spray all the monkeys with ice cold water. After a while, another monkey makes an attempt with the same result-all

the monkeys are sprayed with ice cold water. Pretty soon, when another monkey tries to climb the stairs, the other monkeys will try to prevent it.

Now, turn off the cold water. Remove one monkey from the cage and replace it with a new one. The new monkey sees the banana and will want to climb the stairs. To his surprise, all of the other monkeys attack him. After another attempt and attack, he knows that if he tries to climb the stairs he will be assaulted.

Next, remove another of the original monkeys and replace it with a new one. The newcomer goes to the stairs and is attacked. The previous newcomer takes part in the punishment with enthusiasm.

Again, replace a third monkey with a new one. The new one goes to the stairs and is attacked. Two of the four monkeys that beat him have no idea why they were not permitted to climb the stairs, or why they are participating in the beating of the newest monkey.

After replacing the fourth and fifth monkeys with new ones, all the monkeys that have been sprayed with cold water have been replaced. Nevertheless, no monkey ever again approaches the stairs. Why not? Because as far as they know that's the way it's always been around here.

Change to culture occurs slowly. The adage evolution not revolution is relevant but not the whole story. The evolution comes from numerous tiny revolutions; transactions where the norms of the culture are challenged.

To follow are twelve recommendations for schools that aspire to address inclusion and misbehaviour through developing a stronger sense of belonging through changing

cultural *Character*. I have separated the recommendations into four areas starting with addressing the school cultural *Character*, then teacher relationships, followed by relationships between pupils and teachers and finally addressing the needs of specific pupils.

9.2.1 School Cultural Character

1) Named/Photo Lockers or Pegs

This recommendation is, of course, contingent on accommodation, however if achieved it would nurture the pupil's desire to be recognised and to have a space of his own. At nursery and primary school this is a fundamental and that is acknowledged in the Early Years Foundation Stage Framework for the development of a healthy sense of self. Then as we reach adulthood, in our jobs, there is often a desk, locker or base allocated to us - even when 'hot-desking', one can leave one's possessions for the day. It seems extremely inconsistent that at the period where young people and adolescents are being expected to develop their role identities and self-awareness, we withdraw such provision. The recognition afforded by having an identified base (or peg) is supported by Berne's theories of three human hungers; structure, stimulation and recognition (1961). Furthermore, given the prominence of the pupil's perception of the school's bond with him, this recognition is especially poignant.

2) Places to Go

Following on from the previous recommendation, there needs to be spaces provided for pupils to congregate. These opportunities and environments will allow pupils to practice

social interaction, peer group identity development and pro-social modelling. Of course, these spaces need to be safe and supervised - to an extent - and be associated with clear structures regarding expectations, rights and responsibilities.

3) Home-School Networks

The relationship between home and school tends to be intermittent. At best, parents' evenings provide a forum for feedback on progress. But for the families of those pupils who have a weak sense of belonging or display challenging behaviour, the contact with school is repeatedly exclusively negative. Parents are informed of problems by post and then are invited in for meetings. As discussed earlier, the summoning of parents to these meetings can be reminiscent of their own school experiences. Apart from my home-school interventions, never does a member of the school staff go to a pupil's home to discuss issues with the parent at their convenience. This seems incongruous when a school relies so much on parental support for school commitment. In Finland, it is an expected part of the role that a form teacher will go to the home of any of his charges to discuss issues or expectations. This indicates recognition of the individual pupil by the school, a sense of care and an acknowledgement of alignment between school and home, again tying into Berne's championing of recognition (1961).

There may be benefits from having positive relationships with parents in order to model positive transactions so as not to perpetuate familial social exclusion and negative attitudes to school. Furthermore, simple TA models can be used (for example see p89) and an awareness of transaction in order to explain issues and other matters without accusation or blame. This would alleviate the often perceived victimisation of pupils and parents by the school in Pupils Support Plan meetings.

9.2.2 Teacher Relationships

4) Transactional Analysis (TA)

One of the most important recommendations is adoption of Transactional Analysis. I recommend that all staff in schools undertake an introductory training in TA. The awareness of self and others provided by this very simple and short training would considerably alter the attitudes and ethos in any school. This could be done as part of the adoption of SEAL (see p64) in school or purely as an INSET (in service training) to enhance all interactions both in and outside school. Throughout this thesis, the emphasis has been on relationships, moreover, the transactions that occur between individuals in relationship. It is this that makes up the cultural *Character*, and this that defines the pupil's perceptions of himself in relationship with others. This thesis has found that these elements are important and significant. But perhaps even more relevant in terms of recommendations for schools, the findings highlight the school's ability to influence the pupil's sense of belonging. Therefore if school staff are willing to acknowledge their own perceptions, experiences and transactions through TA, it is far more likely that they might influence the shaping of the pupils' sense of belonging.

5) Positive Staffroom Notices

Most schools (including this one) have morning briefings. The whole school staff congregates in the staffroom for general notices for the day. The positive feelings generated amongst the staff on hearing a notice concerning an academic or sporting achievement, is palpable. More often than not, these are about pupils' successes. My recommendation is that to change a school cultural *Character*, the recognition and inclusion needs to encompass all individuals in the school. Announcements regarding

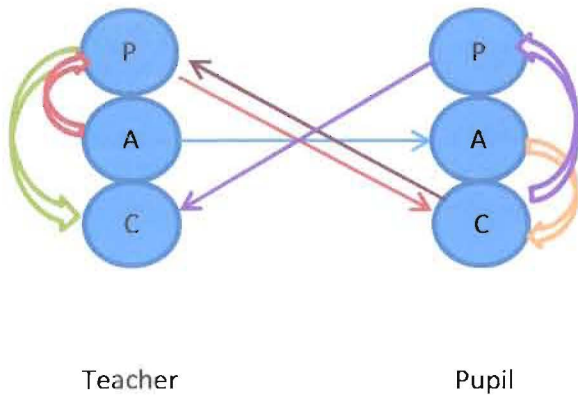
staff successes or recognition inside or outside school would make a considerable step toward championing difference and being seen. This would create a shift in attitude amongst the teachers in the school, thus modelling the individual recognition and acknowledgement of validity outside academic prowess. This is not a big change but would foreground for all staff the importance of recognition which in turn would be passed on to the pupils. Again, this highlights recognition being key for development of a healthy self (Berne, 1961).

6) Peer Review

Teachers tend to be reluctant to embrace *peer review* (colleague observation of lessons). It is associated with inspection and criticism. However, careful and mindful praise and comment is invaluable. In this school, there is some truly excellent teaching and engaging, that all should be able to observe. Firstly, it could be cross disciplinary, so that the focus is not on comparison rather on innovation and relationship awareness. Secondly, the emphasis should be on praise and suggestion rather than critique, in fact some of this could be fed back to recommendation 5) for 'celebratory' briefing notices. In terms of a model for the reviewing process, the TA ego states model (see p89) lends itself. Through the use of analysis of the transactions that occurred in a particular lesson or in a particular situation, the teacher is able to explore his own attitudes and behaviours and become more aware of the impact of these on the pupils.

To follow is a brief depiction of how TA could be used to explore an incident in a classroom for the benefit of the teacher to become aware of his transaction. Both the teacher and pupils change their ego state in response to the other. The transactions have been colour coded.

Fig 9.1 Peer Review Example



Teacher: *"Please would you get out your pens"*
Pupil is tired and doesn't react
Teacher repeats the request more assertively
Pupil huffily gets out his pen from his bag
Teacher: *"I only asked you to get your pen out"*
Pupil: *"You're always getting at me"*

In this situation, the conversation could be tracked to discover the point at which the transaction became negative and options could be explored as to how to maintain an *Adult –Adult* relationship.

The advantages of this would be considerable; as well as improving awareness of own and others' teaching, it would improve inter disciplinary relationships. The knock-on effect on the school culture would be the cultivation of an ethos celebrating recognition and offering space to do it. The attitudes fostered in this recommendation would become apparent to the pupils in several ways. The pupils would become familiar with teachers attending their lessons, perhaps sharing a joke with the teacher but certainly demonstrating professional admiration and recognition. The pupils would observe the behaviour, having modelled for them the positive recognition behaviour that can then be cultivated between pupils.

9.2.3 Pupil-Teacher Transactions

7) Pupil Pastoral Support Plans (PSPs)

Although PSPs do not have to be a negative experience; there is interesting incorporation of restorative justice (RJ) practice into PSP facilitation. The use of the RJ script allows a more open and non-judgemental experience for all. Furthermore, it enables the pupil, parent and school staff to have an input into the outcome. However, in the main, PSPs are often experienced as 'another telling off' for pupils and their parents. I have two recommendations for PSPs:

- i) That they are not allowed to just 'peter out' if all is going better, rather there should be a meeting for the completion or withdrawal of the plan. This is important for all parties – pupil, parents and the school – to recognise the successful outcome and ensure that the PSP has consciously been revoked by all. This ensures the pupil experiences an alternative version of being seen or recognised.
- ii) Pupils should be met with prior to the meeting by an appropriate staff member advocate (form teacher, ISW etc.) to go over the purpose of the meeting and to help the pupil come up with genuine and achievable suggestions that he can offer in the meeting (as would happen with the incorporation of RJ). The pupil's voice is rarely heard in PSP meetings even when an opportunity is given – at the case study school, pupils are invited to comment on the plan being put in place. This recommendation would enable the pupil to plan his input, to take ownership of it and have a genuine space to raise his thoughts and opinions on his education and outcomes.

8) Form/Registration Circles

Many schools already hold the form teacher and the form group in very high esteem. But many schools (including the case study school) struggle to provide form teachers with the support and discretion they are due. The form teacher could be a very powerful ally and influence on a pupil; knowing them and championing them to the rest of the school. This can only come about if the form time is given time and space to build the relationships. My experience is that even sixteen year old boys both enjoy and respect opportunities to listen and talk in a formalised discussion circle (Mosley and Tew, 1999). If this is introduced at the start of a pupil's school career and becomes an expected protocol, it can be an invaluable opportunity to address local and global issues as well as to share parts of themselves; successes, fears and praise. As a form teacher in a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic school, although not common practice in the school, I used form circles to discuss issues and ideas regularly. This proved very useful in the aftermath of 9/11 to discuss fears, terror, race and foreign policy in a safe and supported way. Also on the agenda were thought provoking and recognising questions such as *'who has done something courageous today?'*, *'what is the funniest thing to have happened to you today'* or *'which of your friends has done you proud in the last week?'*. Although these can sound contrived, they provide an opportunity to share, recognise and reflect. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity to practice the skills required for positive transaction in the here and now, offer and receive 'Strokes' (Berne 1961). It also reinforces positive recognition, which the findings highlighted as important to pupil's sense of belonging.

9.2.4 Specific Support

My final set of recommendations address working with pupils with specific behavioural issues, those who least belong. This is by no means an exhaustive set of suggestions as it does not include the multi-agency work linking with other agencies nor does it acknowledge the importance of the home-school links (as touched on in earlier recommendation). However, I did want to include some suggestions for working with particular pupils in order to develop their sense of belonging and healthy sense of self.

9) Transactional Analysis for Pupils

Just as I recommend the training of TA for school staff, the use of the very simple models can be highly beneficial in supporting young people with developing self-awareness. It can also be very effective in analysis of transactions between individuals in a very safe and structured way. This in turn can be used to enable young people to readdress their behaviour, to reflect and come up with alternative strategies.

10) Range of Behaviour Modification Programmes

Formal sessions that begin with a contract of expectations between pupil and worker (e.g. ISW, LSA, form teacher and if appropriate parent) can be very useful in providing a safe structure to explore potentially difficult issues. These sessions can address anger issues, self-esteem, decision making, patterns offending behaviour, handling difficult emotions etc. All of which invite the pupil to develop a self-awareness that hadn't developed naturally and invite them to consider alternative versions, behaviours and attitudes in a supported and safe school based environment. I have developed a range of programmes underpinned by TA that are currently delivered in both the case-study

school and the other schools in the county, however following my leaving my post, there is no on-going support for the staff who work directly with the most troubled children.

11) Group Work

There is a great deal written about the benefit of group work with adolescents and young people (Adams 2004; Wright-Watson 2004). The use of group work to tackle issues of belonging and behaviour in the school context enable pupils to engage with ideas and attitudes of others and again reconsider their identities in school to develop belonging. Again there is some group work still happening in the case-study school, but confidence waivers when there is no support for the facilitator.

12) Restorative Practice

The use of restorative justice (RJ) practices in schools is widespread and can be very effective at addressing behaviour (Wachtel, 1997; Holtham, 2009). The reason it is so valuable is that it addresses the unacceptable behaviour without condemning the pupil. Rather the pupil is expected to listen to and respond to others' attitudes and perceptions without blame or shame. The use of this approach by trained facilitators both represents a schools approach to and attitude to belonging and inclusion as well as tackling incidents of misbehaviour as close to the context as possible.

9.3 Limitations

As highlighted throughout, this thesis is unusual in its positioning within the literature due to it integrating different fields of criminology, education and psychotherapy. It is

original in its theoretical framework but also unusual in its methodological approach given my insider research status.

I believe that although my training, my position in the school and my attitudes to cultural change meant I was well suited to carry out the 'obtrusive change' (Coghlan and Brannick, 2006) both I and the school desired. Perhaps my role of practitioner researcher meant that the school found it difficult to make the changes it needed to make under 'my gaze'.

Also there were occasions when I thought there might be value in having input from teachers and parents, however I felt that this might make the scope of the study too broad and dilute the detailed investigation of the pupil's sense of belonging. Having said this, I would be very interested in the thoughts of teachers and parents on this research. This may in turn lead onto further investigation.

The focus of this thesis was the pupil's sense of belonging to school; the nature and extent of the bond between pupil and school. Although at the outset, it had been my intention to also explore behavioural patterns of delinquency outside school, due to a methodological error, the data gleaned for this element was incomplete. Therefore although I discussed some aspects of delinquent behaviour and made some assertions as to the nature and extent of the pupil's bond to school and delinquency, the emphasis of this thesis was on pupil misbehaviour and his sense of belonging to school. This neatly leads onto the following section regarding further work with the first being further research to readdress the gap in the data.

Other limitations are due directly to the culture of the school. For example, although there is still Inclusion support who offer an admirable and effective provision for the

case-study school's pupils, since my leaving post the support for this team is declined. The workload and number of pupils referred has risen and the service expected to be delivered has become perfunctory. Further, they are not supported emotionally with their role and their work is no longer advocated in the staffroom or management. This point highlights the findings of this study and others (Lovey and Cooper, 1997; Ebor et al, 2001) that the culture of the school is paramount. For effective support for those who most need it, the change needs to be in the Character. Therefore, without a champion to the cause, constantly prepared to fight for the change, things return to the status quo.

9.4 Further Work

1. Links to delinquency

A further study investigating the links between misbehaviour and delinquency could be easily carried out by rerunning this research but with the missing questions included. I predict there to be strong associations between those who misbehave and those committing crime outside school. In particular I am interested in the connections between belonging and delinquency in terms of property offences.

The England riots of 2011 made me reconsider the conclusions made about property offences. Where Sprott (2004) had linked property offences to a lack of instrumental attachment (academic attainment), my findings were that poor instrumental and emotional attachment were linked to personal offences and not to property offences.

The riots on 8th August 2011 on the surface appeared to me motivated by severe disaffection. I would assert a poor sense of belonging to a society has created a

generation with no prospects and no support. Furthermore this generation has been trained not to think or reflect (through high tech, low contact multitasking) and to desire (instantly) goods and money that they can never hope to attain by adhering to and being part of society. Given there were no significant associations between belonging and property misbehaviour in this study, I suggest that the way in which young people view property in current society has changed. Against a backdrop of an ever widening gap between rich and poor (banking crash and bailout, bonus culture, expenses scandals, etc.) this generation of youth have a skewed sense of justice with relation to property offences.

2. Comparison schools – rural and urban

Given the unique nature of this case-study school and the specific factors and influences that have come to create this school's culture, I would suggest further research into schools with both similar and different contexts. There is a distinct lack of attention given to rural educational settings and rural crime and particularly Wales based research into such areas, so this research has gone some way to readdress this. I would therefore be interested to compare school culture and sense of belonging with other schools; rural and urban, Welsh and English. I believe that this methodology of the exploration of pupils' sense of belonging, their behaviour and a school's cultural Character could be replicated relatively simply.

9.5 Conclusion

This thesis explored a previously overlooked - and as it transpired substantially significant - factor in understanding pupils' behaviour in school; a pupil's sense of belonging. This unusual piece of research established that there is indeed more complexity to the nature of the bond between pupil and school than laid out by Hirschi (1969). The pupil's perception of the bond is paramount. Moreover, the elements holding most weight are the pupil's perception of the school's bond to him and how his bond compares to others'.

The second salient point is about school culture. Many schools do not seem to realise the role they hold in the shaping of a pupil's sense of belonging. That changing policy and practice is only likely to alter the pupil's perceptions, if the cultural Character is also changed.

I believe that this thesis lays a foundation for future research and researchers to explore sociological ideas from a different perspective. I have learned so very much from this experience both as a researcher and as a professional practitioner and I hope that my experiences might inform others in a similar situation.

Chapter 10 Appendices

The following appendices are provided:

A: Pupil Questionnaire

B: Interview Vignettes

C: Inclusion Unit Policy

Please note that the questionnaire has been modified in order to fit within the margin width for the thesis. It was originally given out in larger text with a slightly different layout. No changes have been made to the questions.

Appendix A: Questionnaire for Year 8 – September 2009

Section 1 – Behaviour in and out of school

This is completely anonymous, nobody will know your answers so please feel free to be completely honest about your behaviour. Please put a tick in the box YES or NO as a response to the question.

During the last school year (the whole of year 7 to now), did you ever...	YES	NO
... bully other students by laughing at them, making fun of them, not talking with them or gossiping a lot about them?		
... bully other students by pushing or kicking them?		
... insult, swear at or verbally abuse another pupil at school?		
... graffiti or deface school walls, doors, windows etc. with paint, pen, pencil or something else?		
... destroy or damage school things, e.g. tables, chairs, blackboards, windows, or the belongings of other pupils or something else?		
... steal things at school that cost less than £3, e.g. pencils, exercise books, chalk, marker pens or something else?		
... steal things at school that cost more than £3, e.g. jackets, mobile phones, books, CD/DVDs or something else?		
... fight or hit so badly at school that some other person got injured, e.g. needed a bandage for cuts, had to take medicine or got a black eye or bad bruises?		
... fight or hit at school without somebody getting injured?		
... insult, swear at or verbally abuse a teacher or other member of staff in school?		

... threaten, hit or injure teachers or other adults from school?		
... graffiti or deface walls, benches, doors, bus-stops etc. with paint, pen, pencil or something else outside of school?		
... destroy or damage things on the street, like bicycles, bus-stops, street lights or something else?		
... steal something from a shop that is worth less than £3, e.g. sweets, makeup, pencils or something else?		
... steal something from a shop that was worth more than £3, e.g. CD/DVDs, books, clothes or something else?		
... buy or accepted something of which you thought or knew was stolen?		
... travel on a bus or train without paying the correct fare?		
... steal a bicycle or a moped?		
... steal a car?		
... break and enter somewhere to steal something?		

During the last school year (the whole of year 7 to now), did you ever...	YES	NO
... get excluded?		
... get 'in-school' excluded to the Inclusion Unit?		
... truant from school (skip/mitch school)?		

Section 2 – What do you think about School?

Please put the letter of your answer in the corresponding box.

During the last school year (the whole of year 7 to now):

1. In general, do you like or dislike school?

- A. Like it
- B. Like it and dislike it about equally
- C. Dislike it

2. Which of these three things do you think is the most important thing that you can get out of school (choose only one).

- A. Job training
- B. Skill in subjects like Maths and English
- C. Ability to think clearly

3. How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with other students in your school?

- A. Above average
- B. Average
- C. Below average
- D. Don't know

4. What results in percentages do you think you are capable of getting in the end of year exams?

- A. Over 90%
- B. Over 80%
- C. Over 70%
- D. Over 60%
- E. Over 50%
- F. Over 40%
- G. Over 30%
- H. Over 20%
- I. Under 20%

5. How important is getting good results to you?

- A. Very important
- B. Somewhat important
- C. A bit important
- D. Completely unimportant

6. How important do you think results are for getting the kind of job you want when you finish school?

- A. Very important
- B. Somewhat important
- C. Unimportant
- D. I have no idea
- E. I don't plan to work when I finish school

7. Do you have any trouble keeping your mind on your studies?

- A. Often
- B. Sometimes
- C. Almost never

8. Do you finish your homework?

- A. Always
- B. Usually
- C. Seldom
- D. Never
- E. We are not given any homework

9. Do teachers check you homework?

- A. Always
- B. Usually
- C. Sometimes
- D. We are not given any homework

10. On average, how much time do you spend doing homework outside school?

- A. 3 or more hours a day
- B. About 2 hours a day
- C. About 1 hour a day
- D. Less than ½ hour a day
- E. We are not given any homework

11. Do you have any trouble finding a quiet place in which to do your homework?

- A. Usually
- B. Sometimes
- C. Never
- D. I don't do homework

12. How many of your teachers seem to care about how well you do in school?

- A. Almost all
- B. Many
- C. A few
- D. None

13. What kind of work do most of your teachers seem to expect from you?
- A. Excellent work
 - B. Good work
 - C. Fair work
 - D. Poor work
 - E. They don't seem to care

14. Do you care what teachers think of you?
- A. I care a lot
 - B. I care some
 - C. I don't care much

15. In the last few years have you had more men or women teachers?
- A. More men
 - B. More women
 - C. Both about the same
 - D. Don't know

16. Would you prefer to have had more men or women teachers?
- A. More men
 - B. More women
 - C. Both about the same
 - D. Don't know

17. In the last few years have you had more Welsh or English teachers?
- A. More Welsh
 - B. More English
 - C. Both about the same
 - D. Don't know

18. Would you prefer to have had more Welsh or English teachers?
- A. More Welsh
 - B. More English
 - C. Both about the same
 - D. Don't know

Below is a list of statements that have been used to describe groups of students.
Which group does the statement describe best?

- Choose one from
- A. Children of Welsh speaking families
 - B. Children of English speaking families
 - C. No difference

19. Are often in trouble with the police

20. Run pretty much everything in this school

21. Teachers like them

22. Try hard in school

23. Likely to succeed in life

24. Teachers don't like them

25. How well do children of Welsh speaking and English speaking families get along in school?

- A. Very well
- B. Fairly well
- C. Not very well
- D. Don't know

Are you active in any school-connected activities like these? : sports and athletics teams, hobby clubs, science clubs, musical clubs, art & dance clubs, drama clubs, student newspaper, student council, Fairtrade or other charities etc.

Please write down all the groups you were involved in during year 7:

26. Were your friends at school involved in school activities?

- A. Very active
- B. Somewhat active
- C. Not very active
- D. Not active at all
- E. I had no friends at school

27. Would you say that your group of friends was the 'top crowd' at school?

- A. Yes
- B. Near the top
- C. No
- D. I have no group of friends
- E. I don't know

28. How much do you think other students like the group of friends you hang with?

- A. Very much
- B. Fairly well
- C. Not much
- D. Not at all
- E. I have no group of friends
- F. I don't know

29. How much do you think teachers like the group of friends you hang with?

- A. Very much
- B. Fairly well
- C. Not much
- D. Not at all
- E. I have no group of friends
- F. I don't know

30. Are you one of the leaders in your group of friends?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. I have no group of friends

31. Teachers care most about students who are going to go to university

- A. Agree
- B. Undecided
- C. Disagree

32. If you could be well-known at your school for one of the following, which one would you most want it to be?

- A. Bright student
- B. Sports star
- C. Popular
- D. Leader in school
- E. Well dressed
- F. Just average

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about school and teachers?

Use the following to answer:

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Agree
- C. Undecided
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

33. Teachers don't have time to talk about problems.

34. Brains are more important in school than manners.

35. I would do better in school work if teachers didn't go so fast.

36. It is none of the school's business if a student wants to smoke outside school.

37. Teachers give enough examples to make things clear for me.
38. I feel nervous and tense in school.
39. Teachers pick on me.
40. The things we learn in school help me to understand what is going on around me.
41. Teachers use words that I don't understand.
42. Teachers understand students.
43. Teachers just want you to be quiet.
44. Most teachers enjoy teaching.
45. Most teachers know their subject.
46. Most teachers keep good discipline in class.
47. Pupils of all nationalities and races should attend school together.
48. A person should never stop trying to be better than others.
49. I have no control over what happens to me.
50. I have no really close friends.
51. A person should live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
52. At school, I pretend to be someone I am not.
53. If I know I might fail at something, I don't even start it.
54. People don't seem to realize that my feelings can be hurt.
55. In Wales, chances for success are available to everyone.
56. I may seem happy to people, but inside I often feel unhappy.
57. Thinking ahead is useless since one's plans hardly ever work out.
58. To be better than others, you have to do some things which are not right.

59. People are always picking on me.
60. I worry a lot about school.
61. Most people can be trusted.
62. I often feel discouraged.
63. Whatever I do, I try hard.
64. You should not expect too much out of life.
65. I don't like being criticized by adults.
66. I try hard in school.
67. Most people at school don't care what happens to you.
68. Most students at school commit crime.
69. People who commit crime when they are young will commit crime throughout their lives.
70. It is OK to break rules or laws if you aren't going to get caught.
71. You are more likely to get caught breaking rules in school than out of school.
72. Getting a good education is harder than getting a good job.
73. On the whole, I am satisfied with the chances I hope to have in my life.
74. In an argument between teachers and pupils, the teacher is usually right.
75. I would be very worried if I got sent to Senior Management [named in original].
76. I don't want to be excluded from school.
77. The school rules are fair.
78. People who get into trouble should be excluded from school.
79. It is hard to tell other people how I feel.
80. The higher you aim, the more you will achieve.

Appendix B : Interview Vignettes

What does it mean to belong to [school]? What sort of pupil do you have to be?

How important is it to belong to school?

How does a sense of belonging affect how someone behaves?

David has a reputation as a troublemaker. Is he treated differently by teachers? If he is, in what way? Does he notice that he is treated differently? What does he notice? How does this affect David? Does the rest of the class notice? What do they think?

Jack is disruptive, he argues with the teachers, he shows off for his classmates, he doesn't care about his work. Cara is angry, she fights with other pupils, stirs up trouble, answers back to teachers – some people might say that they don't have a sense of belonging to school. They don't care about school; there is no 'bond'. Can you think of someone?

What is important about the sense of belonging? Is it... How they feel about school? How they think the school feels about them? Or is it that they notice how they are in school compared to how other pupils are (their difference)?

John doesn't have a problem with teachers but always seems to be running into fights and arguments with other pupils. Other pupils see him as a bully, he goes out of his way to hurt other pupils but badly enough to ever get into serious trouble with school. What's the problem here? The school, other pupils or something else?

Stealing at [school] isn't too bad an issue but fighting and bullying (verbal and physical) is common... why do you think this is?

Rob thinks it's OK to do things that are wrong or against the rules (cheating, stealing or hurting others) if he thinks he'll get something out of it... like a higher mark in a test, a possession he really wants or making himself feel stronger /more powerful). And he thinks everyone else is doing that too!

Jim and Joe are very similar in most ways but Jim is very, very bright, he scores highly in all subjects, does his homework on time and works hard. But he has few if any friends, is always on his own and seems not to enjoy school. He doesn't get on with teachers, he doesn't get on with pupils, no one seems to understand him. Joe is the opposite, he is in all the bottom sets, his homework is sloppy, he has no interest in learning but he is hugely popular with everyone. The teachers find him entertaining and charming, the pupils find him cool and funny. He is very happy in school. Which boy has a stronger sense of belonging to school? Which boy is likely to have disruptive/ challenging behaviour?

Jess is very disruptive and difficult, challenging teachers, swearing, fighting. Her exclusions are getting longer and longer, in year 7 she had 2 exclusions, now in year 9 she has already been excluded 4 times the last being 5 days long. Is exclusion the right way to deal with Jess?

Appendix C : Inclusion Unit Policy

In order to safeguard school anonymity, the Inclusion Unit Policy document is not included in this thesis. If you have any enquiries about the document, please contact psillsjones@gmail.com

Bibliography

- Adams J (2004) *Group Work in the Youth Service* in Dwivedi K *Group work with children and adolescents: a handbook* Jessica Kingsley Publishers: London
- Alderson P and Morrow V (2011) *The Ethics of Research with Children and Young People: A Practical Handbook* London: Sage
- Aldridge J and Cross S (2008) *Young People Today* Journal of Children and Media Vol 2 (3)
- Allaire Y and Firsirotu M (1984) *Theories of Organisational Culture* *Organisational Studies* Vol 5
- Andeman (2002) *School Effects on Psychological Outcomes during Adolescence* Journal of Educational Psychology Vol 94
- Anderson C (1982) *The Search for School Climate: A Review of the Research* Review of Educational Research Vol 52(3) pp368-420
- Archer M (2003) *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation* Cambridge: University Press
- Armstrong D (2006a) *Becoming Criminal: The cultural politics of Risk* International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol 10(2-3) pp265-278
- Armstrong D (2006b) 'Governing Young People's Pathways', paper presented at 'Pathways Into and Out of Crime: Taking Stock and Moving Forward' Conference, Leicester, April.
- Armstrong T (2006c) *The best schools: how human development research should inform educational practice* The Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development: Virginia USA
- Asay T and Lambert M (1999) *The empirical case for the common factors in therapy: Quantitative findings* in M. A. Hubble, B. L. Duncan, and S. D. Miller (Eds.), *The heart and soul of change: What works in therapy* (pp. 33–56). Washington, DC: APA Press
- Audit Commission (1998) *Misspent Youth Young People and Crime* Audit Commission
- Bagley C and Pritchard C (1998) *The reduction of problem behaviours and school exclusion in at risk youth: an experimental study of school social work with cost benefit analysis* Child and Family Social Work Vol 3 p219
- Ball C and Connolly J (2000) *Educationally Disaffected Young Offenders* British Journal of Criminology 40
- Ballantine J and Spade J (2004) *School and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education* Thomson Wadsworth: Canada
- Ballantine J and Roberts K (2007) *Our Social World: Introduction to Sociology* Sage Press

- Balling R (2005) *Diagnosis of Organisational Cultures* Transactional Analysis Journal Vol 35(4)
- Barbaree R, Bowling B, Junger-Tas J, Rechea-Alberola C van Kesteren J and Zurawan A (2004) *Self-reported juvenile delinquency in England and Wales, the Netherlands and Spain*. Helsinki, Finland: European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control
- Barter C and Renold E (2000) *'I wanna tell you a story': exploring the application of vignettes in qualitative research with children and young people* International Journal of Social Research Methodology Vol 3(4)
- Baruch Y (1999) *Response Rate in Academic Studies-A Comparative Analysis* Human Relations Vol 52 (4)
- Bandura A (1997) *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*, Freeman: New York
- Basini A (1981) *Urban Schools and 'Disruptive Pupils': A Study of Some ILEA Support Units* Educational Review Vol 33
- Battistich V, Solomon B, Watson M and Schaps E (1997) *Caring School Communities* Educational Psychologist Vol 32 pp137-151
- Battistich V and Hom A (1997) *The relationship between students' sense of their school as a community and their involvement in problem behaviors* American Journal of Public Health Vol. 87 (12)
- Becker H S (1963) *Outsiders*. New York: The Free Press
- Berne E (1961) *Transactional analysis in psychotherapy, a systematic individual and social psychiatry* New York: Ballantine Books
- Berne E (1973) *The Structure and Dynamics of Organizations and Groups* New York: Ballantine Books
- Berridge D, Brodie I, Pitts J, Porteous D and Tarling R (2001) *The independent Effects of permanent exclusion from school on the offending careers of young people* Home Office
- Bernstein B (1970) article entitled "Schools cannot compensate for Society" in *New Society* 26/2/70
- Bernstein B (1975) *Class, Codes and Control Vol 3: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Chapter 5
- Bion W (1961) *Experiences in groups and other papers* Tavistock: New York USA
- Blomberg T and Cohen S (2003) *Punishment and Social Control* New Jersey: Transaction Publishers
- Blum and Libbey (2004) *School Connectedness: Strengthening health and educational Outcomes for Teenagers* Journal of School Health Vol 74

- Blyth and Milner (1996) *Exclusion from School : Inter-Professional Issues for Policy and Practice* Routledge: London and New York
- Boccanfuso C M (2009) "*This Makes me Who I Am*": *The Meaning and Significance of School Membership for Ninth Grade Students Transitioning to High School* Digital Repository at the University of Maryland (College Park, Md.)
- Bourdieu P (1977) *Towards a Theory of Practice* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bourdieu, P. (1985) *The genesis of the concepts of Habitus and of Field*, *Sociocriticism*, Vol 2, 11-24
- Boxford S (2006) *Schools and The Problem of Crime*, Cullompton: Willan
- Brehony, K. (2005) *Primary schooling under New Labour: the irresolvable contradiction of excellence and enjoyment*, *Oxford Review of Education*, 31, 1, 29-46.
- Briggs, D. (2010) "*The world is out to get me, Bruv*": *Life after school 'exclusion' Safer Communities* 19, 2, 9-19.
- Brodie, I. (2001) *Children's Homes and School Exclusion: Redefining the Problem*. London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Brown J and Munn P (2008) '*School violence*' as a social problem: *charting the rise* *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, Vol18
- Brookmeyer et al (2006) *School, Parents and Youth Violence* *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology* Vol35
- Butler I and Williamson H (1994) *Children Speak: children, trauma and social work* Longman
- Burke P (2003) *Advances in identity theory and research* New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers
- Burnett G and Walz G (1994) *Gangs in the Schools* *ERIC Digest* 99
- Case S (2006) *Young People 'At Risk' of What? Challenging Risk-focused Early Intervention as Crime Prevention* *Youth Justice* Vol 6(3)
- Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2009) *School Connectedness: Strategies for increasing protective factors among youth* GA:US
- Centre for Social Justice (2011) *No excuses: a review of educational exclusion* London: Centre for Social Justice.
- Clarkson P (1992) *Transactional Analysis Psychotherapy: An integrated Approach* London: Routledge
- Coghlan D. and Brannick T (2005) *Doing Action Research in your own Organisation* London: Sage

- Cohen A (1955) *Delinquent Boys: the culture of the gang* New York: Free Press.
- Coleman J (2011) *The Nature of Adolescence* Fourth Edition London: Routledge
- Combs A (1982) *Affective Education or None at All* Educational Leadership Vol 39(7)
- Conant R (1968) *Black Power in Urban America* Library Journal Vol 93(15)
- Conrad P (1980) *Medicine and Crime – The search for the born criminal and the medical control of criminality* in *Deviance and Medicalization – From Badness to Sickness* by Conrad and Schneider
- Cooper P and Upton G (1991) *An ecosystem approach to emotional and behavioural difficulties* in *The Routledge Falmer reader in psychology of education* (Ed Daniels and Edwards) London: Routledge 2004
- Coy M (2006) *This morning I'm a researcher: this afternoon I'm an outreach worker: ethical dilemmas in practitioner research* International Journal of Social Research Methodology. 9 (5) 419-431.
- Croll P, Attwood G, Fuller C and Last K (2008) *The Structure and Implications of Children's Attitudes to School* British Journal of Educational Studies Vol 4
- Daniels, H., Cole, T., Sellman, E., Sutton, J., Visser, J. and Bedward, J. (2003) *Study of young people permanently excluded from school* (DfES research report 405), London: DfES (available at www.dcsf.gov.uk/research/data/uploadfiles/RR405.pdf, accessed 11 March 2009).
- De Vault M (1996) *Talking Back to Sociology: Distinctive Contributions of Feminist Methodology* Annual Review of Sociology Vol. 22
- Department for Education and Department of Health (1994) *The Education of Children with Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties Circular number 9/94 DH L/K (94)9*
- Department for Children, Schools and Families (2007) *Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning for Secondary Schools* Nottingham: DCSF Publications
- Department for Children, Schools and Families (2008) *Statistical First Release: Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions from Schools in England 2006/07 – SFR14/2008*
- Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009) *Parent Support Advisor Pilot Evaluation Final Report* Research Report DCSF-RR151
- Department for Education and Employment (1998) *Teachers: meeting the challenge of change. A Technical Consultation Document on Pay and Performance Management*
- Department for Education and Employment (1994) *Pupils with Problems* London: The Stationary Office
- Department for Education and Skills (2003) *Every Child Matters* London : DfES

- Department for Education (2011a) *Statistical First Release: GCSE and Equivalent Results in England, 2009/10 – SFR01-2011*
- Department for Education (2011b) *Statistical First Release: Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions from Schools in England 2009/10 – SFR17/2011*
- Dishion T (1995) *Antisocial Boys and Their Friends in Early Adolescence: Relationship Characteristics, Quality, and Interactional Process* Child Development Vol 66(1)
- Durkheim E (1961) *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education* Translation by Wilson and Schnurer The Free Press: New York
- Eber L, Sugai G, Smith C, Scott T (2001) *Wraparound and Positive Behavioural Interventions and Supports in the Schools* Journal of Emotional Behavioural Difficulties Vol 9 p239
- Education Reform Act (1988) http://www.opsi.gov.uk/acts/acts1988/ukpga_19880040_en_1
Date accessed 14/10/08
- Edwards R and Alldred P (1999) *Children and Young People's View of Social Research: The Case of Research on Home-School Relations*. Childhood Vol 6(2)
- Elton Report (1989) *Discipline in Schools: Report of Committee of Enquiry* Chaired by Lord Elton London H.M.S.O.
- Fergusson (1997) The Christchurch Health and Development Study: An overview and some key findings. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 10
- Fielding N (2010) *Mixed Methods Research in the Real World*. International Journal of Social Research Methodology, Vol 13 (2)
- Finch, J. (1984) 'It's great to have someone to talk to': the ethics and politics of interviewing women', in C. Bell and H. Roberts (eds) *Social Researching: Politics, Problems, Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Finn J (1989) *Withdrawing from School* Review of Educational Research Vol 59 (2)
- Fratter (1996) *Adoption with Contact* BAAF, London
- Furman (1998) *Postmodernism and Community in Schools: Unravelling the Paradox* Educational Administration Quarterly vol 34
- Georgiou S, Christou C, Stavrinides P and Panaoura G (2000) *Teacher Attributions of Student Failure and Teacher Behaviour Toward the Failing Student* Psychology in the Schools Vol 39(5)
- Goleman D (1995) *Emotional Intelligence* NewYork Press, NY: Bantam Books
- Gomm et al (2004) *Social Research Methodology: A critical introduction* London: Palgrave McMillan

- Goodenow C (1993) *Classroom Belonging among Early Adolescent Students Relationships to Motivation and Achievement* Journal of Early Adolescence Vol 13(1)
- Giddens A (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* California: University Press
- Gottfredson G, Gottfredson D, Payne A, Gottfredson N (2005) *School Climate Predictors of School Disorder: Results from a National Study of Delinquency Prevention in Schools* Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency Vol 42 (4)
- Graff N (2009) *Classroom talk: co-constructing a 'difficult student'* Educational Research Vol 51 (4)
- Graham J (1988) *Schools, Disruptive Behaviour and Delinquency* London: Home Office Research Study 96, HMSO
- Green J and Hart L (1999) 'The impact of context on data'. In *Developing focus group research*, (Eds) Barbour and Kitinger London: Sage.
- Griffith A (1998) *Insider/Outsider: Epistemological privilege and mothering work* Human Studies Vol 21
- Harden J, Scott S, Backett-Milburn K, Jackson S(2000) 'Can't Talk, Won't Talk?: Methodological Issues in Researching Children' Sociological Research Online Vol 5(2)
- Hargreaves D, Hester S, Mellor F (1976) *Deviance in Classrooms* London: Routledge
- Hargreaves, D. (1994) *The Mosaic of Learning: Schools and Teachers for the New Century*, London, Demos.
- Hargreaves A (1989) *The Crisis of Motivation and Assessment* in Hargreaves and Reynolds (eds) *Education Policies: Controversies and Critiques* London: Falmer Press
- Hart C (1998) *Doing a Literature Review Releasing the Social Science Research Imagination* London: Sage
- Hay McBer Report (2000) *A Model of Teacher Effectiveness*
www.dfes.gov.uk/teachingreforms/mcber
- Hayden C (2003) *Responding to exclusion from school in England* Journal of Educational Administration Vol 41 (6) pp 626-639
- Hayden C, Williamson T and Webber R (2007) *Schools, Pupil Behaviour and Young Offenders* Brit Journal of Criminology 47 p293-310
- Hayden C (2009) *Deviance and Violence in Schools: A Review of the Evidence in England* International Journal of Violence and School Vol 9
- Hayden C (2011a) *School and Social Control* in Hayden and Martin (Eds) *Crime, Anti-Social Behaviour and Schools* Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan

- Hayden C (2011b) *Safety, School Connectedness and Problem Behaviour* in Hayden and Martin (Eds) *Crime, Anti-Social Behaviour and Schools* Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan
- Hawkins JD and Lishner D (1987) *Schooling and Delinquency* in Handbook on Crime and Delinquency Prevention by Johnson E Connecticut: Greenwood Press.
- Hendrick, H. (1997) 'Constructions and reconstructions of British childhood: an interpretative survey, 1800 to the present' in A. James and A. Prout (eds) *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. London: Routledge.
- Hill (1997) *Participatory Research with Children* Child and Family Social Work Vol 2
- Hilton Z (2006) *Disaffection and school exclusion: why are inclusion policies still not working in Scotland?* Research Papers in Education Vol 21 (3) pp295-314
- Hirschi T and Gottfredson M (2001) *Self Control Theory* in Paternoster and Bauchman (Eds) *Explaining Criminals and Crime*
- Hirschi T (1969) *Causes of Delinquency* Transaction Publishers: New Jersey
- Hodgson, P. Webb, D. (2005) *Young People, Crime and School Exclusion: A Case of Some Surprises* Howard Journal of Criminal Justice 44;(1) p12-28
- Holtham J (2009) *Taking Restorative Justice to Schools; A Doorway to Discipline* Homestead Press
- Hood S, Kelley P and Mayall B (1996) *Children as research subjects: a risky enterprise* Children and Society Vol 10(2) pp117-128
- Humphrey N, Lendrum A and Wigelsworth M (2010) *Social and emotional aspects of learning (SEAL) programme in secondary schools: national evaluation* DFE (formally DCSF Publications)
- Hymel S, Wagner E and Butler L (1990) *Reputational Bias: View from the Peer Group* in Asher and Coie (Eds) *Peer Rejection in Childhood* Cambridge University Press
- Illich I (1971) *Deschooling Society* London : Calder and Boyers
- The Independent (2004b) Blair's 'little ray of sunshine' keen to shed new light on old cops-and-robbers story. Monday 16th August page 25.
- James A, Jenks C, Prout A (1998) *Theorising Childhood* Cambridge: Polity
- Jenkins P (1997) *School Delinquency and the School Social Bond* Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency Vol 34
- Joyce P and Sills C (2001) *Skills in Gestalt Counselling and Psychotherapy* London: Sage Publications
- Kohlberg (1963) *The development of children's orientations toward a moral order: I. Sequence in the development of moral thought* Vita Humana, Vol 6 (1-2)

- Kretshmer (1921) *Critique of the Unconscious* Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease Vol 54 (5)
- Kyriacou C, Ellingsen I T, Stephens P, Sundarama V (2009) *Social pedagogy and the teacher: England and Norway compared* Pedagogy, Culture and Society Vol 17 (1)
- Lawrence J, Steed D, and Young P (1984) *European Voices on Disruptive Behaviour in Schools: Definitions, Concern, and Types of Behaviour* British Journal of Educational Studies
- Lee V and Smith J (1997) *High School Size: Which Works Best and for Whom?* Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis Vol 19 (3)
- Loukas A, Ripperger-Suhler K and Horton S (2008) *Examining Temporal Associations Between School Connectedness and Early Adolescent Adjustment* Journal of Youth and Adolescence Vol 38 (6)
- Lovey J and Cooper P (1997) *Positive Alternatives to School Exclusion* Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties 2(3)
- Loxley A and Thomas G (2001) *Neo-conservatives, Neo-liberals, the New Left and Inclusion: Stirring the pot* Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol 31(3)
- Lumsden G, Lumsden D, Wiethoff C (2009) *Communicating in Groups and Teams: Sharing Leadership* Wadsworth: Boston USA
- MacRae S, Maguire M and Milbourne L (2003) *Social Exclusion: exclusion from school* International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol7 (2) 89-101
- Maguin E and Loeber R (1996) *Academic Performance and Delinquency* Crime and Justice: A Review of Research Vol 20: 145
- Malloy J, Cheney D and Cormier G (1998) *Interagency collaboration and the transition to adulthood for students with emotional and behavioural disabilities* Education and Treatment of Children Vol 1
- Mandell N (1991) *'The Least Adult Role in Studying Children'* in Waksler (ed) Studying the social worlds of children Basingstoke: Falmer
- Martin, P. Y. and Jackson, S. (2002), *Educational success for children in public care: advice from a group of high achievers*. Child and Family Social Work, 7: 121–13
- Maslow A H (1943) *A theory of human motivation* Psychological Review, Vol 50(4),
- Mauthner M (1997) *Methodological aspects of social research with children: lessons from three research projects* Children and Society Vol 11(1)
- McEvoy A, Welker R (2000) *Anti-social Behaviour, Academic Failure and School Climate: a critical review* Journal of Emotional and Behavioural Disorders Vol 8(3) p130

- McGraw K, Moore S, Fuller A, Bates G (2008) *Family, peer and school connectedness in final year secondary school students* Australian Psychologist Vol. 43(1)
- McMillan and Chavis (1986) *Sense of community: A definition and theory*. Journal of Community Psychology, 14
- McNeely, C. A., Nonnemaker, J. M. and Blum, R. W. (2002), *Promoting School Connectedness: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health*. Journal of School Health, 72
- McNess E, Broadfoot P and Osborn M (2003) *Is the Effective Compromising the Affective* British Educational Research Journal Vol 29(2)
- Menzies (1960) *A Case-Study in the Functioning of Social Systems as a Defence against Anxiety: A Report on a Study of the Nursing Service of a General Hospital* Human Relations Vol 13
- Mercer J (2007) *The Challenges of Insider Research in Educational Institutions: Wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas*. Oxford Review of Education Vol 33(1)
- Merton R (1972) *Insiders' or Outsiders' views of Relationships: Research Studies* in Lvinger and Rausch (Eds) *Close Relationships: Perspectives on the meaning of Intimacy* Amhurst University of Massachusetts Press
- Meyer and Rowan (2008) *The Structure of Educational Organisations* in Ballantine and Spade (Eds) *School and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education*
- Moneim El-Meligi A (2005) *Leading starts in the mind* World Scientific Publishing
- Miethe T and McDowell D (1993) *Contextual Effects in Models of Criminal Victimization* Social Forces Vol 71
- Mone M, Baker D and Jeffries F (1995) *Predictive validity and time dependency of self-efficacy, self-esteem, personal goals, and academic performance*. Educational and Psychological Measurement 55(5),
- MORI (2004) *MORI Youth Justice Survey 2004* London: YJB
- Morrow V and Richards M (1996) *The ethics of social research with children an overview* children and Society Vol 10(2)
- Mosley J and Tew M (1999) *Quality Circle Time in the Secondary School - A Handbook of Good Practice* David Fulton Publishers: London
- Mulligan G, Douglas J, Hammon W and Tizard J (1963) *Delinquency and Symptoms of Maladjustment: the findings of a longitudinal study* Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine Vol 56
- Munn P, Lloyd G and Cullen M (2000) *Alternatives to Exclusion form School* London: Sage Publications

- Nye I F (1958) *Family relationships and delinquent behaviour*. Oxford, England: John Wiley
- Oakley A (1981) *Interviewing Women in Doing Feminist Research* edited by Roberts (Routledge London)
- Osterman K (2000) *Students' Need for Belonging in the School Community* Review of Educational Research Vol 70(3)
- Parsons, C. (1999) *Education, Exclusion and Citizenship* London: Routledge.
- Parsons, C. (2005) 'School exclusion: the will to punish?' *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53, 2, 187-211.
- Payne A, Gottfredson D and Gottfredson G (2003) *Schools as Communities: The Relationships among communal School Organisation, Student Bonding and School Disorder* *Criminology* Vol 41(3)
- Pearce N and Hillman J (1998) *Wasted youth Raising achievement and tackling social exclusion* Institute for Public Policy Research, London (United Kingdom)
<http://hdl.handle.net/10068/374556>
- Power M, Benn R and Morris J (1972) *Neighbourhoods, schools and juveniles before the courts* *British Journal of Criminology* Vol (12) pp111-132
- Punch S (2002), *Interviewing strategies with young people: the 'secret box', stimulus material and task-based activities*. *Children and Society*, 16
- Reinke W and Herman K (2002) *Creating School Environments the Deter Antisocial Behaviours in Youth* *Psychology in the Schools* Vol 39(5)
- Rice et al (2008) *Relationships of anger, stress and coping with school connectedness in 4th grade* *Journal of School Health* Vol 78(3)
- Riley K (1998) *Whose School is it Anyway: Educational Change and Development* London: Falmer
- Rostosky S, Owens G, Zimmerman R and Riggle E (2003) *Associations among sexual attraction status, school belonging, and alcohol and marijuana use in rural high school students* *Journal of Adolescence* Vol 26 (6)
- Ross R and Fabiano E (1985). *Time to Think: A cognitive model of delinquency prevention and offender rehabilitation*. Johnson City: Institute of Social Sciences and Arts.
- Roth A and Fonagy P (2005) *What Works for Whom?, Second Edition: A Critical Review of Psychotherapy Research* Guildford Press: New York
- Rutter M, Maughan B, Mortimore P and Ouston J (1979) *Fifteen thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and their Effects on Children* London: Open Books
- Sampson R and Raudenbush S (2001) *Disorder in Urban Neighbourhoods: Does It Lead to Crime?* US Department of Justice: National Institute of Justice

Sarason S (1996) *Revisiting "The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change"* Teachers College Press: New York

Schutz A (1971) *The stranger: an essay in social psychology* in *School and Society* by Cosin et al (Routledge London and Kegan Paul in association with Open University Press)

Scruton P (2004) *From Deceit to Disclosure: The Politics of Official Inquiries* in the United Kingdom in Gilligan and Pratt (Eds) *Crime, Truth and Justice: Official Inquiry, Discourse, Knowledge*, London: Willan Publishing

Shores R, Jack S, Gunter P, Ellis D, DeBriere T and Wehby J (1993) *Classroom Interactions of Children with Behaviour Disorders* *Journal of Educational and Behavioural Disorders* Vol 1

Simons H (1981) *Conversation piece: the practice of interviewing in case study research* in C Aldeman (ed) *Uttering Muttering* London Grant McIntyre

Simons H (2007) *Integrating Arts-Based Inquiry in Evaluation Methodology Opportunities and Challenges* *Qualitative Enquiry* Vol 13 (2)

Simons H (2009) *Case Study Research in Practice* Los Angeles: Sage

Sivanandan A (1994) 'Introduction' in *Outcast England: How Schools Exclude Black Children* (Eds Bourne, Bridges and Searle)

Solberg A (1996) 'The Challenge in Child Research: From 'Being' to 'Doing'' in Brannen and O'Brian (Eds) *Children in Families: Research and Policy* Basingstoke: Falmer

Sprott J (2004) *The development of early delinquency: Can classroom and school climate make a difference?* *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (2004) p553-572

Stake R (1995) *The art of case study research* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Steiner C (2003) *Emotional Intelligence: Intelligence with a Heart*. California: Personwood Press

Steinberg L (2005) *Cognitive and affective development in adolescence* *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, Vol 9 (2), pp. 69-74.

Stephenson M (2007) *Young People and Offending; Education, Youth Justice and Social Inclusion* London: Willan Publishing

Stewart I and Joines V (1987) *TA today: a new introduction to transactional analysis* California: Lifespace Publishing

Stockard and Mayberry (1992) *Effective Educational Environments* Newbury Park California: Corwin Press

Tashakkori A and Teddlie C (2003) (Eds) *The handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage

- Tattum (1982) *Disruptive pupils in schools and units* London: Wiley
- Teddlie C and Reynolds D (2000) *The international handbook of school effectiveness research* Falmer Press: New York
- Thomas N and O’Kane C (1998) *The Ethics of Participatory Research with Children* Children and Society Vol 12
- Thornberry (2003) *Taking Stock of Delinquency: An Overview of Findings from Contemporary Longitudinal Studies* New York : Plenum Publishers
- Thorne B (1993) *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School* Buckingham: Open University Press
- Tight M (2010) *The curious case of the case study: a viewpoint* International Journal of Social Research Methodology Vol13(4)
- Tobin M (2000) “Fear Rules” The Guardian 27th June
- Triseliotis J, Borland M, Hill M and Lambert L (1995) *Teenagers and the Social Work Services* London: HMSO
- Truscott D, Swars S, Smith S, Thornton-Reid F, Zhao Y, Dooley C, Williams B, Hart L and Matthews M (2010) *A cross-disciplinary examination of the prevalence of mixed methods in educational research: 1995-2005* International Journal of Social Research Methodology Vol 13(4) pp317-328
- Tunnard, J. with Barnes, T. and Flood, S. (2008) *One in Ten: Key messages from policy, research and practice about young people who are NEET*. Totnes: Research in Practice
- Visser J (2003) *A Study of Children and Young People who Present Challenging Behaviour* London: Ofsted
- Wachtel T (1997) *REAL Justice: How can we revolutionise our response to wrongdoing* Pipers Press: Pennsylvania
- Waksler F C (1991) *Studying the Social Worlds of children* Basingstoke: Falmer
- Walker et al (1996) *Integrated approaches to preventing antisocial behaviour patterns among school-age children and youth* Journal of Emotional and Behavioural Disorders Vol 4(4) pp194-209
- Wampold, B. E. (2001) *The Great Psychotherapy Debate*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Welsh W, Greene J and Jenkins P (1999) *School Disorder: The influence of individual, institutional and community factors* Criminology Vol 37(1) pp73-115
- Welsh (2001) *Effects of student and school factors on five measures of school disorder* Justice Quarterly 18 pp911-947
- Welsh Government (2011) *Statistical Data Release Exclusions from Schools in Wales, 2009/10 (Revised) SDR33/2011* Cardiff: Welsh Government

Weerman F, Harland P and Van der Laan P (2007) *Misbehaviour at School and Delinquency Elsewhere – A complex relationship* Criminal Justice Review Vol 23 (4)

Weiner B (1985) *An attributional theory of achievement motivation and emotion* Psychological Review Vol 92

Wentzel K and Caldwell K (1997) *Friendships, Peer Acceptance, and Group Membership: Relations to Academic Achievement in Middle School* Child Development Vol 68(6)

West, A. and Pennell, H. (2002) 'How new is New Labour? The quasi-market and English schools 1997-2001', British Journal of Educational Studies, 50, 2, 206-224.

West D and Farrington D (1973) *Who Becomes Delinquent?* London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd

Willis P E (1977) *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Boys get Working Class Jobs* Colombia University Press

Wilson D (2004), *The Interface of School Climate and School Connectedness and Relationships with Aggression and Victimization*. Journal of School Health, 74

Wilson W (1974) *The New Black Sociology: Reflections on the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' controversy* in Black Sociologists: historical and contemporary perspectives edited by Blackwell and Janowitz (University of Chicago Press)

Wright-Watson J (2004) *Group Work with Children in a Therapeutic Community* in Dwivedi K *Group work with children and adolescents: a handbook* Jessica Kingsley Publishers: London

Youth Justice Board *Youth Inclusion and Support Panels (YISPs)*
<http://www.yjb.gov.uk/en-gb/yjs/Prevention/YISP/> Date accessed 14/10/08

YouGov/Sunday Times (2011) *The State of Schools* pdf accessed 4/7/11
<http://today.yougov.co.uk/sites/today.yougov.co.uk/files/vg-archives-pol-st-results-24-260611v2.pdf>

Zimmerman B and Cleary T (2006) *Adolescents' Development of Personal Agency in Self-Efficacy Beliefs of Adolescents* in Pajares and Urdan (Eds.), *Self-efficacy beliefs of adolescents* Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing