

THE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL AUTHORITY POLICY AND
PRACTICE ON PROMOTING INCLUSIVE EDUCATION AND EFFECTIVE
MULTIAGENCY SERVICES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN A PUPIL REFERRAL UNIT

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ABSTRACT

A great deal of educational, psychological, medical and social service expertise, time and money is devoted to a small population of children and young people who do not currently fit into mainstream education. This thesis seeks to identify areas of practice and policy that might lead to more effective multiagency provision and to more inclusive education. It looks at the provision for a group of KS2, KS3 and KS4 young people who have been excluded or removed from mainstream education for behavioural, emotional and/or social reasons. The research took place in one unit within a portfolio pupil referral unit (PRU) over several years.

The method of research was through unstructured and semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and the records of case histories. Interviewees and respondents include arbitrarily chosen adults, young people in mainstream schools and young people already in other education settings. Teachers, education managers, psychologists and social work professionals were interviewed as well as parents or carers. Through this process, lines of communication, accountability, information giving and sharing were explored.

The findings relate to communication between agencies and the possibilities for wider education policy. The networks for essential information sharing between professionals were not uniform and relied heavily on the personal rapport between individual professionals. Communication between the client group and service providers was determined by professional parameters and time allocations. The satisfaction of the client relied heavily on their preconceived ideas of outcome and service deliverer's performance judged against those ideas. The variety of life experiences that contributed to the need for alternative provision identified the call for further consideration of how education is delivered rather than what should be taught.

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DEDICATIONS

“Education is what remains after one has forgotten everything learned in school” (Einstein)

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Why am I doing this research?

Education, structures the lives of children and young people. It may be the only structure they experience, it may complement their home lives, it may damage them. It is an expensive service. To get value for money and to contribute to the “aspirations of the nation” it always attracts the attention of the holders of the public purse. What it offers, how it is changed or modified by the needs of the industrial, commercial, professional and creative world means that every generation of school children will have a slightly different emphasis put on their learning environment. Within that generation lie a number of young people who experience difficulties in responding to the demands of a mainstream education.

In the last sixty years, at least, successive administrations have sought solutions to the ongoing problems of social equity, child poverty and educational marginalisation. In the educational arena these efforts have, to a large extent, been directed at raising academic standards through requiring schools to implement the National Curriculum and associated assessment arrangements while at the same time encouraging schools and local authorities to pursue an inclusive agenda whereby all potentially marginalised young people should benefit from opportunities afforded to them in mainstream schools.

There is a massive amount of goodwill and funding that has gone into addressing the twin issue of standards and the generally agreed agenda of inclusion. In Wales, the main provider, promoting partnership working and targeted funding for children and youth is Cymorth, the Children and Youth Support Fund, soon to be renamed the Families First Fund. The question remains: Are the outcomes commensurate with the effort and expense particularly for potentially vulnerable and marginalised young people? In order to explore this complex area further, the research reported in this thesis focuses on the services provided for young people in one LA (Local Authority) who have been, or who are at risk of, being excluded from mainstream school because of their emotional and behavioural problems.

The statistics from PISA, (Programme for International Student Assessment Bradshaw *et al*) (2009) present a rather gloomy picture about the quality of education in Wales, where this study takes place. The PISA Report (for year 11 students) suggests that there is a mismatch between the PISA tasks and teaching/learning styles/GCSE specifications in

some subjects,,that may account for some of the outcomes. In reading literacy (Welsh and English) PISA seeks to measure "...a young person's ability to understand, use and reflect upon a range of written tests..." (p12) The National Curriculum in Wales focuses on three elements, oracy, reading and writing. In maths the PISA tasks "...require learners to read a large amount of contextual information...more than is usual in any internal assessment with which learners in Wales would be familiar." (p12) In science the three main subjects are still being taught discretely at Key stage 3 whereas the PISA requirement is for scientific literacy. These nuanced differences will have the greatest affect on learners of less than high ability. In spite of the low ranking of Welsh students on educational achievement the students themselves had a generally positive view of their education and the PISA Report suggests that social equity in Wales is closer to the OECD (Organisation for Economic and Co-operation Development) norm than in other countries in the UK The autonomy of schools, the level of in-house management of what goes on in a school, was higher than in most OECD countries and there was quite a high level of rapport between students and their teachers, only 23% believing that their teachers were not interested in them. In spite of the concern of the headteachers, pupil absence was lower than in other countries. What the headteachers reported as the most significant shortfall was a lack of computers and too few support personnel. What they also reported was a high level of appropriately qualified teachers. Where extra support for a pupil is necessary schools must depend on their own resources in the first instance. This suggests that there are a number of pupils that need support beyond that which is available with the schools' own complement of staff. At the same time clustering of primary schools with a high school suggests an expected continuum within the service; that children will be educated wherever possible within their communities. The high level of sovereignty of the headteachers in Wales was one of the findings of the PISA report; they have a very hands on approach to the day to day running of their schools. An example: 93% observed lessons compared to the 50% reported in other OECD countries, giving particular credibility to headteacher observation. Further evidence about problems in children's overall emotional and social development are indicated in the application for a bursary by a CAMHS team in 2004, that estimated that about 26% of children or their parents had gone to their GP regarding mental health issues.

The impact of assessments and diagnoses for children's behaviours seems to have had two kinds of outcomes for teachers. They may be tempted to seek an assessment and then attribute the difficulties they experience in teaching a child to a *condition*; ASD (Autistic Spectrum Disorder), ADD (Attention Deficit Disorder) ADHD (Attention Deficit with

Hyperactivity Disorder) or ME (Myalgic Encephalomyelitis) for example, or they may seek specialist training in a particular area of need, thus creating *specialist* classes or units within school, on a school campus or in a discrete provision. Where there is an assessment, the management of challenging, disturbed and disturbing behaviours then goes beyond the remit of educators to include other professionals. It appears from the structure of the referral chain that there is almost a collective relief when behaviours can be attributed to a designated condition, comfortably justifying an exclusion.

There is a contradiction between the relief that some headteachers may feel when excluding young people where the hope is that they will get appropriate *treatment* or care away from the mainstream and the aspiration, underpinned by government policy, for all children to be at least integrated into, if not included in a local school. Perhaps one of the reasons why schools continue to exclude children is that they are dissatisfied with the worth and suitability of the support that may be offered by the variety of out-house services that may be available to their staff, pupils and their families, sometimes provided by the voluntary sector, sometimes part of local authority provision, sometimes through the health services and sometimes financed through special grants. The concern about additional services also raises questions about how these services are financed, staffed, trained and distributed and for this study, how the inclusion agenda can be pursued in relation to young people who are experiencing emotional and behavioural problems.

In discussing the wider remit that is clearly necessary in order for the needs of these children to be addressed, Goodwin (1999) explores the notion that education can play a wider role within the local authority structure than providing schooling and a gateway to lifelong learning. She suggests that the network of provision as diverse as Behaviour Support Plans, Youth Offending Team (YOT, later to be renamed Youth Justice) Youth Forums, Parents' Forums, Sure Start, Health Improvement Plans, Asset Management Plans extend the role of education within the local community from the standards agenda.

For this extended education agenda to become an effective means of improving a community, it must involve all participants where everyone is a participant and not just a recipient. This is where the aspiration may be worthy but translation to reality is problematic. Politicians, including Gordon Brown and Michael Gove have referred to the importance of parent interest in the education of their children. In some families and many communities, attendance at school is the closest interest that there is. The vulnerable underbelly within the community, the 14% of children in Wales that live in severe poverty according to a paper commissioned by Save the Children in 2011, is often a passive

recipient of the outcomes of all worthy policies that are put in place. The result is usually a stagnated rather than a dynamic service delivery. Evidence from my own experience indicates that disaffected, marginalized families are unchallenging of the services they are offered but often maintain a culture of demand, complaint and dissatisfaction.

If disaffected pupils are the children of disaffected parents and communities, is there any point at which interventions can change the course of events and attitudes and, to that end, can the education service ever be disconnected from other services acting discretely within the community? Indeed is it ever sensible to state that a pupil's lack of interest in school and associated behaviour problems can be explained away by a diagnosis or assessment? What are the consequences, socially and financially, of effectively marginalising some children and young people from their peers? These are complex questions all of which suggest that the current somewhat fractured model of service delivery, in the end, driven by the education agenda, may not be serving the needs of vulnerable children and young people, their families or communities in the short and the long term.

This somewhat gloomy picture is reinforced at a theoretical level in Robinson and Taylor's self esteem protection model, referred to by Humphrey, Charlton and Newton,(2004) indicates that the threat of low academic achievement drives students to an "...anti-institutional..." (p581) culture, thus relinquishing all investment in "culturally valued activity" (p581) preferring to invest in disruptive behaviours. For many teachers, especially in the secondary sector, these conclusions will not come as a surprise.

In their own research Humphrey *et al.* found that high achieving students perceived good behaviour in schools as more important than low achieving students who felt that academic, athletic and social competence to be more important than their high achieving peers. For the latter, when their behaviours lead to exclusion, the opportunities to achieve in those areas of performance upon which they place the highest value are largely removed. Exclusion, after all is also a state of mind. Exclusion, for most young people being excluded, means you can't go to school and parents have to be hauled in, often at an inconvenient time for them, to listen to an admonishment that may reflect on them, or receive sympathy from a more benevolent school manager. A plan of action may then be suggested that may or may not be practical or suitable for home circumstances. Exclusions are at most for several consecutive days. There is no significant social loss to the individual and very little educational time is forfeited and in any case work is usually sent home. Whether it is done or not is another matter. What the experience does do is it gives a young person a status. It may be heroic or it may be a stigma. How a child or young

person interprets his or her status may have predictable or unforeseen consequences upon their behaviours and attitudes. This may have a longer term effect that cannot be predicted at the time of the misdemeanour.

Despite continuing uncertainties about the outcomes for children who experience emotional and behavioural problems, local authorities through direct funding or, often generous grants have set up a menu of services through both statutory and voluntary bodies. The operational challenge is to find ways of delivering a service for these children and young people that works towards the goal of genuinely improving the quality of education, defined in its widest sense, so that they can benefit from it and make a positive contribution to their communities as emotionally secure and adjusted young people. Presently, unless there is a particular reason for compulsion (e.g. to attend school), there is no obligation for any member of any family to take up offers of support or advice for statutory and voluntary agencies. It is therefore important for schools to provide flexible and innovative approaches to support vulnerable individuals, families and possibly communities.

The above discussion illustrates that, in spite of all the political rhetoric, the good will of practitioners and the general agreement that an equitable and inclusive education is desirable, there is also disappointment in the outcomes for a small but significant number of young people. In this study I will explore this area in depth in one Welsh local authority, using a case study methodology to examine stakeholders views of the services offered to young people who have been, or at risk of being, excluded from school in view of their emotional and behavioural problems.

It is not possible to embark upon a study such as this without first reflecting on the personal perspective, not just to avoid bias, but to acknowledge areas of vulnerability and to ensure that the data collected stands up to scrutiny for validity. My own experience of single parenthood certainly contributes to the understanding of the frustrations of many of the client families. Apart from the private despair that being 'on one's own' may bring, it can lead to at best, long term 'low mood', perpetuating pessimism and at worst mental ill health, all of which may have an effect on the family. The expectations and demands of a structured and demanding educational provision are not compatible with the equally demanding challenges of coping at home. This does not mean that it is only single parent families that are challenged by the expectation of an ordered life. What it does suggest is that personal experience can elucidate empathy for a young person and their family that might not otherwise be possible. Further, a level of shared experience refines the

evaluation of need and dependence; that which should be responded to and that which should be carefully managed. In my professional life there have been many hours of conversations with, meetings about and reviews of the provision for young people and their families; from the general aspiration for social inclusion to that which is specifically my business, teaching and learning, to those aspects of a family's life that may have an impact on that. Some ideas for consideration in this study are already in place. Communication; between agencies and between agencies and their clients. Reasons for referrals; from the schools, medical practitioners and from or on behalf of the families themselves. The family 'blame game', finding fault; with the child him or herself, with the school, a particular teacher, the expectation of 'a solution' from a social worker, the medicinal cure, the 'magic wand' of the CAMHS practitioner'. The dissatisfaction of the professionals with each other, the boundaries of their responsibilities, their unclear protocols, their lack of understanding of each others' roles. The requirement to implement policies to match local circumstances, in theory at least and of course, the demands of 'financial prudence' that may all too easily become a cost cutting exercise, changing the skills of the professional into the skill of fielding accountability with provision juggling.

So, combining the personal perspective, the training and the experience, what issues emerge as my priorities for investigation? Current policy and practice. The historical precedents for policy. What goes on in one authority. The views of stakeholders and the providers. The view of the recipients of the provision.

The Research Questions:

- 1. What is the nature of current educational thinking and policy about the most appropriate form of provision for pupils demonstrating behavioural, emotional and social difficulties? How has this emerged in an historical and political context?*
- 2. In what ways does current provision in one Welsh Authority match, or fail to match current recommended practice, with particular reference to the issue of inclusion?*
- 3. How is the stated policy of the Authority interpreted by those who administer it? Do they see any anomalies between policy and practice? If so why does this occur?*
- 4. What are the views of the headteachers of schools across the Authority with regard to the inclusion of all pupils, with particular reference to those demonstrating BESD? What are the main factors influencing their views?*

5. *What are the views of the recipients of the Authority's policy, i.e. the parents of the excluded children? Are they satisfied with its implementation? What do be their preferences for any form of alternative provision?*

I was an insider as Head of the specialist unit, which is part of the multi-disciplinary provision within this authority and also as a member of the education service in the local authority. I have considerable experience both within the specialist education field and as a teacher and manager in both the primary and secondary sector. My personal experience makes inevitable my internal conversation and the reflection upon it; the element of reflexivity within this thesis is a theme noted within the methodology. I have no insider knowledge of the other agencies in this research. I can only guess at their terms of reference and I do not know their policy priorities, nor their management structure, although I may be instrumental in requesting their expertise on behalf of the young people. I am a qualified counsellor and my interview techniques will be guided by that training.

I sought the views of two groups of current secondary age pupils. I collected stakeholders' views of the services offered to young people who have been, or are at risk of being, excluded from school because of their emotional and behavioural problems. This was done through arranged *semi-structured* interviews guided by questionnaires. The views of service deliverers and education managers were sought again through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires delivered personally or through e-mail. The data collected was recorded and coded using a thematic approach. Case histories of a group of young people attending one special education unit were summarised from classroom observation, records of home visits and interviews with parents and written records. These reports were validated by investigator triangulation.

Chapter 2 – Review of Literature

The first research question,

‘What is the nature of current educational thinking and policy about the most appropriate form of provision for pupils demonstrating behavioural, emotional and social difficulties? How has this emerged in an historical and political context?’

The chapter is divided into five sections as follows.

2.1 What is an Emotional and Behavioural Difficulty?

2.2 What do we understand by Social and Educational Inclusion?

2.3 Multi-agency working

2.4 An Historical Perspective

2.5 Discussion

2.1 What is an Emotional and Behavioural Difficulty?

Educationists and governments have long recognised that there are some events and experiences or a physiology that inhibit the emotional and, or social and or educational development of some children and young people. They have been variously labelled as *maladjusted*, having *emotional and behavioural difficulties* and most recently, the catch all phrase, as having *additional needs*.

A simple dictionary (Oxford Dictionaries Online 2012a) definition of *emotional* is “...relating to a person’s emotions...arousing or characterized by intense feeling...having feelings that are easily excited and openly displayed” and *behavioural* is defined as “...involving, relating to, or emphasizing behaviour”. (Oxford Dictionaries Online 2012b) A working definition of EBD (Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties) might therefore be ‘difficult behaviour resulting from expressing emotion excessively’.

On first consideration this working definition seems appropriate, but closer scrutiny raises difficulties. Someone from Morocco may express emotion differently to someone from Morecombe, but who is to say whose means of expression is or is not excessive or appropriate? What is difficult behaviour? Is it troubling, perplexing or inappropriate?

Behaviour requires an interpretation by the observer or recipient of the behaviour, which itself may modify or change it.

Clearly there are some exceptions. Behaviour that results from involuntary movement, for instance. Cerebral palsy may well be misinterpreted or misunderstood by the audience of that behaviour but that is unlikely to trigger a change, although it may trigger a change in the understanding of those who witness it.

What is troublesome, perplexing or inappropriate in one context may be acceptable or at least tolerable in another. Not only are there different contexts of behaviour, there are also different expectations and tolerances of behaviour among those who witness it. It is difficult, therefore to find a consensus for what is an emotionally and behaviourally disturbed individual, unless that individual has the personal insight to identify it for themselves. To narrow the context of behaviour to formal educational environments does little to clarify the issue.

Underwood (1955) refers to the definition of *maladjustment* in the 1945 School Health Regulations;

“...pupils who show evidence of emotional instability or psychological disturbance and require special educational treatment to affect their social or educational readjustment.” (p 159)

The report further suggests that maladjustment is neither medical diagnosis nor a deviation from the normal. In attempting to describe maladjustment the report suggests;

“[it]...is a term describing an individual’s relationship at a particular time to the to the people and circumstances which make up his environment.....an individual matter about which it is hard to generalise...a set of events or hereditary factors may give rise to maladjustment in one child, whereas a similar set acting on another child may leave him unscathed....it is only possible to say tentatively that certain modes of behaviour or habits fall outside the limits of the normal or are incompatible with a state of adjustment.” (p23-24).

The Report attributes causation to nervous disorders, habit disorders, behaviour disorders, organic disorders, psychotic behaviour, educational and vocational difficulties as categories of symptoms, any of which identified *in excess* could indicate maladjustment.

Sandow (1994), nearly forty years later, in her categorisation of models of special needs suggests that perceptions are determined by “...the baggage of a lifetime in which we have absorbed the view of the subject...” (p1)

She identifies seven models upon which individual or collective understanding may be based; the magical model, the moral model, the medical model, the intellectual model, the social competence model and the disadvantage model “...sets of belief and understandings...have left a trail which informs our perceptions today” (p1).

The WO Circular 56/94 identifies nine types of behaviour, attitude or indications which may lead to a request for statutory assessment; a discrepancy between potential and attainment, poor attendance, violent or bizarre behaviour, drug abuse, evidence of mental health problems, notable bullying or the victim of notable bullying, notable withdrawn behaviour or failure to make social interaction.

Granello (2000), referring to the Revised Behavioural Checklist uses six subscales; conduct disorder, socialised aggression, attention problems, anxiety withdrawal, psychotic behaviour and motor excess.

Already there is a distinction, although not a diagnosis, that can be made by those other than clinical practitioners, between behaviour that may be “treatable” and social behaviours’ that need understanding and management.

Farrell (1995) suggests that there are three types of EBD;

“...a response to recent stresses and strains in a child’s life...children likely to have long-standing problems which are more deep seated and a third that is more seriously disturbed and may have some psychiatric problems.” (1995 p6)

Peagram, in Farrell (1995) notes a difficulty, not in definition but in description.

“...the concept of emotional and behavioural difficulties has been dogged by the central difficulty of synthesising an agreed coherent, comprehensive and cogent description of the phenomena from the plethora of accounts and theories advances...” (p34)

The diagnosis of identified behaviours may then be hooked onto an explanatory hanger. Granello (2000) referring to Resnick and Burt presents familiar characteristics; early sexual activity, offending behaviour, mental illness, poor school performance, family dysfunction, physical and/or sexual abuse.

One or a combination of some or all of these factors in the experience of a young person might indeed be calamitous, but it is possible that a child can function within a mainstream educational environment *bagged* but not *burdened* and therefore may not fall into any of the behavioural categories that will trigger an intervention.

Where interventions do occur, a young person's ability to manage himself or herself during a period of upset seems to be depend upon the impact of the interventions that themselves seem to be determined by a variety of factors; professional interest, rigid criteria, persuasion or availability. Boreham *et al* (1995), identify the primary problem of delivering a supporting service to a young person experiencing difficulties as that of the decision-making process;

“...much decision making is distributed. The term ‘distributed’ refers to the constraint when the decision making network does not have a common view of the problem” (p19).

This may be further compounded by the conflicting personal views of the young person and the referring institution.

Social and education policy are inextricably entwined. The robust pursuit of an inclusion policy has contributed to the reduction in Statements and instead, putting in place support that can be called upon for implementation in school. The effect of this is to change the emphasis of provision towards developing individual strategies for integration rather than an analysis of a child's need and what was effectively a commitment to provide the resources indicated in a Statement. An important shift from the principles established in the Warnock Report.

More recently the hierarchy of interventions outlined by CAMHS (Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service 2001) makes the assumption that school based interventions with or without the additional input by, for example social services, will help refine clinical input to only the most disturbed individuals according to the CAMHS criteria, or where an identifiable disorder is the likely outcome. Weekly meetings by CAMHS professionals prioritise individual need and therefore their intervention. Adding to the complexity of seeking and deciding upon intervention is the view that there is an almost inbuilt tension in the idea that what teachers may describe as an *emotional and behavioural difficulty* is not the same as what a psychiatrist might describe as a *‘behavioural and emotional disorder with onset usually occurring in childhood and adolescence’*

2.2 What do we understand by Social and Educational Inclusion?

The first challenges to the education service are identified; ‘when is a behaviour inappropriate for the context?’, ‘when is it a matter of discipline, the interpretation of it being dependent upon the audience?’, ‘when is the behaviour an indication of

psychological need or a mental health issue?', 'is the behaviour permanent or a passing phase?' 'how should it be addressed?', 'who decides?'

Work by Halsey, Bernstein and others on sociolinguistics referred to by Karabel and Halsey (1977), are subsequent to the pivotal work of Durkheim and the definition of the education system as essentially, 'the conservation of a culture inherited from the past'(p488). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) suggest (in translation) that;

“...in a society in which the obtaining of social privileges depends more and more closely on possession of academic credentials, the School does not only have the function of ensuring discrete succession to a bourgeois state which can no longer be transmitted directly and openly...[it] confers on the privileged the supreme privilege of not seeing themselves as privileged...[and]...manages the more easily to convince the disinherited that they owe their scholastic and social destiny to their lack of gifts or merits, because in matters of culture absolute dispossession excludes awareness of being dispossessed.” (p210)

In other words, schools deliver the curriculum through linguistic, organisational and cultural structures that are more compatible with some students than others. That being the case, there is a built in flaw to the system that cannot be removed.

Brighouse (2000) presents three arguments for the limitation of education in providing an egalitarian economic order. Firstly it is not clear how education can be the vanguard of a *just* order. Secondly, if pursuit of a just order fails to deliver adequate preparation for life there is a legitimate claim of unjust treatment and thirdly, even where there is an egalitarian economy there may be grounds for complaint. Rawls (1971) suggests that,

“...the confident sense of their own worth should be sought by the least favored and this limits the forms of hierarchy and the degrees of inequality that justice permits.” (p107)

For Rawls (1971),

“...resources for education are not to be allotted solely or necessarily mainly according to their return as estimated in productive training abilities, but also according to their worth in enriching the personal and social life of citizens, including here the less favoured.” (p107)

He also believes that this last point becomes more important as a society progresses. Equality of resources, in its narrowest interpretation, is already delivered as the per capita pupil funding within local education authorities' funding formula. Indeed where an argument can be made for supplementary funding and additional educational resources, they may also be available. That does not guarantee equality of outcome, which is, for Brighouse in any case, an unsatisfactory objective since the educational input to achieve parity among pupils would in itself be unequal.

Equality of opportunity is difficult to define, therefore difficult to deliver. Brighouse mentions Gutmann's theory that inequalities in the distribution of educational goods can be justified but only if no one's right to democracy is disadvantaged by it. Education resources must be dedicated to ensuring that each child reaches a certain threshold. Beyond that threshold inequalities of achievement are acceptable.

Randall Curren (2003), argues that below a certain level of educational attainment the individual is at risk of criminality and consequently likely to be deprived of his human rights which is morally untenable, therefore the state has an obligation to provide education up to that threshold. Curren's proposal is attractive in that it seems to satisfy both justice and legitimacy. It is arguable that the definition of *education* is crucial in any consideration of the threshold of social inclusion.

The notion of education as the delivery of facts and competencies, skills and knowledge is far too limiting. Nevertheless, there needs to be an acknowledgement that any educative process must involve the preparedness for receiving the didactic element of learning. The process of *educating* must surely include learnt knowledge within the wider understanding by the individual of his own world and of the social and cultural world beyond that. This would be more in tune with the etymology and spirit of the word and process of 'education'. However education is viewed, preparedness should surely not be achieved by 'add-ons', working from a *disability, disadvantage* model but rather from an *as of right* entitlement.

There is a problem with a crude view of education as instruction. If there is to be a rigid standardisation of the curriculum and *how* it is delivered, it suggests interference from the state with all the pitfalls that might arise, as was indicated as early as the eighteenth century. It challenges individual choice and creates a definable grey area where intervention must either be compulsory or allow a layer of disaffection and exclusion.

Interestingly, in spite of Rawls' (1971) theory that, "...the principle of fair opportunity can only be imperfectly carried out, at least as long as the institution of the family exists...p74), that imperfection could work towards sustaining the broader view of education. Rawls continues, "Even the willingness to make an effort to try, and so to be deserving in the ordinary sense is itself dependent on happy family and social circumstances." (p74). That being the case, a truism almost, education as a gateway to maturity and extended opportunities must by definition and as a right, support or be a substitute for those circumstances that cannot produce the happy family.

Education can be such a powerful instrument of social engineering that even the most apparently worthy aspirations may have undesirable consequences. Klasen (1998) suggests that strategies to raise the optimum performance of top performing students has led to,

“...the segmentation of the student population to ensure that the best performers receive the support they need and that below average performers do not ‘drag down’ the rest of the student population.”
(p9)

He goes further,

“In some cases, such as the recent policy to publish league tables in the UK to ‘name and shame’ poorly performing schools, it generates incentives to permanently exclude poorly performing students who drag down the average performance of the school through their own low performance and the effects they may have on others.” (p12).

A research report by Webb and Vulliamy (2001b), states that there were 13,500 (p1) school exclusions that suggests a deliberate policy of social exclusion in line with the competition between schools since the publication of league tables. The issue of education as social engineering, is, as was pointed out by Ken Robinson (Any Questions 15.10.04) either by the very nature of service delivery a *fait accompli* or may, in certain circumstances, be as deliberate as a curricular matter. This is where the convergence of policy objectives and the generally held belief that educational inclusion is a ‘good thing’ may run into difficulties.

There is a compelling argument that incidences of emotional and behavioural difficulties may be due to certain specific disorders that may be recognised in a medical diagnosis, but also that they may be caused by individual circumstances. Visser and Stokes (2003) point out that where a child or young person is assessed as having an emotional or behavioural difficulty they are more likely to have their education segregated from their peers.

Norwich (2008), in considering the place of special schools in inclusive education refers to a Select Committee report (House of Commons 2006) that reflects on the continuing difficulty in defining a concept of inclusion. He quotes from the DfES (Department for Education and Science 2006 section 28);

“The Government shares the Committees view that inclusion is about the quality of a child’s experience and providing access to the high quality education which enables them to progress with their learning and participate fully in the activities of their school and community”. (p137)

He refers to Mary Warnock’s current position, rejecting inclusion as,

“...all children under the same roof...” and recognising “...a learning concept of inclusion which is about including all children in the common enterprise of learning, wherever they learn best.” (p137)

Norwich’ paper considers the response to the dilemma of inclusion in England, the US and Holland. His conclusion, predictably enough, is that the outcomes of the general aspiration to include all children in a mainstream curriculum, is essentially a fudge. There seems to be a consensus to move away from discrete ‘special education’ but nevertheless it is not totally excluded. Determining factors being broadly related to the interaction of specific characteristics of children and provision factors moderated by stakeholders’ interests and economic factors. He considers the changing interpretation of inclusive education and suggests that;

“A commitment to inclusion means that progress in terms of these five dimensions consists of a move towards greater commonality”. (p141)

He describes the five dimensions as;

“Positive identification of children with disabilities and difficulties...Participation in...Programmes and Practises, Placement...Curriculum/teaching...Governance and responsibility of separate setting (under national regulations)...” (p141).

Norwich seems to be making the case for current best practice. It is the other factors in the final option; “...regional system of governance, local authority governance and school cluster or federations of schools governance...” (p142), where interpretation may lead to a confusing response.

Visser and Stokes (2003) argue that although the words *integration* and inclusion are used interchangeably there is a difference, and there may be some conflict between the Salamanca Agreement to which the UK Government is a signatory and the Human Rights Act 1998. The former allows that children and young people with special needs must have access to regular schools, and the latter provides only a right to education. They further argue that with regard to pupils whose behaviours may be challenging to the effective education of others, the ‘let out’ clause for local authorities; the *effective use of resources*, has led to the establishment of both on site and off site Pupil Referral Units, further marginalising pupils with BESD (Behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties) in spite of the duty of education authorities to take all reasonable steps to include a pupil.

Even though individual support programmes and the basic principle of inclusion remains, access to inclusive education therefore may indeed be negotiable. That being the case, particularly with young people deemed to have emotional and behavioural difficulties with additional needs, rather than those thought simply disaffected or delinquent, then the

objective of schools and the support services is not primarily to address the issues causing the disturbance but to develop strategies to enable the young person to be integrated. Such strategies may in part or even completely address the issues but there is also the possibility that such interventions will provide short term solutions only, reduce the number of exclusions but store up more difficulties later on. It also begs the question of what services can or indeed should most effectively be deployed to achieve this end. The evidence from reported experience in England as well as that within this local authority seems to present perhaps a muddled response to children and young people burdened with emotional and behavioural difficulties.

Visser and Stokes (2003) in making a distinction between inclusion and integration, refer to Lindsay, who suggests that with integration, "...the education system exists and the child is negotiated into it...inclusive education, on the other hand starts from the child's right to belong". (p66) They continue the seemingly endless negotiation between the educational special need of emotional and/or behavioural difficulty for which there are attached legal rights and those who are 'simply' disaffected or delinquent. They chose the DFEE (1994b) definition; "Emotional and behavioural difficulties range from social maladaptation to abnormal emotional stresses. They are persistent (if not necessarily permanent) and constitute learning difficulties". (p67)

In spite of all the legal arguments that may or may not enhance an individual child's rights all local authorities may use the let out clause. This means that education authorities can fulfil their obligations to pupils who disrupt or disturb the learning of others and may be a danger to themselves or others in a variety of ways. The crucial point being, that inconsistency of provision is contingent upon very local, even school level, subjective assessment.

Visser and Stokes (2003) argue that the challenges to this position will come with the courts' interpretation of the Human Rights' Act (1988) and the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act (2001). They also quote the Disability Rights Task Force, "...law cannot force a change of attitude, but can lay down framework that will encourage and hasten a change in culture." (p73)

It is likely that interviewees from all the agencies would be keen to have their work recognised as preventative rather than reactive. It is however, a point of view that if the debate on inclusion v integration were to be pursued, the situation of a number of children and young people who are presently referred for extra care or alternative provision would illustrate the need for a fundamental review of education and social policy.

Dyson, in Norwich (2002) suggests,

“The principal characteristics of the framework thus defined are, I suggest, these: *The framework is needs-oriented*. In other words, it seeks to identify one or more specific 'needs' which can be met through particular forms of provision. *The framework is highly individualised*. It assumes that each child's 'needs' are different from those of every other child, that they therefore have to be assessed on an individual basis, that provision likewise has to be customised for each individual and that individual planning is crucial in every case...

The framework does not seek to address causal factors in children's difficulties that go beyond the individual. In particular, it offers no means of addressing socio-cultural factors and, despite the strenuous efforts of some special educators, has never been particularly good at addressing whole school and mainstream classroom issues.” (p11-12)

In a paper presented to the National Evaluation of the Children's Fund Conference, Dyson (2004), argues against the deficiency model for additional or alternative support and suggests there is a view that education can be seen as the mediator between the advantaged and the disadvantaged learners. He suggests that it is where there is a successful interaction between the actions of the education system and the resources that a child brings with it that the life chances of the individual are most rewarding.

Dyson is hardly more generous to central government sponsored initiatives such as Education Action Zones, Excellence in Cities and Behaviour Improvement Programmes. He recognises that they connect social and educational disadvantage, but suggests that *education* and *being educated* is given a very narrow context. Dyson argues that what is needed is a change in the thinking about young people having difficulties in mainstream. His view suggests considering the child's own resources for surviving the educational experience. Has the individual the resilience to gain from their education? How much at risk are they? Is there a sufficiently robust support network to compensate the challenges a young person may encounter?

Dyson refers to work he has done with Ainscow in schools serving disadvantaged communities, where teachers came to the conclusion that, were they not so constrained by the demands of the curriculum and the standards agenda they could focus on the broader context of the learners sense of self and from that standpoint, the most appropriate way of engaging the learner. As part of that agenda Dyson refers to Learning Support Units operating, not as a sin bin, but as a flexible resource to which access is determined principally by student demand, which supports a wide range of activities within and beyond the academic curriculum and where young people can engage with other

professionals who can address any personal or social matters that may be of concern to the young person or may affect academic performance.

There could be a conflict of agenda in Dyson's position. Either provision includes, as of right, a diversified, differentiated or modified curriculum and includes for every young person support for personal, social and academic difficulties, or mainstream provision continues, as principally an academic curriculum with alternative provision for those deemed deficient in ability, attitude or talent.

Another perspective on what Dyson rightly identifies as a need for further debate might be, the need to revisit, not the content unchallenged, but the way in which it is delivered; the teaching and learning styles within the school community which as many of the young people who were interviewed for this research identified as being diverse. The last part of Dyson's paper tackles the wider context of bringing education into closer alignment with social services and health provision as outlined in *Every Child Matters* (2003). His observation that additional interventions such as Surestart, only come into play when the provision is seen to be failing and difficulties and disadvantage are clearly identifiable. This view is very relevant to the fundamental argument that not only the purpose, but also the framework for the delivery of a universal education service, is perhaps the next chapter in the Great Debate.

In their paper, Croll and Moses (2000) quote a variety of responses;

Education Officer; "...ideally all children should be integrated into mainstream schools. If we want a fully integrated society we must have fully integrated schools." (p5)

Special School Head;

"...the staff and I are one hundred per cent in favour of integration into mainstream schools if it is done properly. I would like nothing better than to write a school development plan to close the school." (p5)

Special School Head;

"MLD children should be in the mainstream. This is a human rights issue." (p5)

Primary Head;

"We cannot cope with EBD children in mainstream" (p7)

Special School Head;

"I would like to see emotional and behavioural difficulties taken out of the special education arena. Special emotional needs is really about learning difficulties" (p9)

Croll and Moses (2000) suggest that their findings indicate "...a basic belief in the desirability of inclusion but no real thought that this is realizable" (p10) They found that;

"Respondents were often critical of features of education policy – in particular, the competitive ethos both between and within schools – which were seen as preventing mainstream schools from being welcoming to some children". (p11)

They also found that by defining the problem as non-educational, but social and therefore part of the remit of social services, "extra-district segregated placements" (p9) could be explained away.

Within the context of education, inclusion can be thought of in different ways apart from the general idea, that it is a 'good thing'. Visser and Stokes take legalistic definitions of 'inclusion' and 'integration'. Lindsay suggests that an education system has to be negotiated into, almost acknowledging Bourdieu and Passeron's view that schools have, '... the function of ensuring discrete succession to a bourgeois state which can no longer be transmitted directly and openly' (ibid). Tomlinson suggests that professional expertise is harnessed, 'to legitimise the way in which subordinate groups in society may be controlled' (ibid) and Farrell, Harraghy and Petrie suggest that standardised tests may be used in order to legitimise the decision to exclude or remove a child from mainstream education. Klasen goes so far as to suggest that league tables generate incentives to permanently exclude poorly performing students and Dyson believes that the whole decision making process of where to place a child who does not fit in to the mainstream should be turned on its head and the child should be considered a net contributor to his or her education provision. For the practitioner therefore, there are already inbuilt dilemmas.

2.2.1 Inclusion: The *At Risk* Factor

Owen Bowcott reported in *The Guardian* (2010), that the latest Cost of Exclusion Survey by the Prince's Trust estimated that the cost of youth crime had increased to £1.2bn since their last survey (2008) based on the figures for 2004. School exclusion and truancy was estimated to cost £800 million, doubling since the figures in the 1998 Report; *Where does Public Money Go?* published by the DETR (Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions) In response to this alarming financial accounting, the social cost and the poor showing on the European league table of social exclusion the government determined to tackle the issues.

Preventing Social Exclusion, a report by The Social Exclusion Unit (2001) found that "...a Centrepont study found that over three-quarters of young homeless teenagers were either long-term non-attenders or had been excluded from school." (p12). The report also identifies Looked After Children and children from families in conflict are the most likely to be at risk. The Draft Guidance on School Attendance, Behaviour and Discipline (Welsh Office March 1999) adds to the list of children likely to be excluded from mainstream school provision: travellers, young carers and some pupils in transition from one school stage to another.

Almost by definition this must include sub groups of children and young people who have mental health problems, psychological disorders and those who are deemed to have borderline difficulties that do not qualify for any specific provision, find it difficult to benefit from mainstream provision and often exclude themselves from any mainstream educational or social provision.

The SEU's Report of 2001 states that in the mid-1990s the UK was distinguished from its EU competitors by high levels of social exclusion. It topped the European league for children growing up in workless households, for teenage pregnancy rates and for drug use among young people.

"... [the] joined-up nature of social problems is one of the key factors underlying the concept of social exclusion - a relatively new idea in British policy debate. It includes low income, but is broader and focuses on the link between problems such as, for example, unemployment, poor skills, high crime, poor housing and family breakdown. Only when these links are properly understood and addressed will policies really be effective." (p5)

The SEU Report (2001) clearly identifies the "lack of joining up" (p26), the "duplication (p26), the "perverse effects" (p26) and the "orphan issues" (p26) that characterise the difficulties in tackling issues of social inclusion and therefore, with regard to children and young people, educational provision. A persistent, but apparently unrecognised, difficulty is the conflict between the ideal of the inclusive society and the reality of the lives of some young people and their families. A later SEU Report (2004) found that nearly 20% of those who left school prematurely had a neurotic illness and that mental health issues in later life began for half that population in childhood. It also found that the female population of 16-19 year olds is more likely to have mental health issues.

To balance the competitive educational environment with extra or special needs, an interpretation of individualising social problems, the culture of Statementing became quite refined.

Tomlinson (1982) states;

“The development of special education has been marked by a vast increase in the number of professionals who serve a clientele which they have vested interests in expanding.” (p18)

Tomlinson (1985) also suggests

“...three reasons for the expansion—professional vested interest, comprehensive school dilemmas and the declining youth labour market—and asserts that the ideology of 'special needs' directs attention away from the social, economic and political concerns which have led to the expansion.” (p157)

“The expansion can be largely accounted for by the number of children who have no physical or sensory handicap, but who are educationally defined as being incapable of participating or unwilling to participate in what is currently defined as the 'normal' curriculum, and being incapable of 'adequate achievements' via this curriculum. Such children have, over the past 100 years, been variously described as feeble-minded, educable defective, educationally sub-normal, those having moderate)learning difficulties, dull and backward, remedial, and maladjusted and disruptive...The expansion is linked to enhanced definitions of 'achievement'.” (p158)

Tomlinson (1985) quotes Larson who identifies professionals as members of socially dominant groups,

“The relative superiority over, and distance from the working class, is one of the major characteristics that all professions, and would be professions have in common.” (p83)

She suggests that;

“Professionals are thus very powerful people in the assessment processes...sociologists have become increasingly interested in the way in which state bureaucracies have harnessed the expertise....to legitimise the way in which subordinate groups in society can be controlled”. (p85)

In tandem with this argument lies that of the needs of the teachers, who in a mainstream context are frustrated in achieving their goals, most of the time, by troublesome, non-conforming pupils.

Houghton, Wheldall and Merrett (1998), identifying what teachers categorise as particularly troublesome are not what the NAS/UWT (National Association of Secondary School and Union of Women Teachers) consider “...rare and exceptional”, but behaviours that, “upset and distress teachers [are] disruptive of good order...lead to teacher comment.” (p298), with boys being the usual culprits. They reported that irritating behaviours wasted time and energy and were the cause of exhaustion for most teachers. Recent figures in the UK suggest that between a quarter and a half of all exclusions were for low level offences; disobedience, disruptive and insolent behaviour, thus roughly

illustrating the point. All these figures are accompanied by the comment that there was an element of deprivation within that population of young people and that most were boys.

Wheldall and Merrett (1989), suggest an ABC of Positive Teaching, to include the “Antecedent” (p18), the conditions and context of the behaviour, the “Behaviour” (p18), what the pupil is actually doing and the “Consequences” (p18) of the behaviour, what happens to the pupil afterwards. Children manifesting behaviours more acutely disruptive than those suggested by Wheldall and Merrett, and failing to respond to this formula might trigger assessment for emotional and behavioural difficulties as provided for in the 1993 Education Act.

Farrell, Harraghy and Petrie (1996) note that, “...the vast majority of pupils placed in schools for Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties (EBD) are boys who display outgoing, aggressive and unsociable behaviour”. (p80). They also refer to the findings of Cooper, Malcolm and Haddock that “...other vulnerable and equally disturbed children may not be receiving the same help because their ‘problems’ do not cause the same difficulty for schools” (p81). In the same article Farrell *et al.* suggest that educational psychologists use standardised tests, “to legitimise a conclusion which has been reached by other means” (p 81), that is to say, in discussion with other professionals. A reasonable conclusion would be that the assessment of emotional and behavioural difficulty has been measured against criteria of convenience, usually that of the school.

2.2.2 Inclusion in the wider context

Social and educational equity for children and young people for whom, either behavioural, emotional or social difficulties is a challenge for any administration and is worldwide, arguably second only to the provision of universal primary education. Because this aspiration is so widespread and is inextricably linked to the wider context of social inclusion it is valuable to explore the various aspects that determine the identification and the outcomes, recognise similarities and common difficulties.

The PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) (2000) report is a collaborative study of members of the OECD aimed at monitoring educational outcomes with reference to student achievement. The first report was concerned with the reading literacy of 15 year olds. The results provide several indicators of what determines performance in this academic domain and how educational organisation may affect outcomes.

The report suggests that "...the more differentiated and selective an education system is, the larger are the typical performance differences between students from more or less advantaged family backgrounds". (p56). The report also suggests that many characteristics of a school reflect the characteristics of the families they serve. It therefore remains the case, that where a school serves a catchment of highly motivated parents and advantaged students, more specialist teachers are employed and better use is made of school resources. PISA (2000) shows that, "...half the reported effect of differences in school resources and two thirds of the effect of school size and student-teaching staff ratios are associated with family background."(p54)

The report also indicates however, that school characteristics serve to mediate the effects of family background and teacher-student relations and disciplinary climate is not affected by family circumstances. Differentiation of educational provision and the age at which decisions about differentiation are taken has a further impact of student performance. It can be presumed, that the greater the impact of parent involvement and information, the greater the influence of family upon student performance. The more differentiated and selective education is, the greater the difference between the performance of different socio-economic groups. The argument is that the more homogenous a group of high or low performing students, the expectations remain a reflection of the expectation of the group. The PISA (2000), report noted that in countries where there is a high degree of institutional differentiation there is a low degree of individual teacher/students interaction. The report suggests that this may reflect what could be described as a stagnation of teaching strategies, that less homogenous groups might stimulate a greater variety of teaching strategies, thus encouraging lower performing students to benefit from their educational experience. The report offers no evidence of the effect on learning of high achieving homogenous groups, but does suggest that high achieving heterogeneous groups profit from and are stimulated by the differences that members of the group bring to it.

The PISA (2000) report did not do discrete studies in the countries that make up the UK. The general result for the UK was, that it has high performance, but low social equity. It is unique in the whole sample in this respect. Results in countries such as Canada, Finland and Korea that have both high performance and high social equity suggest that quality and social equity are not mutually exclusive.

To get a wider view of inclusion, I have taken four reports; one comparative - South Africa and India, and three within Europe - The Netherlands, Spain and the UK.

South Africa and India – a comparative study

In their summary, Yusuf *et al.* (2007) investigate “...the production of persistent education exclusion. In both countries, [South Africa and India], further constitutional and other policy commitments and efforts have explicitly addressed the issue of race and caste disadvantage.” (p.vi). The researchers did a qualitative comparative study in South Africa and India where the issues of inclusion are essentially race and caste. Even so, the thrust of the report has a recognisable pertinence. Both countries are described as “rights-minded...[states]... which addresses not only the protection of rights of vulnerable groups but also their active promotion. The role that the state plays is thus both protective and fundamentally anticipatory,..” (p.vii).

The study identified three paradigms of social exclusion, the Solidarity Paradigm, predominant in France, influenced by Rousseau, that “...exclusion is the rupture of the social bond between the individual and society that is cultural and moral” (p13), the Specialisation Paradigm, that individuals have specialist skills to contribute to the good of society, that is dependent upon “...their unfettered ability to contribute to the good of society.” (p13), influenced by Hobbes, and the Monopoly Paradigm, influenced by Weber, that suggests that “...the social order is coercive, imposed through hierarchical power relations [that] restrict access of outsiders through social closure” (p13). Yusuf *et al.*'s (2007) report concludes social exclusion is,

“...a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, unfair discrimination, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown.” (p3)

It identifies the pressures upon inclusion;

“...the influence of local dominant groups (who are often managers of the state) and the demands and aspirations of weaker and more vulnerable groups within the state.....Rhetorically it's (the state) position places on it certain obligations, while the conjunctural circumstances it works with constantly limit how far and how deeply it is able to sustain the general trend of its policies.” (p105)

This paper identifies education exclusion as a facet of social exclusion that ranges from systematic exclusion from rights and entitlements to educational services to “...subtle forms of manipulation of delivery of educational goods and services to favour some individuals and groups...” (p4). The writers refer to Barton who describes inclusive education as,

“...not an end in itself, but a means to an end – the creation and maintenance of an inclusive society. As such, the interest is with all citizens, their well-being and security. This is a radical conception...It is ultimately about the transformation of a

society and its formal institutional arrangements, such as education. This means change in the values, priorities and policies that support and perpetuate practices of exclusion and discrimination.” (p4)

Because educational exclusion is identified as having many causes, social, political and economic, this report suggests that social exclusion in education must be tackled by focusing on certain key elements, beneath the umbrella concept of *universalism*;

“...[an] integrated view of social equality while at the same time recognising the different needs and interests of differently positioned needs and interests of differentially positioned social groups”. (p16)

The main question is, do all the participants want social equity? If they do, then the trick is, as the report points out, to steer a course between one size fits all and sustaining or creating new segregations.

Aspects of inclusion essential to meaningful participation in schooling were identified as, participation and governance, curriculum and identity. Using these criteria the researchers clustered schools as weakly inclusive, where there is little understanding of obligations and no policies, internal inertia, lack of autonomy, adherence to traditional arrangements (inherited from colonial or apartheid times), moderately inclusive, identified as having weak leadership and a lack of awareness of alternative possibilities and strongly inclusive schools that are *self conscious*, have a policy dynamic, “...are active sites of internal and external dialogue” and regularly “subject themselves to appraisal and review.” (p15).

The findings in this by Yusuf *et al.* (2007), suggest a need for a greater alignment of policy and practice, that groups, identified in South Africa by race and in India by caste, should retain their identity as a means of accessing new resources. It also indicates that the policy zeal and almost religious optimism that the report identified was limited in the overall aspiration because;

“...much of the nature of exclusion is determined in the particular social relations that operate in society and the ways in which individual and community positions are shaped in the histories of class, race, caste and gender.” (p115).

They differentiate what is understood by social exclusion,

“Social exclusion takes political, economic, social, and cultural forms and often is experienced differently by people who putatively belong to common groups. In countries such as the United Kingdom it is understood essentially as a social phenomenon and is often explained in relation to the state of the economy and the kinds of marginalisation created by a market economy.” (p3).

For the authors of this report, disability, is deliberately not considered discretely but as part

of exclusion,

“... understood to arise from both the structural conditions that prevail in a society, such as described in the paragraph above, and those ideological factors, such as belief and political affiliation, which determine whether individuals and groups enjoy the rights to which others outside of their group have access.” (p3).

We must suppose that emotional and behavioural difficulties are not recognised as a disability or identified as requiring investigation and behaviour is judged within social and cultural conventions.

Spain

In Spain, where government is significantly de-centralised, the framework for educational inclusion is driven by ‘Organic Law’, LOE (Ley Orgánica de Educación) (2006). The LOE outlines the structure of responsibilities; three levels, state, regional and local. While the state retains the regulation of essential equality and equity, the Autonomous Communities may arrange, within their jurisdiction, the delivery of service according to local need.

The INTMEAS Report (2009) suggests that nationally, 31% of school leavers have not attained the elementary qualification (p8). Traditionally this group includes migrants, Roma and Gypsies. Further analysis, however, indicates that apart from those with an identifiable additional learning need there is;

“...another kind of pupil, generally from social groups in a disadvantaged socio-economic position or with specific personal and family issues, who attend school on an irregular basis”. (p10).

The report also identifies that disaffection is most likely to begin in pre-adolescence. It is this group that is new to the thinking and not included in the LOE (2006) provision for which the Programmes of Reinforcement, Guidance and Support, PROA (Programas de Refuerzo, Orientación y Apoyo) aimed at the general raising of standards has been introduced. There are now two strands to the policy of inclusion; within the LOE and new initiatives that both identify and seek to support the new category.

Measures to support the new policies include cooperation with services other than education, to create a holistic approach. Along with declarations of measures to ensure safe schooling; free from bullying, harassment and violence, there is a comprehensive programme of continuous professional development, both for individual teachers and the sharing of information and experience between professionals. The conclusions from this

report suggest an emerging awareness of the complexity of inclusion in education and active engagement between the shared aspiration of central policy and the unique characteristics of diverse, autonomous administrative communities.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands has a more centralised system. All Dutch residents of school age receive a weighting according to various criteria that affect school funding. A joint OECD-CERI (Organisation for European Organisation and Development - Centre for Education and Innovation) 2000 case study, identified barriers between departments with responsibility for the labour market, youth care, education, income and public health. While recognising the need for an inter-sector policy for young people who have serious problems or are at risk, between 5% - 10% (p11) co-operation and collaboration was burdened with difficulties.

The authors found a difficulty in identifying a client group,

“...there are signs of a change taking place from policy geared towards social rights, to policy in which the principles of economic rationality take a more central place, while a number of normative principles of social integration and a decent subsistence level have been maintained. As regards the last point, there is another fundamental issue at play: the fact that there is still no adequate definition of poverty for the Dutch situation which is agreed upon by all.” (p18).

They concluded that,

“...a political need arose to fight inequality in educational opportunities: only then could social positions become the result of personal accomplishments achieved through the deployment of talent and diligence. In order to determine who would be eligible for extra help, the level of education of the parents and their ethnic background were always taken as the basis for the decision - both researchers and policy-makers agreed on this method. In other words, one looked particularly at the cultural and social resources, and not so much at the financial ones.” (p18).

They also found that there were local initiatives to combat poverty. The report made a comparative study between Arnhem, where there is a large immigrant population and Amsterdam. The initiatives in Arnhem seem more intimate, engaging people from the ethnic groups themselves to act as intermediaries. The arrangements in Amsterdam seem to be a more formally structured with the employment of Youth Care Advisory Teams (YCATs). The authors found that the closer the relationship between the target group, the authorities and institutions there was likely to be a more favourable outcome.

Perhaps the most interesting finding for my research was the changing role of the teacher. The emphasis on fostering self respect and self esteem among students was considered a

necessary adjunct to the teaching of essential skills, “The role of teachers is changing dramatically in that they become more of a coach a consequently need to have quite different or additional skills, for instance socio-emotional skills” (p23).

Finland

The programme for inclusion in Finland has reached a stage of greater refinement. It is generally acknowledged that Finland sets a workable example of inclusive education. Some features must be recognised; there are no tests or inspections, but here is a uniform evaluation criteria for learning outcomes. In a paper delivered to the UNESCO International Bureau of Education (Regional Preparatory Workshop on Inclusive Education)(2007), some of the peculiarities of the Finnish system were pointed out. Local authorities are obliged to take care of the “...*continued evaluation and development*’ of the local education system and curriculum. They evaluate their own work and the effects of their work.” (p11). There are neither tests nor inspections in the Finnish system. Education is divided into comprehensive education and special education. To access special education there has to be an “administrative final act” (p9), that ensures full consultation and the allocation of funding and this only after careful consideration; only 2% of Finnish children attend special schools. (p10) Comprehensive education is a nine year continuum, with no break between the primary and secondary sector (p11). There are few exclusions, although there is a dropout rate of 5%-6% at the end of basic education. As the writer points out, by international standards this is very few, but in a small country it does mean a significant drop in those receiving upper secondary opportunities (p12).

“Students are not streamed in any way, and they study in heterogeneous groups. Students’ socio-economic background does not affect the selection of schools because basic education is the same for everyone and between-school differences are very small. The results of PISA study showed that the influence of family background is less marked in Finland than the OECD average.’ (p5)

From this paper, it seems that the key factors contributing to the often heralded success of Finish education are; the involvement of the whole community, local assessment, no competition between schools, school careers that are not dislocated at any age, heterogeneous teaching groups and the vigilance and dynamic of the NBE (the National Board of Education).

The U.K.

In their study, Condie *et al.* (2009), point out that although the UK government retains overall authority over the regional assemblies or parliaments, considerable powers, notably

education, health and prisons have been devolved. It also points out that because of the very localised, that is to say national, initiatives to combat exclusion, the reports of those initiatives are often descriptive, "...without sufficient evidence to...judge the effectiveness of the initiative or the lessons for others that might be reliably drawn". (p11) The Report focuses on four groups of students; ethnic minorities, Gypsies and travellers, Looked After Children and in addition, those who speak other local native languages. They also comment on the identified difference between inclusion and integration and refer to Corbett's 2001 definition of inclusion as;

"...the efforts to include a child with his/her own culture and values into the school, within a culture that celebrates diversity and 'integration' that seeks to equip the child to meet the demands of mainstream education and culture". (p6)

Condie (2009) is referring particularly to well defined groups within the U.K. There are other less distinct groups who remain outside the expectations of mainstream culture.

2.2.3 Discussion

These reports identify or indicate specific groupings, whether of caste or ethnicity, whether part of a stable population or migrant or immigrant. Government statistics differentiate between ethnic groups. In the European reports there is generally an emphasis on integration when referring to ethnic minorities. The report on South Africa and India, however, makes a clear distinction between inclusion and integration, indicating that the latter suggests an assimilation of minority groups into an existing socio-economic setup. There seem to be different emphases, or stages of development from the fundamental issue of traditional hierarchical differences to creating educational programmes that are designed around individual need.

There are, it seems, two strands to the concepts of inclusion and integration. Integration can be interpreted as preserving the characteristics of a particular group, indeed identifying a group to make the case for increased funding or provision or it can be negotiating a person, or perhaps a group into an existing social structure. The influence of the work of Amartya Sen, suggests that integration along with community, participation and self respect are conditions for inclusion. Inclusion suggests a more radical change to the social structure, changes and even sacrifices to work towards the *transformation of a society*. These themes seem constant; the co-operation of many agencies, the involvement of the community and having a personal stake in any process, whether it be the largest of projects or a small local initiative.

How does this fit in with the everyday task of managing an educational provision for young people not in mainstream? The practitioner's approach to the task must be persuaded by the inclusion/integration debate. Is the task to provide an education that is geared to the particular circumstances of that individual or is it to give the young person the skills and foster the attitudes that will enable a re-integration to the mainstream? The examples in South Africa and India suggest that there is not much choice, when the barriers to an inclusive society are as fundamental as the colour of the skin or the millennia established social structure. The celebration of diversity is the only option and the task is to foster recognition of equality of value. But what if the differences are more difficult or sensitive to define? In Spain, as in other parts of Europe there is recognition that a migrant population requires distinctive support. Personal observation suggests that Roma and Gypsies are largely without value in some host communities, and remain marginalised so long as the state of migration exists. If or when such groups become settled, the special consideration transfers to other categories of social exclusion. The other burgeoning population is that of disadvantage, with no general definition of what that is. One parent families, unemployment, poor parenting, mental health issues are all part of the accepted concept. What is more complex to understand and categorise is the effect of the experiences that those circumstances may trigger and that is why providing for inclusion or for integration or indeed therapy or containment is difficult to rationalise.

2.3 Multi-agency working

“The delivery of services is too unpredictable and the co-operation between staff of the key agencies relies too heavily on personal inclination. The need to work across ever-changing geographical boundaries has created the danger that too much time is being spent on the bureaucratic aspects of inter-agency working and too little on actually helping children and families in need”.

The Laming Report (2003 p361)

It seems generally agreed amongst practitioners from most agencies primarily connected with young people; education, social services, health, psychology services, the police and the youth services that there is a need for multi-agency involvement in managing and providing support for young people who have difficulty in maintaining a mainstream school place. Stead, Lloyd and Kendrick (2004) point out that,

“Inter-agency initiatives present a paradox to those who legislate for them, manage them, work in them and write about them, in that everybody appears to agree they are a good thing yet research suggests that many collaborations lack durability and many do not work out in policy or in practice”. (p42)

Many reports, such as Laming, are a response to headline grabbing tragedies where the failure of one agency is held primarily responsible for failure. Reasons for such failure should surely be identified at least in part as a lack of effective inter-agency coordination.

In Multi Agency Working-A Detailed Study (2002) for the NFER, Atkinson *et al.* identified overall aims for multi-agency working within the then new initiatives. The numbers of initiatives within which they were highlighted are given in brackets:

- to improve services (9)
- to raise educational achievement (9)
- to improve/explore joint working (9)
- to identify/meet the needs of the target group (8)
- early identification/intervention (7)
- to provide support for young people (7)
- to promote social inclusion (7)
- a holistic approach (7)
- to improve opportunities/life chances for children (7)
- to co-ordinate services (6)
- to improve outcomes for children and families (6)
- information sharing (6)
- to raise awareness and understanding of other agencies (6)

(p27)

This Report identified five models of multi-agency activity; decision making, consultation and training, centre based delivery, co-ordinated delivery and operational team delivery, decision making and co-ordinated delivery being the most frequent and operational team delivery being the least frequent. Sloper (2004), identifies strategic level working, consultation and training, placement schemes, centre based service delivery. He refers to Atkinson *et al.* (2002), who suggest that case or care management within multi-agency teams were the least common of all the models, thus concurring with their findings. .

The NFER Report found that decision making focused largely at the strategic level; mental health, behaviour management, disaffection, for example. The driving motivation was often financial; to save money and to avoid the need for out of county resources. The report also suggests sharing expertise to establish a framework for integrated and shared priorities. One example given was social services having particular expertise in handling complaints. Similarly, a co-ordinated delivery approach focused on joint planning and the

development of a broad strategic framework. Operational team delivery seems to have been most effectively utilised where the client group is already defined; Looked After Children, children with complex physical or mental needs. Respondents reported on the usefulness of a one stop shop, where all essential services were located in one place. Areas of co-operation were most likely to take place between health and social services. Education, it seems, was more protective of its professional parameters. Consultation and training however, were considered useful in getting more areas of expertise understood by more colleagues from other disciplines. One area of multi agency meeting that did not share the high profile of some other aspects of collaboration was that of co-operation between adult and child mental health services, that work discretely and yet the impact of an individual's mental health may have a profound effect on the family.

Generally, the NFER Report (2002), identified several key disciplines for multi-agency practitioners, most of whom were educated in their field to at least first degree level and many of who had worked within other professional areas. Predictably, the authors suggest, is the frequency of psychology as a first degree for those interested or working in multi-agency initiatives. One educational psychologist suggested in his/her response, that the nature of their professional practice was to liaise with other agencies in any case. In another review, Farrell *et al.* (2006) agreed, noting the already ubiquitous presence of EPs (Educational Psychologists) in consultations, assessments, interventions and training. The Review referred to the change in the core work of EPs from statutory assessment, resulting in a Statement (or not) to the now more definably diverse character of their work. The NFER Report (2002) identifies leading workshops for parents, training school staff, group work with young people and the underlying principle of applying "...psychological methods, concepts, models, theories, knowledge". (p30), as key involvements. There seems to be the view that while statutory work is too consuming, "her whole time is taken up with statement reviews" (p32), "They only get involved in pupils when there is a possibility of a Statement getting changed..." (p33), a lot of the non-statutory work could be done by others. The prevailing view of EPs within a multi-agency context seems to be that they have a distinctive role to play in multi-agency work most particularly because their unique skills enable them to provide a link between the various agencies under the multi-agency umbrella. Not surprisingly perhaps, the contribution within strategic work was most highly rated by the EPs themselves and by the Pupil Referral Units and Local Authority Officers. The unique role of EPs as managers of specialist services was identified most strongly by EPs themselves, followed by Local Authorities, who nevertheless rated specialist teachers as more likely candidates. There seems to be little

definitive documentation of outcomes of multi-agency working. The NFER Report (2002) suggests that what might prevent a declared outcome were matters of funding availability, the permanency of staff, the integrating of assessments.

There are lots of suggestions about what can challenge and support effective joint working. The NFER Report makes clear that multi-agency working is “not easy or easily achieved” ((p235) An almost predictable barrier to any collaborative working is the very varied kind of reporting that is required and sometimes legally binding that exists in all the agencies. The NFER (2002) report refers to Normington and Kyriacou (1994) who suggest that;

“The records maintained by schools and agencies differ markedly, and none reflects the full extent of the pupils’ problems nor gives a clear picture of the multi-disciplinary work occurring. In effect, each agency seems to have only a partial view of the case” (p15).

Sloper (2004) suggests that Lyne *et al.* found that an effective way to promote collaborative working was shared professional development, learning in groups, shared resources and shared CPD (Continuous Professional Development). An alternative view by Hallet is mentioned by Easen, Atkins and Dyson (2000),

“...inter-agency coordination can be seen as a force for conservatism, inhibiting innovative responses demanded by novel problems and with potential to , reinforce policies and practices” (p356).

They identify two core problems for multi-agency interventions; differences in professional cultures; health visitors and community workers, for example and headteachers and social workers and differences in conditions of service and often time limited intervention. They also point out the valuable contribution of local professionals. They give the example of a paediatrician, who had an overview of, prevailing trends within a community and what Friend *et al.* call “...reticulists...specialists in inter-organisational politics who cultivate networks of relationships and provide access to information” (p360).

The balance between formality and structure on one hand and personal contact and professional friendships on the other is a difficult one. It is perhaps in the most formal of situations that professional identity is most defined and the contribution most likely to be acknowledged. Easen *et al.* (2000), point out that one area where there is usually effective working is in child protection, where there is a statutory commitment for all agencies to follow procedural paths. Such clear cut frameworks are not necessarily the most effective way for dealing with many situations. Gaskell and Leadbetter (2009) point out EPs have always been involved in multi-agency work, accomplished in a less distinctive role. Evidence of this is where a young person has been put into an other than mainstream

educational setting. The referral is always accompanied by EPs' assessment and the EP is invited to all meetings. Their contribution may be one of guidance and only contribute to decisions made. Decision making is left to those with a very distinctive role; headteachers, LA officers, school governors.

Gaskell and Leadbetter (2009), referring to Booker, make the distinction between "multi-agency working" (p99) and "joined up working" (p99) and suggest that the current trend towards the latter could be an issue for EPs, the "result of rapid change in the development of integrated services". (p106). Farrell *et al.* in Gaskell and Leadbetter (2009) point out that the "distinctive contribution" (p98) of EPs can be compromised by seeking alternative service deliverers, 90% of school respondents, 80% of respondents other than EP and 50% of EPs respondents felt that other professionals could deliver some aspects of EPs work with a similar impact. At the same time the review suggests that school respondents were concerned that they did not have enough input from EP,

"The amount of EP time is so low. 4 sessions per year (12 hrs)...We have very little EP input other than 2x year consultation...We are unable to use EP as they should be used, due to lack of continuity and time restraints...The workloads for our EP is phenomenal..." (2009 p85).

In response to this, Farrell and others (2006) suggest that when EPs had,

"...clarity about aims, processes, requirements and outcomes of their work, this resulted in a greater commonality of purpose, and in other professionals feeling motivated and committed to work with the EP and to support and contribute as appropriate." (p101)

In researching the professional identity of EPs with the experience of multi-agency working, (but surely not unique to EPs), Gaskell and Leadbetter (2009), point out that the individual's self concept is in part based upon group membership. They refer to Turner (1999), suggesting that individuals display "...a need for positive social identity, expressed through the desire to create, maintain or enhance the positively valued distinctiveness of ingroups, compared to outgroups or relevant dimensions." (p99) Referring to Branscombe *et al.* (1999) they identify the threats to social identity as "categorisation" (p100); being categorised against one's will, "distinctiveness"(p100), where group distinctiveness is undermined or prevented, "social identity", (p100) where the value of that group is undermined and "individual acceptance" (p100); the individual's value within the group is undermined. The advisory role of EPs in the wider context of school, staff and families and within this authority, the oversight of the school counselling service, is testament to their increasingly multi-faceted role. The value put upon it using any of the categories suggested above will be looked at in another chapter. Gaskell and Leadbetter, (2009), referring to

Robinson *et al.* argue that "...a key factor underpinning positive professional attitudes, and hence organizational climate in multi-agency teams is enhancement of individual professional identity". (p102)

If professional identity, that can be described as a loyalty to the distinctiveness of a well defined and well respected group, is either blurred, because of the necessity to create a new kind of group or challenged as is often the case with teachers, especially when simply defined outcomes are expected, then arguably the effectiveness of the group, at least at the outset may be diminished. Because most individuals identify themselves within the skills and knowledge of their own professions, any challenge may have a deleterious effect. However, Atkinson *et al.* (2002) found that multi-agency working was creating a new kind of professional, "...a 'hybrid' professional type who has personal experience and knowledge of other agencies, including, importantly, these services' cultures, structures, discourses and priorities." (iv) It is perhaps significant that there are so many names for what happens when professionals get together to work towards a common goal for one individual; inter-agency, multi-agency, collaborative working, co-operative working, joint working.

Stead, Lloyd and Kendrick (2004) define interagency working as meaning "...joint collaborative discussions and planning that take place in a school based inter-agency meetings." (2004 p43) They define "...joined up [as] deliberately conceptualised and co-ordinated planning and working that takes account of different policies..." (p43). The target group of students was that most likely to be excluded for disciplinary reasons.

Their paper takes two models of interagency working in Scotland that has, they point out, a long history of collaboration to support children who are at risk of exclusion. Referring to Easen *et al.* they describe one model as "more bounded" (p43). This model is characterised by being "...time-limited, with clear targets and a distinctive contribution from each agency." (p43) Quite formal multi-agency meetings, chaired and co-ordinated by a social service representative meeting monthly may be the only time that the professionals meet. The participation of the young person and the parents gave the security of confidentiality but did not allow "time or opportunity for professionals to tackle differences face to face [and] appeared to result in some tension and misunderstandings regarding the remit of the meetings" (p49).

The other model they describe as "...less bounded..." (p46), where all possible interested parties get together and toy with a variety of possible strategies, effectively thinking out of the box, where the priorities are the "...identification/definition of interventions..." (p43)

and the "...absence of hierarchical relations between the professionals..." (p43). The paper suggests pupils and parents rarely attended such meetings and the matter of confidentiality was acknowledged.

The paper suggests two distinct outcomes: Effectiveness for the young person is more likely to come from the "...unbounded..." (p43) model, where conventions and protocols are largely put aside. The authors suggest that the professionals felt that although more time consuming, the unbounded model was generally seen as beneficial. The bounded model, they suggest limited the development of inter-personal relationships between professionals but parents understanding of the situation and "things being said 'face to face'..." (p50) was appreciated by pupils. The guarantee of confidentiality was more likely to be the outcome from the more formal "bounded model". (p51)

A Home Office Project described by Webb and Vulliamy (2001b) involved using home-school support workers to engage with and respond to young people already disaffected and either excluded or likely to be. The workers were social work trained and the task was to retain the client group within mainstream education and "...ensure a cohesive local authority response..." (p316). The project was managed by the Pupil and Parent Support Services and involved seven high schools and one middle school, but the workers remained the responsibility of the schools on a day to day basis, crucial to the outcome of the project. The support workers worked with families and school staff as mentors and advocates for the young people and were the successful element of the project. Less successful was the outcome of a "...‘seamless’ response to the needs of young people..." (p315). The initial concerns of teaching staff seem predictable, "try to get alongside kids by being trendy" (p322), thereby undermining the distinctiveness of one individual teacher or that staff group. SENCos (Special Educational Needs Co-ordinators) and Behaviour Support teachers were similarly concerned that some of their work could be taken over by the Project. Surprisingly, some EWOs (Education Welfare Officers) were concerned that when attendance became a main concern, the young person should become the concern of the EWO and not remain in the project caseload. The task of the Advisory Group, that included representatives from mainly external agencies, was to "...keep the stakeholders on board [and] make things happen in their own agencies..." (p319). Webb and Vulliamy (2001b) suggest that agencies that are not school focused have "...a history of separate development and funding worked to different sets of legislation and were subject to different lines of accountability" (p321). What the authors reveal is that such nominally connected services as the Pupil and Parent Support Services and the schools with their legally described autonomy (1988 Education Reform Act) were "...becoming more and

more ‘disconnected’...” (p325). They also found that over the three year period of the Project the relationships between the project workers and the school focused agencies became increasingly co-operative and effective. Webb and Vulliamy (2001b) suggest that the most definite positive outcomes were the benefit of having the project workers school based and that they were able to reduce the workload of school staff. This in contrast to the increased workload that they generated for non-school based agencies. Perhaps the most optimistic outcome is the prospect of a strong multi-disciplinary school based team that could have the potential to engage non-school based professionals in a meaningful way.

2.3.1 Discussion: is Multi-agency work effective?

There is a general view that there is a need to engage the expertise of a variety of professionals to provide the maximum opportunity for some disadvantaged children and young people, whatever the reasons for that disadvantage. What also seems evident is that where that disadvantage is clearly defined; learning difficulties, physical disabilities, mental health issues at Tier 1, extreme social and emotional difficulties leading to Child Protection, the interventions and the outcomes are also clearly defined and the outcomes rigorously monitored. Where the reasons for the disadvantage are less clearly identifiable and where that judgement is more subjective often the outcome of school performance, the support needed is also more subjectively assessed. Evidence from the Stead Lloyd and Kendrick (2004) suggest that practitioners felt more comfortable when working informally together.

There are it seems, three possible outcomes from the research considered here. Where there is a firm, legally binding framework, practitioners were comfortable with their roles, that of others and the procedural outcomes. Fieldwork practitioners were often comfortable with each other, especially where there was a long term or ongoing partnership between them, but possibly sacrificed the possible potency of involvement in decision making. For some professionals, multi-agency working might bring the threat of challenge to their professional autonomy thus making their practice less than optimum. This research suggests that there must be balance between the benefits of open discussion and co-ordinated action of professionally well established colleagues who are sensitive to the needs of the client group, acknowledge their collaborative expertise and the structure that delivers confidential and structured information to interested parties.

2.4 An Historical Perspective

2.4.1 Introduction

I include an overview of the thinking, political and educational initiatives that have informed the attitudes and policies that now prevail in the UK. Having an understanding of the trail of thinking, philosophy, actions and reports on the provision of education seems an important element in making sense of the way current provision is decided and how the decisions are arrived at. Some decisions are arrived at because of immediate circumstances; birth rate, statistics compared, monies available and so on, but the underlying intentions driving education are and can only be built upon our understanding of what has gone before. If there must be an example, let it be the persistence of the public schools, the charitable foundations that finance some research and provision and, as this research will show, the repetition of recommendations of reports commissioned in times gone by.

“The relevance of the history of education to an understanding of contemporary issues in education has sometimes been obscured by its treatment on training courses...It ignores the vital point that today's issues in education are not simply historical in their background; they are historical in their very nature.”

(Brooks 1991 p41)

“Nature hath made man so equall in the faculties of body, and mind; as that though there bee found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body, or of quicker mind than another; yet when al is reckoned together, the difference between man, and man, is not so considerable, as that when man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit, to which another may not pretend, as well as he.”

(Hobbes 1651 p84)

In including an historical context to this study my purpose is to introduce the underlying dilemma that seems to have pervaded the transmission of learning/instruction for ever. What is learning for? Is it, to train the mind, learning for learning's sake, to create a skilled work force, a means of social control? What is done for those young people who cannot, do not conform to the accepted structures of a learning environment and how have those provisions come about?

In very general terms, state provision for education has its roots in religious, economic and social priorities. For some, education has been a route from neglect, poverty misery and ignorance. For others religion, economic or social aspiration has acted as a motivation to encourage and sometimes force interest in formal education. Education has also served the increasing need for a collectively educated workforce, conforming, biddable and informed

and therefore part of the lubrication for industrial and commercial wealth creation. The dynamic of education has also been constrained, even suppressed for the very nature of the levelling upward that the experience of education brings. The less easily defined qualities associated with personal development, including the key matter of how individuals learn, and fostering a more humane society have largely remained in the aspirations of philanthropists, philosophers and psychologists that have only sometimes permeated through to government policies and the legislation.

State education provision has also been used to direct social policy, as social manipulation and as a laboratory for social experiment and political self - gratification. The dialogue, discourse and sometimes conflict between classical and vocational, between state and private education are a feature of education in England that may have had such a long lasting effect that the current educational climate and debate continues to be affected by them.

Curiosity, investigation, pronouncements, researches and experiments on the nature of children, of childhood, of learning, of education and who and how it should be delivered seem eternal and ubiquitous. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, education exercised the minds of such diverse luminaries as William Godwin, Adam Smith and Thomas Paine, JJ Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Robert Owen, Robert Southey, the Edgeworths, Herbert Marsh, William Wordsworth and Mary Wollestonecraft. Those debates were mainly concerned with the education of girls, the role of religion and whether education should or should not be the tool of government.

In the early twentieth century the devastating social effects of the First World War brought about the establishment of a Ministry of Health in 1918, thus creating an albeit parallel, rather than convergent, structure for the monitoring of and provision for health and education. Further development led to special arrangements for mentally and physically 'defective children'.

More recently, according to Matt Ridley (1999), "Few debates in the history of science have been conducted with such stupidity as the one about intelligence." (p85). From the 'g' factor to genetic determinism, from the Bell Curve to environmental intelligences, the debate is interminable. The intellectual conversations about the nature of children and learning capabilities became strong elements and remain, along with the curriculum, the debates of our time. The influence of psychologists and pedagogues on educational practice flourished. The work of Freud, Adler, Dewey, Froebel, Montessori, Galton, Piaget and others posed questions and put theory into practice. Dartington Hall, Summerhill and

later, the Outward Bound School and Gordunstoun were all privately established educational establishments that influenced and may still influence educational policy. How far this debate and the consensus that occasionally emerges affect the delivery of the education service remains a thread that runs through government policy. Some key reports guided the early determinants of differentiated provision.

The Hadow Report (1926), *The Education of the Adolescent*, recommended that the education of the adolescent should be until the age of fifteen, fitted to age and capabilities, with a change in style of provision at the age of eleven. The Hadow Committee took a view of the curriculum.

“...to devise curricula calculated to develop more fully than is always the case at present the powers, not merely of children of exceptional capacity, but of the great mass of boys and girls, whose character and intelligence will determine the quality of national life during the coming quarter of a century?” (p36)

In 1928 the Board of Education reported that 21 out of 75 local authorities were using IQ (Intelligence Quotient) tests to determine educational placement.

The Spens Report (1938), reaffirmed by the Norwood Report on School Curriculum responded to the determining influence of IQ tests and agreed;

“...with few exceptions, it is possible at a very early age to predict with some degree of accuracy the ultimate level of a child's intellectual powers, but this is true only of general intelligence and does not hold good in respect of specific aptitudes or interests. The average child is said to attain the effective limit of development in general intelligence between the ages of 16 and 18.” (p124)

The Norwood Committee (1943) identified three types of learners;

“...is interested in learning for its own sake” (p2)

“...the pupil whose interests and abilities lie markedly in the field of applied science or applied art.”(1943 p3)

“The pupil in this group deals more easily with concrete things than with ideas. He may have much ability, but it will be in the realm of facts.” (p3).

In 1932 the first local authority child guidance centre was set up in Birmingham. Within ten years there were seven and by 1945 there were seventy-nine. Spens had advocated the expansion of technical education through the systematic development of technical high schools within a tripartite structure of education for all. This was confirmed with the Butler Act of 1944 that provided primary, secondary and further education provided by local authorities with provision for eleven categories of special education.

Technical schools were few and far between and in most authorities the segregation at eleven years old was between secondary modern schools, effectively the successors to the elementary schools and grammar schools.

2.4.2 Integrated provision...comprehensive education...?

From the narrow confines of the M'Choakumchild's educational establishment to the social policy adopted in the light of research in pedagogy and psychology, a variety of investigations, identifications and reports have been commissioned to inform governments of the most effective legislative framework for the delivery of the education service that by now is firmly established as an essential part of any government's philosophy and policy.

Segregation at eleven is perhaps the hallmark of education debate and policies since the Second World War. Halsey's conclusion was that the tripartite system established by the 1944 Butler Act did not bring England and Wales nearer to a true meritocracy, being of the view that *meritocracy* in secondary education was assumed to be based on a measure of intelligence but actually was organised through the prism of class bias. The establishment of a National Curriculum with rigid assessment and policies and legislation to include as many children and young people within that framework seems to have been the most powerful tool.

Educational integration of children and young people, with a variety of educational disadvantages as part of the overarching social inclusion agenda, has been served by several government commissioned reports; Underwood (1955), Crowther (1959) and Warnock (1978) being perhaps the most influential. The 1948 Children Act, established a child care service to be managed by the local authorities, ensuring the *care* of children in certain circumstances became the responsibility of the state,

The Underwood Report of 1955 went some way to differentiate between reasons for emotional disturbance and poor performance in school. Its remit was; "...to enquire into and report on the medical, educational and social problems relating to maladjusted children with reference to their treatment within the educational system." (p1). It involved diagnosis, remedy and provision. It sought to identify statutory responsibility and recognised that remedy might lie in several agencies.

Underwood recognised that behaviour disorders are shown,

“...by children who are not only in active conflict within themselves, but with their environment....disorders therefore includes minor disturbances such as temper tantrums..... as well as cruelty...incendiarism....sexual troubles...Many of the

children ...come from homes where the personal relationships are abnormal...the child is unable to count on loyalty and affection within his own family (p26)

The Report also noted that,

‘...quiet and passive behaviour may overlap deep emotional disturbance.’ (p1)

and that,

‘...insecurity and anxiety are closely associated with maladjustment...’ (p23) and that the causes of difficult and sometimes unacceptable behaviours are ‘...as varied as human life itself’. (p26)

The report made three core recommendations:

Prevention - Child guidance, it suggested was most effective where children were dealt with;

‘...not in isolation but in and with their families. Child guidance clinics could be provided by either the regional hospital board or the local education authority. The report emphasised that...their closest co-operation is essential and there should be some sharing of staff between them.’ (p98)

It indicated that the local education authority should provide and pay for the psychiatrist who should be part of the child guidance team that should also include an educational psychologist and a psychiatric social worker.

Provision – Underwood (1955) recommends special classes within mainstream schools, the use of independent schools, residential care, including foster care and specialist day schools. It refers particularly to open air schools for children with respiratory problems of psychological cause.

Residential care - The committee expected the use of residential care to be of a temporary nature with a view to the local education authority working with a family using the expertise of the child guidance team to enable return to the family before leaving school. In the introduction, the thrust of the Underwood report (1955) was;

‘...to suggest, throughout all that we say, some of the attitudes of mind required for the prevention and treatment of maladjustment...[and]... create a better understanding of maladjusted children and their problems, and show ways in which the services available for their treatment can be sensibly and practicably developed.’ (p2)

Ten years after Underwood (1955) the newly elected government began the process of establishing a comprehensive system with no segregation at eleven. This process was, and seems to remain incomplete. 1990/1991 figures suggest that 86% of state educated pupils

attended comprehensive schools. In spite of this, the ideal of equal educational opportunity for all seemed at least structurally to be in place.

The Crowther Report in 1959, was commissioned to address the problem of post fifteen education for those young people who had not proceeded to a grammar school at the age of eleven. There were concerns about increasing levels of juvenile delinquency during the last year at school and among unemployed school leavers. Evidence from a survey commissioned by Crowther (1959) suggested that about half of recruits to the army who had left school at fifteen had the highest academic potential. The Committee recommended that the school leaving age should be raised to sixteen. Surprisingly, in spite of this recommendation and that of the Newsom Committee in 1963 this did not happen until 1972. A corollary to that recommendation was that the Youth Service should be developed to support the least able students at the compulsory attendance at the County Colleges that had been provided for in the 1944 Act.

One conclusion of Crowther (1959), sustained by the findings of the Beloe Report of 1960, was that the "...examinable minority..." (p55) of the secondary modern schools should sit an examination run in tandem with the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Exam. This was introduced in 1963. This two tier system of examination at the school leaving age was combined into the General Certificate of Secondary Education in 1988 along with a compulsory National Curriculum with universal testing at age seven and eleven, the third test at sixteen being the GCSE. In parallel with this, the Albemarle Report of 1960 recommended that development of the Youth Service should rest with the local education authorities, funded by direct grants, from voluntary sources and from the membership fees of the young people themselves.

The 1960s and 1970s saw a plethora of reports, recommendations and papers and funding focussing on the links between education, social support, services for youth and mental health services for young people. In its work on the reorganisation of local government , with a view to create a family service, the Seebohm Committee noted the need to revisit the overall provision for 16-20 year olds. The Children and Young Persons Act of 1969, partly in response to the recommendations of the Plowden report and the setting up of Educational Priority Areas, allowed for Intermediate Treatment in the community for young offenders or young people at risk of offending.

The concept of the community school was spawned by the Plowden Report (1967) on primary education. The ideal community school removed the boundaries between the individual and what was available in the community. By providing managed links between

families, schools, the workplace and leisure facilities the aim was to provide mutual local support for each person to attain his or her potential.

A.H. Halsey was asked to design a programme of positive discrimination in areas of great social deprivation. Educational Priority Areas identified, allowed for community education, extra funding for teachers in classes with a reduced number of children, nursery centres combining the skills of professional workers and local playgroup workers and for play buses as well as the employment of play organisers. A key element of Halsey's report, published in 1972, was the recommendation that provision for the under-fives including education, health and the social services should be co-ordinated.

Two years after Halsey (1972), the Finer Report, commissioned to investigate the needs specific to one parent families, advised that while no special social and education services should be set up for this group, there should be sufficient resources within those departments to ensure that one parent families could call on enhanced support. This included day care for children under five including day fostering, after school care for children of school age, closer home school contact and greater liaison between the education, health and social services.

The discussion paper, Provision for Youth (1975), noted that there were a wide range of services within the community to serve the needs of young people, but made the clear distinction about what should and what could not be expected to fall under the sphere of activity of the education service, although it did consider recreation and social education part of the education remit.

Another report, this time addressing child health, the Court Report of 1976, "Fit for the Future - Child Health Services", made far reaching proposals for an integrated service of child health to include community paediatricians, specialist social workers and child mental health practitioners, health visitors, counsellors and school nurses. These proposals were accepted by government but in an article in The Times (1978) it was noted that,

"Mr Ennals (the then Secretary of State) accepted the basic Court tenet that the present divided services should be welded together into an integrated health service...but did not agree on the form this should take...nor...on the desperate need for change of some kind." (The Times 1978).

Warnock (1978) changed the emphasis of assessment from categorisation of handicap to that of individual need. It recognised that in the area of maladjustment, educational failure is a significant factor. The report did not seek to identify all the reasons but was,

“...of the opinion that special education for maladjusted pupils is not complete unless it affords educational opportunities of quality which subsequently enable them to profit from further education and training on relatively equal terms with their contemporaries” (p222).

All these reports were generated by central government concerns, directly by parliamentary pressure or by the work of advisory bodies. The objectives were to inform government and consequent policy. How far, it has to be asked, has policy, as opposed to government thinking been changed and had a direct effect on the provision for children, young people and their families?

Individually the reports have had varying effects, from a direct result, as in the case of Albermarle (1960), to what amounted to a shelving of the report as in the case of Crowther (1959). Albermarle's recommendations resulted in the setting up of a Youth Service Development Council to oversee the development of the service for the following ten years including funding for the training of youth leaders and a building programme. In spite of the potential of the Crowther Report (1959), to frame a structure for a more flexible state system it was not until 1979 that more than 80% of secondary age children attended comprehensive schools. A broadening of the curriculum with compulsory part time provision for students beyond sixteen who are not likely to go to university was shelved and twenty years later only about 29% of them were in full time education.

In the case of Plowden (1967), money was immediately made available for school building in the new Education Priority Areas and a substantial building programme for primary schools was undertaken. A comprehensive pre-school provision delivered by the Department of Education and Science that had been outlined by Plowden was not provided from that single source and was not and still is not a seamless provision.

Government policy on positive discrimination, informed by Halsey, spawned several initiatives funded in part from central government grants and several urban aid programmes in specific areas. It also resulted in the Race Relations select Committee “Report on Education” and the White Paper, “Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants.” This led directly to the Assessment of Performance Unit and the Educational Disadvantage Unit which addressed the matter of cooperative care from the under fives and the assessment and provision for disadvantaged communities.

The remit of the Warnock Committee (1978) had been to review the quality of special education with particular emphasis on creating a framework for “...greater integration and

improved provision within ordinary schools.” (p35) Warnock resulted in establishing the principle of educational inclusion for children with Special Educational Need, a single category instead of the many defined categories that it replaced. It also resulted in assessment of need rather than definition of handicap with the consequent effect of refining educational and social provision. Provision for education in Community Homes was nevertheless still managed by social service departments.

2.4.3 Conclusion

Discussions, debates and the rhetoric around education; who should benefit and why, who provides it and who pays for it are long embedded in national, if not international culture. The application of the outcomes of these discussions, which may have long lasting implications are dependent on social and political will and more simply the spending priorities of individuals and governments, both national and local.

What could or should the work of these twentieth century committees have put in place for the welfare and education of children and young people? Certainly they have all influenced thinking and attitudes. The importance of educational opportunities between fifteen and eighteen, the need for social support through a professionally trained youth service, the social and educational inclusion of children with special educational needs, the priority of identifying need over categorisation of difficulty, the recognition of childhood psychological and mental health need, the ongoing debate on positive discrimination.

Every report is concerned with the structure of provision and explicitly or implicitly identifies the need for multi - agency provision. Even where there has been a legislative underpinning for recommendation, as in the 1980 Education Act, enabling local education authorities to deploy teachers in day nurseries or give government support and provision as in Home Office/DHSS/DES Circular19/68, setting up the urban aid programme, there has been no serious investigation into joint management or funding implications of multi - agency provision at either central or local government level. Succinctly put in the Personal Social Services Council article, quoted in Rogers (1980), referring to the government response to the Court Report “...the Government's responses could be construed as willing the end without the means.” (p234)

2.4.4 Curriculum and government

The Great Debate on education triggered by James Callaghan's speech at Ruskin College in October 1976 where the interest of central government in matters of curriculum were raised obliquely had a major effect, to be fostered by succeeding administrations, eventually resulting in the 1988 Education Reform Act.

Historically the consensus had been for central government to fund state education leaving matters of curriculum and allocation for local priorities to the education authorities, a view close to that of Callaghan's mentor in these matters, R.H. Tawney. Callaghan's declared departure from that standpoint was driven by a variety of factors,

“...new recruits from the schools do not have the basic tools to do the job that is required...there is the unease felt by parents and teachers about the new informal methods of teaching...a need for more technological biases in science teaching...the examinations...a contentious issue...teachers must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements...”
(Callaghan 1976)

Identifying these issues was seemingly not from an ideological standpoint. Rising unemployment, the increase in demands on educational expenditure, not least resulting from the reports outlining strategies for equality of educational opportunity, all contributed to the need to be seen to be *doing something* about the education service.

The 1988 Education Act was essentially the response of the Conservative government to criticisms, principally in the Black Papers (1969) of progressive pedagogy, fostered by the Plowden Report on primary education and the more innovative orthodoxies that flourished with the end of selection with the eleven plus exam. The general thrust of the Black Papers was that the comprehensive system does not provide real equality of opportunity, only superficial equality that inhibits the potentially highly achieving student from deprived circumstances from access to real academic opportunity.

“In the name of 'equality of opportunity' the egalitarian seeks to destroy or transmogrify those schools which make special efforts to bring out the best in talented children...no system of education that purports to treat all children in the same way can possibly perform its essential functions...All kinds of education are not, as the egalitarians pretend, of equal worth or importance...Equality of opportunity is a worthy ideal but there is no method of achieving it quickly which will not inflict fresh injustices and damage to the total quality of our society.” (p54)

In the view of Edward Heath, the Education Reform Bill, that became the Act of 1988 gave more powers to the Secretary of State for Education than to any other Cabinet Office including the Exchequer and Defence. The reason for this departure from the previous

service delivery partnership of the local education authorities and the teaching profession was rooted in *The Great Debate*. Additionally, disputes between the teachers and their employers, poor discipline in schools, the perception that teachers had become ineffective as well as the a growth in unemployment, especially among young school leavers all contributed to the shift in emphasis towards empowering parents, headteachers, school governors and prospective employers in the delivery of the state education service, effectively emasculating the potency of the education authorities and their agents, the classroom teachers, in service delivery.

2.4.5 Conclusion

The shift from a teacher led curriculum within the resource structure framed by the LEAs (Local Education Authorities) from central government funds, towards local funding from central resources with schools accountable for delivering a centrally commissioned curriculum, not only reflected the political consequences of *The Great Debate*. It also bypassed the initiatives for positive discrimination for the educationally marginalised except insofar as every child and young person, except in exceptional circumstances, would have their attainment assessed according to one criterion reported at differing levels. The only concession to special need apart from those in receipt of a Statement for Special Educational Need would be the small amount of funding the LEAs could administer but only according to the principle of the *effective use of resources*.

2.4.6 Discipline and dysfunction

The issue of discipline in schools is a complex matter. It touches many boundaries, political, educational, social and psychological. There is a consensus that without a compliant client group in a well ordered environment optimum learning is inhibited.

There is a view emanating from the work of Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons that the process and structure of collective education creates a conflict between the individual and the doctrine of meritocracy that everyone has the right to be unequal. If there is merit in this argument, it could be that children who come from families where the structure and dynamic is less conducive to the environment that allows meritocratic competition are disadvantaged. They may be less likely to submit to the kind of conformity required for the socialisation that serves as a prerequisite for the competition that the aspiration for equal

opportunity requires. Reports such as the Elton Report (1989), have highlighted the need for a school population that is able to sit happily within the conventions of classroom education. It recognised that parenting for some parents was difficult for a number of reasons. However, it was noted that,

“We do not believe that family stress absolves parents from their responsibilities for bringing up their children properly. But it would be unrealistic to assume that all families are equally well placed to discharge those responsibilities. Some need more help than others.” (p136).

One dissenting voice on the committee was of the view that some pupil indiscipline may be a response to the educational experience.

The tension between the implementation of the National Curriculum, its assessment and the need for interpretation in newly autonomous schools became the flavour of state education in the late 1980s and 1990s. In an effort to marry the comprehensive ideal with reality, several government departments delivered Green papers in an attempt to analyse the causes of disadvantage as well as initiating provision for and developing strategies to manage the often disruptive and anti-social behaviours of some pupils.

The Document Summary Service Circular 9/94 (2008); The Education of Pupils with Emotional and Behaviour Difficulty, almost exactly reiterating the sentiments of the Underwood Report (1955), recognised,

“The term behavioural, emotional and social difficulties cover a wide range of SEN. It can include children and young people with conduct disorders, hyperkinetic disorders and less obvious disorders such as anxiety, school phobia or depression. There need not be a medical diagnosis for a child or young person to be identified as having BESD...” (p1).

It also stated that,

“It will sometimes appear that family dynamics are contributing to a child or young person’s difficulties. A range of forms of support are available in these circumstances.” (p2).

The Circular (2008) refers to the whole school approaches to foster social and emotional wellbeing and introducing the Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) programme. What is not clear is whether this should be available to all pupils or only for the segregated few. Most recently there is an initiative to make it available in mainstream schools.

The notion that education can provide a universal equality of opportunity by creating a homogenous school population has been sustained by add on policies, driven by reports such as the Plowden report of 1967. That recommended the setting up of Educational

Priority Areas that improved resources of some run down urban schools and the funding of more teaching staff with enhanced salaries. More recently the government of the day has sought to identify specific causation. Key factors that perpetuate a culture of poverty through generations include poor early development, single parent households, teenage pregnancy, criminality and substance abuse, poor school attendance. These categories describe a flourishing sub-culture that in spite of financial policies to alleviate poverty, at least in the short term, with Income Support and Working Families Credit, remains an identifiable section of society.

Lately, there seems to have been a change in policy direction from identifying the most vulnerable groups and almost uncritically investing money into those groups and their educational provision, to a more investigative approach. Except in particular circumstances, usually attracting a formal assessment or diagnosis, there is the overarching question, why do children not learn in a benevolent school environment? Why are young children not learning to read? Can social support help? Can that help be dispersed among many agencies, including the voluntary sector? Why do children and young people not want to go to school? In other words can 'education', now along with other agencies, address the matter of engagement. This change seems still quite a new perspective and may or may not lead to inclusion, but there are signs that policy, inevitably supported by a change, if not an increase, in funding, may be becoming part of the policy makers thinking.

Since the creation of the Welsh Assembly more national initiatives have been taken. The Minister for Lifelong Learning and Skills set the following tasks;

1. To explore ways in which parents, children and young people and the community as a whole can be more effectively supported and engaged in the promotion of positive behaviour and attendance in school.
2. To identify effective practice in promoting positive behaviour and attendance and ways in which this practice could be embedded and disseminated in schools and local authorities across Wales.
3. To identify the effective use of multi-agency partnerships in tackling issues of poor attendance and behaviour in schools in Wales, including consideration of regional models.
4. To identify potential new legislation, in the form of National Assembly for Wales Measures for which legislative competence orders should be sought under the Government of Wales Act 2006 that would assist in promoting positive behaviour

and improving school attendance, including specific consideration of the provision of education for excluded pupils.

The outcome was the National Behaviour and Attendance Review authored by Reid, (2009). It posed the questions,

“Why exclude? What for? What does exclusion really mean? What is the difference between fixed-term and permanent exclusion? How does exclusion fit in with natural justice and pupils’ rights? Should all schools have an Exclusions Code of Practice? Why do some schools exclude more pupils than others? Why do reasons for exclusions vary between schools and pupils’ groups? What does exclusion practice say about fairness and equality?” (p7).

Among the observations and recommendations it suggested were,

“More input in schools was needed from educational psychologists whose work could aid schools in designing better programmes of support for pupils whose behaviour was disruptive as well as in helping to develop better training programmes for school staff. “ (p4)

“...the continuity of schooling presents a major risk to the child with potentially lifelong consequences. NBAR therefore recommended that WAG develops legislation requiring LAs to make the provision of 25 hours (for KS4 pupils) of full-time equivalent learning compulsory. The learning provision needs to be closely matched to pupils’ needs and should start on day 11 of a permanent exclusion.” (p9)

“...from some pupils’ perspectives, unofficial exclusions may be seen as bringing a reward for their unsatisfactory behaviour and giving them unwarranted kudos amongst their peers.” (p11)

“...the evidence shows that some schools regularly exclude (fixed and/or permanent exclusions) more pupils than others. In Wales for example, a few secondary schools account for more than half of all exclusions annually. (p6)

The Report also noted that the financial arrangements for excluded pupils were less than in England and effectively likely to be lost in the wider allocation of funding

2.4.7 The Pragmatic Approach

In the effort to address the issues that are collectively referred to as social and educational exclusion, government departments in both England and Wales have funded preventive, reintegration and enhanced basic skills strategies.

These include Sure Start programmes for families with pre-school children, the Children's Fund, Learning Support Units, Youth Offending Teams, Connexions Service, Education Maintenance Allowances.

In Wales, The Children First Circular (2003), indicated that;

“Other agencies and professionals have an important contribution to make to child protection. Their roles and responsibilities need to be understood and care must be taken to ensure communication with them is appropriate and effective.” (p11)

“Social services has the lead role, but not sole responsibility, for interagency work.” (p12)

The education service experiences the consequences in attitude and learning disadvantage of children and young people who experience the cumulative effect of the multifaceted problems resulting in social exclusion. Education cannot cure social exclusion, nor can it include the socially disadvantaged beyond those boundaries that are set by the rigid parameters of the National Curriculum the environment in which it is delivered and its formal assessments.

The added on policies and financial provision to ameliorate the worst effects of disadvantage are managed locally both at LEA and school level. To that extent, at local level, the English Government's goals of prevention, reintegration and getting the basics right, translated in Wales as Building Excellent Schools Together should have some impact on the gloomy statistics outlined in the Social Exclusion Unit Report (2001).

This indicates that in 1995 the percentage of children in the UK living in households with incomes below the US official poverty line was over 20% (in Finland less than 5%). The number of 15-16 year olds reporting using illicit drugs was around 40% in the UK (below 10% in Finland) and participation in learning at the age of 18 was below 60% in the UK whereas the average for the EU was above 70%. (Social Exclusion Unit 2001)

Comparative figures for Wales show that in 1997/98 permanent exclusion from all schools was 0.1% and in England 0.16%. In England during the same period 9.0% of secondary school sessions were missed and in Wales the figure was 10.5%. (National Assembly for Wales Circular 3/99, 1999)

Pupil Support and Social Inclusion, NAW Circular 3/99, presently being revised, considers strategies for improving attendance and behaviour, including the legal aspects, identifying

specific pupils at risk, handling signs of disaffection, pastoral support programmes, the use of exclusion, reintegration and education outside school.

The key initiatives that it identifies are; Youth Access, Healthy Schools, Personal, Social and Health education (PSHE) and the Education Strategic Plan.

The document outlines the legal requirement for attendance of pupils between the ages of five and sixteen, good practice in the monitoring of attendance and the involvement of other agencies in the identification and support available to pupils and families at risk. Chapter 3 of the document refers to families under stress and clearly identifies unacceptable behaviours and truancy as often manifestations of children living in unhappy circumstances. It suggests the involvement of other agencies, such as social services in supporting families where this is the case. NAW Circular 3/99 suggests using;

“...trained youth workers to act as mentors to encourage 11-16 year olds to stay in the classroom”, (1999, paragraph 4.4) “...schools should involve and work with parents, or those responsible for the day to day care of the child, as soon as there are signs of problems” (1999, paragraph 4.7) “There is flexibility within the national curriculum to meet the needs of particular pupils,” (paragraph 4.11).

The Circular (3/99) refers to the Dearing Report (1996) that recommended a restructure and relaunch of the National Record of Achievement (NAW Circular 3/99 1999, paragraph 4.18) and the work of the voluntary sectors including the Duke of Edinburgh Award and the Prince's Trust. (1999 paragraph 4.32). There is recommendation for referral to PRUs, for a mixed package of provision including part time college/ part time school.

The recommendations of NAW Circular 3/99, even in the pre-updated version are commendable, an analysis of how the examples of best practice and recommendations can be seen put into practice with a view to analysing their effectiveness.

2.5 Discussion

The struggle to provide a state education system that satisfies the needs of an increasingly diverse society, with the ever increasing demands of competitive and technological employment is challenging. The notion of a one size can fit all approach cannot easily be sustained and yet that is precisely the demands of a national curriculum. Investigating ‘diversity’ has brought debate and sought morally and politically satisfactory solutions. Pedagogy, paediatrics and psychology have offered assessments and diagnoses. The

education system is already having to embrace new technologies and the more refined and challenging demands within traditional school subjects. Matching that to a complex society already hyper-informed, requires broadly understood and imaginative solutions. As this literature review has outlined, there have been numerous attempts by governments of all ideological hues to seek answers by commissioning what seems a great number of reports that have only sometimes influenced but not often determined government policy.

Elitism in education in Britain has a peculiarity of its own for both historical and political reasons. For R.H. Tawney (1931),

“The hereditary curse upon English education is its organisation upon the lines of social class...The idea that differences of educational opportunity among children should depend upon differences of wealth among parents is a barbarity”. (p39)

That view remains, for many, a constant companion in discussions about education that is also trapped in a division between academic and technological aspirations, and the social value put on them. In Dorling’s interview with Mary O’Hara for *The Guardian* on the publication of his book; *Why Social Inequality Still Persists*, Dorling suggested that “...elitism, exclusion, prejudice greed and despair...” had replaced, “...Beveridge’s five social evils, “...ignorance, want, idleness, squalor and disease...”, (O’Hara, 2010 *The Guardian Online*), perpetuating an unequal society in Britain and elsewhere, and that only three other countries, including the US have a worse record of social inequality. Gordon *et al.* (2000) found that those defined as “...poor...” (p29) were more likely to blame their situation on social injustice but nevertheless 25% of them were more inclined to blame “...laziness...” (p29) and “...lack of will power...” (2000 p29) for their situation.

Returning to the findings of the PISA Report (2009); it identified the UK as having high results but low social equity but on the evidence of other OECD countries high results and high social equity are not mutually exclusive. This suggests that when pupils of whatever socio-economic background are engaged in the learning process their results are good. How then are educators to ameliorate these deficiencies in engagement? There is no definitive definition for BESD and this must be right, for a closely defined group could become marginalised by description, as are Roma and those defined by caste. Nonetheless there are a number of children and young people who come together because they do not fit in to the mainstream of education. There is a challenge to avoid creating a category with a possibly one size fits all provision. The alternative could be to create a generic model with an extended definition; not able to access mainstream school unsupported, that could attract funding for specific circumstances, even to more unambiguous specification than the now largely discarded Statementing has been able to deliver. To deliver such a model

and foster longer term social inclusiveness, filling in the gaps becomes more elaborate than providing schooling, however all embracing that may be. Education has to become, for some, extended to include integrated support for other aspects of their development. For this to be effective it has to call upon the skills of more than just educators. How to deliver that, while retaining the ethos of inclusiveness is now at the beginning of a process that seems to be throwing up as many challenges as solutions.

The research in this review of literature suggests that one great challenge is professional integrity. That can be looked at in several ways. Firstly as simply a problem of communication that needs rationalising. Different time scales of intervention, different methods of recording, different protocols for sharing confidential information, even different computer applications. Another challenge is understanding professional boundaries which could be, and sometimes are, addressed by joint professional development. More unpredictable is the matter of funding. The literature suggests that many of the attempts at multi-agency working have been funded as pilots or projects with no guarantee of subsequent funding. Permanency of staff is another challenge. Colleagues may be seconded to a multi-agency team but there may be no permanent post to follow and the conditions of service may not have the equivalence of the original professional status. Some agencies have a great turnover of staff and employ trainees or assistants to undertake some tasks. Gaskell and Leadbetter (2009), referring to EPs suggest that in spite of the potential challenges to perceptions of professional identity, working in a multi-agency context had for one EP, increased [her] appreciation of others;

“I think the difference it’s made is that I hugely value the contributions of other professionals involved and what I’ve found is that I get much better feedback from other professionals involved. So they value my input as their input from their professional group.” (p105).

With all this in mind where does the Leviathan of the school fit in? Decision makers within the education service, whether headteachers, school governors or local authority officers set the agenda for the schools and ultimately decide who can and, after some lengthy negotiations, who cannot remain in full time or part-time in the mainstream of education.

The question remains; In spite of the enormous amount of thinking, debate and even solid policy outcomes that have permeated the education agenda why is there still such a large number of children and young people who cannot or will not thrive in mainstream provision?

What emerges is an interesting juxtaposition of evidence and tradition punctuated by a very slowly changing understanding of the social dynamic.

The understanding of what contributes to 'exclusion' or the need to exclude is very much dependent upon understanding within the context of the behaviours and the ever evolving knowledge of what triggers or determines 'behaviour'. The outcomes of 'psychology' as the major contributor to the understanding of behaviour, academic observations and commissioned reports, confirm that. The context of behaviour, in this case, the schools, can be sympathetic or antagonistic. What drives the expectations of the schools is whatever is understood by their governing bodies, the local authorities that support them and that is the local interpretation of the political will. In response to the second research question, this literary review suggests the following,

- There is understanding, in principle, of the right to be included socially and educationally although there may be some limitations that may be acceptable.
- There is a prevailing view for some, education serves to sustain an old order, therefore working against the concept of inclusion. There are differing views on the understanding of 'inclusion' and 'integration'.
- There is an understanding that there are within child and circumstantial reasons why inclusion may be compromised.
- There is an understanding that children learn in different ways.
- There is a recognition that the emotional and social world of the child may affect behaviour and to respond to that there is a need for multi-agency co-operation
- There have been a variety of strategies and policies, some implemented and some just reported on, to provide educational opportunity for marginalised pupils, whatever the reason for that marginalisation and there is no lasting consensus on how to deliver that opportunity except to accommodate the notion that inclusion is morally desirable

The efforts of one small local authority from the perspective of one unit within a portfolio PRU to provide compensatory and alternative provision will be explored with a view to understanding how far the ideals of inclusion and equity are met and what changes could be beneficial.

The next chapter describes possible approaches to educational research methods, the criticisms of educational research, the reasons for my choice of method. For the researcher/practitioner there are particular difficulties of choice including defining the phenomenon, deciding on the data, how it is to be collected and how it is to be analysed and reported. Subjectivity and consequently validity are major issues that are also discussed here.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

There are four basic questions that must be asked when seeking to examine the social world. The ontological question - what is the nature of reality? What is there that can be known about it? - the epistemological question – how can we learn about that reality? What is the relationship between the enquirer and what can be known? The methodological question – how can the enquirer find out that which they wish to know? The ethical question - what are the moral principles of the enquirer? How are these questions best answered and what are the difficulties that may arise?

My responses to the ontological and epistemological question are put together; what do I want to learn and how can I best learn about it? There has to be a symbiosis between the phenomenon, that which I wish to learn, how I think I can best learn it and in consequence, the suitability of the method, that has to be appropriate for the phenomenon and me as a reflexive researcher. The response to the question of ethics is guided by the accepted guidelines; informed consent, absence of deception, privacy and confidentiality, accuracy. There are two possible routes for seeking a reality; quantitative and qualitative. The first decision, therefore, is made by considering suitability and personal preference.

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) suggest that “...laypeople...” (p5), will select from their evidence only that which sustains a hunch, ignoring that which contradicts that hunch, while scientists “...construct their theories carefully and systematically.” (p5) They formulate theses that are then tested empirically and produce facts. Scientists seek to design controlled studies to test the effect of specific causes on an *event* whereas the non - scientist may make no attempt to control the influences on an *event*. The scientist will seek experimentation to make a link between phenomena whereas for the non – scientist, establishing a causal link is sufficient. Denzin and Lincoln (1994), point out that the difference between the scientific approach and a “...bricolage...” (p2) is that, “The narratives, or stories scientists tell are accounts couched and framed within specific storytelling traditions, often defined as paradigms (e.g., positivism, postpositivism, constructivism).” (p3). Huberman and Miles(1994) criticise;

“Qualitative studies-especially those done by inexperienced or lone-wolf researchers-are vulnerable when it comes to data management.” (p42).

Oevermann referred to by Flick (2009), redresses the balance of the argument, describing quantitative methods as “...economic shortcuts of the data gathering process...” (p25).

Flick also refers to Kleinig's view that, "...qualitative methods can live very well without the later use of quantitative methods, whereas quantitative methods need qualitative methods for explaining the relations they find." (p25)

Flick (2009) describes the essential features of qualitative research as;

"...the correct choice of appropriate methods and theories; the recognition and analysis of different perspectives; the researchers' reflections on their research as part of the process of knowledge production; and the variety of approaches and methods." (p14)

He also suggests that,

"...qualitative methods take the researcher's communication with the field and its members as an explicit part of knowledge..." (p16)

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) quoting from Levi-Strauss, describe the qualitative researcher as a "Jack of all trades or a kind of do-it-yourself person" (p2). In qualitative research, the idea that a *truth* exists to be understood is challenged by the notion that there is a *reality* that can be investigated. *Reality* suggests not absolute, not *provable*, subjective. Determined disinterest of the enquirer may militate against the unique nature of qualitative research so a gap must be bridged between the perception that interviews, biographies and recorded observations are less rigorous than value free, objective measurement and analysis typified by quantitative research.

As both quantitative and qualitative researchers may be concerned with points of view and opinion, is the credibility and validity of research simply a matter of the methods used to record the research? For Guba and Lincoln, (2005) referring to an earlier work (1981), the reflexive researcher is the 'human instrument', that, referring to Alcott and Potter,

'forces us to come to terms not only with our choice of research problem and with those with whom we engage in the research process, but with ourselves and with the multiple identities that represent the fluid self in the research setting', (p210)

The outcome is the change in approach, first suggested by Geertz in the seventies and eighties to 'a more pluralistic, interpretive, open ended perspective.' (p17) and a paradigm, an interpretive framework that '...is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied' (p22). The idea of internal conversation is not new. For Plato opinions emerge from internal conversation. Kant wrestled with the problem of the self as both object and subject of internal conversation. Comte considered this impossible; that the thinker cannot divide himself in two, John Stuart Mill suggested that the two elements of the thinking self could be explained by a

time gap between 'introspective' thought and 'retrospective' thought. Put simplistically, the notion of reflexivity, as an internal dialogue, results in action. The ongoing challenge within the framework remains; is this paradigm both true to the concept of validity and truly reflect the essence of the research?

The nature of the phenomenon largely dictates the approach. The study of people in their everyday situations (even if those situations are not entirely familiar to the researcher) suggests an ethnographic approach; being there, observing. Some academics raise objection to the ethnographic approach, Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (1994) identify the characteristics of ethnography as,

- ...exploring the nature of particular social phenomena...
- ...to work primarily with 'unstructured' data...
- ...investigation of a small number of cases...
- ...analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of meanings...

(1994 p248)

They suggest that in all the disciplines for which ethnography has been used for social research there is not one to which,

“...a single philosophical or theoretical orientation...can lay unique claim to a rationale for ethnography and participant observation...The use of ethnography is marked by diversity rather than consensus...It is certainly a mistake to elevate ethnography, to the status of a quasi-paradigm in its own right.” (1994 p257)

Understanding the nature of other people's reality and how they interpret their world either in words or in their actions suggests a phenomenological approach; how things are evidenced by a consciousness of how things are. Gathering the data has the inevitable challenge of *selection* that must be justified, and the interpretation of that data that must reflect the meaning that the subjects invest in their words and actions. It must also have validity for the consumers of the study. There are two possible paradigms; Comte's "positivism" as described by Holroyd and quoted in Cohen *et al.* (2007) is;

“...social phenomena viewed in the light of physiological (or biological) laws and theories and investigated empirically, just like physical phenomena.” (p9)

or, as described by Sarantakos and referred to in Greenbank (2003 p792) ,

“Fundamentally, researchers assuming a positivist perspective seek the 'truth' by attempting to eliminate the effect of their preconceptions, personal views and value judgements on the research process” (p792).

Positivism and post-positivism are essentially the most detached and structurally rigid of the paradigms. The difference between the two is the understanding of 'knowledge'. Positivists recognise verified hypotheses; the post positivist acknowledges probability as sufficient to form a hypothesis; the outcome from the explanation of events or a situation followed by predictions, management and control, or in the case of post-positivism, a consensus, that brings about change or reconstruction. Further argument to support the post-positivist interpretative approach is given by Beck and Bonz, who suggest that we can no longer rely on an unchallenged notion of absolute truth as a starting point. Flick (2009) refers to Herbert Blumer who coined the phrase "symbolic interactionism" for sociological and socio-psychological research that has "three simple premises" (p58);

"...human beings act towards things on the meanings that things have for them...that the meaning of such things is derived from or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows...these meanings are handled in and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters." (p58)

Denzin and Lincoln (1994), while endorsing the "...interpretative perspective..." (p13) point out that;

"All research is interpretive, guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some of these may be taken for granted, only assumed; others are highly problematic and controversial...each interpretative paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher, including the questions that are asked and the interpretations that are brought to them." (1994 p13)

More recently, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) referring to Heron and Reason acknowledge 'participatory' as an additional paradigm in their table of Inquiry Paradigms, that includes, the 'primacy of practical knowing', 'communities of enquiry embedded in communities of practice', and recognises that the 'facilitator/researcher requires emotional competence, democratic personality and skills' (p196). Participation can mean, with stakeholders, agreeing research objectives and research questions, acquiring knowledge, shaping interpretations and even getting validity for the process by the carrying out the findings of the research. Participation can be simply feedback to the participants by the researcher. Greenbank (2003),

"...would (therefore) reject claims that research is able to uncover the 'truth' by adopting a value-neutral approach, preferring instead to accept the existence of different realities due to the influence of values on the research process." (p798)

3.2 How does this apply to educational research?

Education has over time become less easy to define and more demonstrably multifaceted. No learner or teacher is confined to didacticism. Moreover, the domain of education is increasingly influenced by other disciplines and social interventions – psychology both educational and clinical, the social sciences in all their manifestations. Efforts by government to hive off those parts of provision that are not within a prescribed norm of the curriculum, but nevertheless an integral part of the process seem to have led to education becoming an area of activity rather than a neatly described discipline. The Frascati Manual (2002) describes basic research as;

“...experimental or theoretical work undertaken primarily to acquire new knowledge of the underlying foundation of phenomena and observable facts, without any particular application or use in view.” (p30)

Referred to in Hegarty (1997) Barry McGaw argued at the NFER Jubilee Conference (1996) that education is so diverse that it may address teaching and learning, the politics of education, the systems employed, all of which may be researched by qualitative or quantitative methodologies and therefore is best described as a ‘field rather than a discipline’ (p63).

Hegarty (1997) identifies the complexity and diversity of knowledge in educational research,

“Research is not just a matter for teachers...students...a key actor in any learning process...policy makers, managers, support staff teacher educators, examiners, inspectors, parents...all need to act intelligently. A psychologist, an administrator and a teacher will all look at the same pupil through different lenses...indeed the strength of multidisciplinary assessment is precisely that it can bring different disciplinary lenses to focus on a single subject” (p29)

Charles Clark (2005) argues;

“Education, being value governed, is a transaction ‘*between*’ persons, not a causal/empirical, law-governed manipulation of processes...teaching is neither a skill, a craft, a set of techniques, a kind of expertise nor an art...*All* research in education even at its deepest level, is practical, i.e. bears upon the practice in the way described.” (p298)

He refers to Mortimore and Sammons who,

“...looks forward to the day when... ‘a comprehensive educational theory can be established.’ An ‘input-process-output model’ to illuminate the black box of how school and classroom experiences combine to foster or inhibit student’ progress...” (p290)

Clark argues that,

“The traditional distinction between research academic, blue skies, curiosity driven...on the one hand and professional practical nuts and bolts on the other is quite false in education” (p299)

and concludes,

“There are two radically conflicting and mutually exclusive options before the education system that interfere with each other at all levels: first, as now, we have the attempt to maximise ‘knowledge’ in the school population citing the *ignis fatuus* of an ideology-free database of scientifically-proven ‘methods’ as a justification for authoritarian control of the means. Alternatively we can have the facilitation of the autogenous personal development of children...With this goes abandonment of any fundamentalist Code Napoléon conception of educational research, and tolerance of disparate ‘ideological groupings, and even individuals who, as a result of current success, have for the moment earned the power to do things their way”. (p303)

Ramsay Selden (1997) identifies three ways in which research can have an impact on educational practice; revealing patterns, changing our understanding of underlying processes involved in education and clarifying and guiding the roles of “...various actors...” (p254) in the educational system. He also points out that there is a basic understanding of the role of research from a linear process,

“...basic research to applied research to development to implementation to evaluation towards expanding the theoretical understanding upon which we can base practice, providing us with crucial information on what is going on in the system and guiding our roles as educators, managers, policy makers *and* researchers”. (p254)

What can we learn from these views? Firstly, education is no longer just the gaining of knowledge from teachers who, know their subject, and have learnt a variety of skills with which to teach it. Nor is the ‘holistic’ view; teaching the ‘whole child’, satisfactory. It seems to me that we have to consider the context that a child or young person brings to their learning. Educators may need help in understanding these contexts and pupils may need help in investigating them, especially if they are far removed from any established norm. For this reason, if no other, the views and even support of other professionals can no longer be considered add-ons to be called upon when a problem arises. In any educational research endeavour, the effect of the assessments, diagnoses, legal obligations or just the views of other professionals cannot be underestimated or ignored.

For this reason the matter of reflexivity cannot be put aside or dismissed. It is considered a new paradigm and yet, as suggested by Guba and Lincoln (2005) it has long been accepted that,

‘...all truths are but partial truths; that the slippage between signifier and signified in linguistic and textual terms creates re-representations that are only and always shadows of the actual people, events and places; that identities are fluid rather than fixed _ (and) leads us ineluctably toward the insight that there will be no ‘conventional’ paradigm.... (p12)

This cannot be more accurate than in the field of education.

Experiencing the company of many children in many situations can make teachers natural ethnographers. The interest that teachers have in research is possibly too subjective to categorise. Improving the performance of pupils, making life easier for themselves, cutting back on bureaucracy, evaluating new practice are all good reasons for the teacher to be an ongoing researcher in their own teaching environment. How that research may be put into a form that has credibility, verisimilitude, and validity and therefore the desired effect indicated by Selden is one of the more difficult aspects of any research done by the practitioner.

Nisbet (2005) identifies the 1960s and 1970s as the ‘new look in educational research, when, “...educational research began to emerge out of the shadow of the contributory disciplines of psychology and sociology and develop its own conceptual frameworks, if not actual evidence based theories”. (p25)

Clark (2005) also refers back to the 1970s as a time when the roots of educational research, the qualitative and the quantitative, the phenomenological and manifest and the positivist and scientific came to be understood as different traditions seeking according to Bernstein “...to obtain organised knowledge of social reality”. (p25)

3.3 Criticisms of Educational Research

Oancea, (2005) identifies the reasons for criticisms and suggests that there has been a,

“...perceived failure of the outcomes of educational research to satisfy the intentions or the expectations of different agents involved.” p164).

She suggests the emergence of,

“...two discourses...one lamenting the misbehaviour of educational research from a managerial point of view...the other to defend it in the name of freedom and right to diversity’ (p157-158) .

Oancea explored three articles,

- *Teaching as a research-based profession: possibilities and prospects* (Hargreaves, D.H 1996) 1996 Teacher Training Agency Annual Lecture (London, Teacher Training Agency.)

- *Educational research: a critique. A survey of published educational research* (Tooley & Darby, 1998) (London, Office for standards in Education)
- *Excellence in Research in Schools* (Hillage, Pearson, Anderson & Tamkin, 1998) Hillage,,J, Pearson R, Anderson A, Tamkin,P ‘ (Report no 74) London Dept., for Education and Employment *et al.* 1998.

The areas of criticism were identified in the following topics;

“...*the commissioning of the research... the abilities, attitudes and practises of the actors involved...the organisation of research... the methodology.. the outcomes of research.*” (p166-167).

The articles suggest that the good practice of research should include, amongst other things;

“...clarification of *concepts...a better command of methodology...training programmes* in educational research...*intensifying participation of practitioners... commitment to evidence-based development...stronger involvement of user communities...laying out a model for good research practice* with carefully designed and agreed criteria...*systematic* reviews of research.” (p172).

Oancea concludes that the findings,

“...suggest that what educational research is taken to be varies with the understanding of the dynamics of knowledge; and that in turn the definition of educational research bears upon the construction of field identity and professional community as well as upon the links of policy and practice”. (p178)

She indicates further research that will explore the need and the nature of criticism of educational research. Perhaps the greatest challenge is establishing the status of educational research. Furlong and Salisbury (2005) refer to Gibbons, who suggests that there are two possible modes of educational research,

“In Mode 1 (which for many is identical with what is meant by science), problems are set and solved in a context governed by the, largely academic, interests of a specific community. By contrast, Mode 2 knowledge is carried out in a context of application. Mode 1 is hierarchical and tends to preserve its form, while Mode 2 is more heterarchical and transient ... In comparison with Mode 1, Mode 2 is more socially accountable and reflexive. It includes wider, more temporary and heterogeneous sets of practitioners, collaborating on a problem defined in a specific and localised context. Therein lies the dilemma for educational researchers”. (p58)

Hargreaves (1999) bemoans,

“...the failure of educational research to be cumulative...the failure of educational researchers to acquire cumulative wisdom about our craft from our illustrious forbears.” (p242)

He is concerned that Brown’s view,

“Researchers have to be patient and accept that their rewards will come from intrinsic satisfaction that eventually their ideas have been taken up rather than from any public acclaim.” (p243)

“...is the ‘hermit stance’ and celebrates the then government’s intention to ‘look forward and demonstrate a commitment to developing evidence - based policy and practice” (p245)

Hammersley (1997) in response to a speech by Hargreaves is sympathetic to his view that,

“...one-off studies...[are]...an important defect of much educational research...It reduces the extent to which findings...are tested across different situations and minimises the...cumulation of knowledge.” p144)

However, Hammersley robustly defends the argument that there cannot be a science of human behaviour that models itself “even remotely, on the natural sciences”. (p145), and rejects Hargreaves comparison with a medical model. He notes the difficulty of carrying out ‘strict experimentation’ in schools and colleges for practical and ethical reasons and poses the question,

“How are we to control competing factors in such a way as to assess the comparative contribution of each one in what is usually a complex web of relationships?” (p145)

This view was also held by Stenhouse (1975) who suggested that, “The culture of the school influences the experience of the pupils and teachers who work in it in unplanned ways.” (1975 p40).

Corey (1953) expands on the theme,

“The very nature of action research makes it highly improbable that the investigator or investigators will know definitely in advance the exact pattern of the inquiry that will develop.” (p23)

Hammersley (1997) continues to challenge Hargreaves who he thinks has moved from his more sympathetic view of the, “...‘enormous complex whole which we call the teacher’s common sense knowledge of life in classrooms’...” (p147), in tune with what Hammersley describes as, “...the diverse and difficult-to-operationalise goals, the multiple variables and complex relationships involved...” (1997 p154) to Hargreaves declaration that, ‘without question OFSTED has the most comprehensive data-base on what teachers do and how it relates to effectiveness’ (p154).

Hall (2009) has concerns that,

“...the way in which this model, (evidence informed policy and practice) contributes to growing trends for teacher passivity. If teachers are to choose between innovations in the same way that shoppers choose detergent, based

on the reputation of the producers and the attractiveness of the packaging, this distracts from the task of assessing what the conditions are in their classrooms, what the pressing needs of the learners (teachers included) might be". (p678)

Greenbank (2003) suggests,

'policy-makers often hold quantitative research in higher esteem simply because of the way it is presented. David Blunkett (2000), for example, who was at the time the Secretary of State for Education, extolled the virtues of 'objective' scientific evidence based on large-scale quantitative studies. He did, however, concede that qualitative methods may be a useful adjunct to quantitative methods. No such concessions were, however, made by Chris Woodhead, who described qualitative research as 'woolly and simplistic' and a 'massive waste of taxpayers' money' (cited by Wellington, 2000, p. 167) (2003p794)

David Blunkett clearly rethought his position. His reported speech to the Economic and Social Research Council, again quoted in Nisbet (2005), stated,

"There must be a place for the fundamental 'blue skies' research which thinks the unthinkable. We need researchers who can challenge fundamental assumptions and orthodoxies, and this may well have big policy effects much further down the road." (p41)

Margaret Thatcher, while Secretary of State for Education, indicated that the Department's research would shift from one of patronage to one of commission, thus committing research to what The Rothschild Report of 1971 in Nisbet (2005) identified as the "...customer-contractor principle..." (p41);

"The customer (government department) says what he wants; the contractor (researcher) does it (if he can); and the customer pays." (p41)

Nisbet (2005) describes this as "...crude..." (p41) and notes Halsey's reference to the co-operation of research in policy formation,

"Action research [is an] aid to intelligent decision making, not a substitute for it. The issue of policy driven research has again become the focus of attention for researchers." (p39)

He goes on to discuss the editors of the British Educational Research Journal's reference to Hodkinson's challenge to the "...new...orthodoxy..." (2005 p137) of policy-orientated research and to Hammersley's response, rejecting a "...laissez faire..." (p137) solution, reiterating the view that while diversity is the strength of educational research it is also "a source of fragmented weakness", (p137) particularly now.

Hammersley's suggestion is that there should be some discussion of what would count as the appropriate governance of educational research. Helpfully, for anyone undertaking educational research at the moment the editorial concludes that "...what we are concerned with in educational research is knowledge production, and that this is not an easy task..." (Nisbet 2005 p137)

In spite of the academics' discussions and disagreements and consensus, the complexities of which surely reflect the complexity of education itself, the question remains; what is educational research for? Is it to influence politicians who are the purseholders? Is it to act as an oracle for policy makers? Does it act as a catharsis for a frustrated profession? My view is that educational research is not in order to find *solutions*. It is to gather information that can guide educational practice, that can influence the thinking of educators and importantly, provide the synthesis between what Hargreaves (1999) calls, "...*evidence-informed*, not evidence based policy or practice." (p246) and the ever-shifting scenery of educational environments. What is the most challenging in my view is the protection of that information from the ravages of politics where it can become the rationale for ideologically and/or financially driven change. This view is sustained by Winter referred to by Bolton (2010),

'The reflective paradigm assembles its theoretical resources in order to defend professional values, creativity, and autonomy in a context where they are generally felt to be under attack from political and economic forces which threatened to transform the professional from an artist into an operative' (p.xv)

3.4 The Reason for this Research

The goal of this research is to address some questions and at least understand the reasons for the frustrations with service delivery that arise daily in my work. Hopefully it will contribute to informing the way to achieve a more effective delivery of service. To this end, the objective is to seek the views of those who have a stake in the provision, the service deliverers, and the consumers of the services.

I need to reflect on my involvement in the process. I am an insider, firstly as an employee, along with the other professionals in this study, working in one local authority. Secondly, by delivering alternative specialist education in response to an assessment or diagnosis, principally by educational psychologists and CAMHS. I am also an outsider, however. I do not decide the client group; my understanding of the child and his or her additional need is anticipated, not sought in advance; my knowledge of the young person is confined to

reading reports and dependant on verbal information that may or may not obliquely refer to matters that remain confidential to other services, principally social services. I am therefore offering a potentially long term, consistent provision and my 'take' on the situation may not become clear, even to me, until a considerable time beyond the admission date. Only then, after case conferences, discussions with other professionals, home visits and my own reports will I become a true insider to the service provision, enabled to negotiate changes or modifications to the provision. I remain an outsider as a stakeholder. I do not commission services, nor do I determine how statutory provision is made available to the young people in my care.

My interest in this research as an outsider is to get the views of the principal stakeholders; the schools (the headteachers), the managers of the services, who determine how the services are distributed, and the recipients, the children and their families. As an insider I wish to seek the views of other service deliverers; teaching colleagues, social workers and educational psychologists.

The first tasks are therefore to gain the interest of the authority in which I work, formulating the research questions, seeking reassurance that the respondents would, in principle, be prepared to respond to my questions and be prepared to be interviewed. There are also the technical considerations; the method, the validity, the ethics. This chapter describes that process.

The Authority agreed to the funding (supplemented by a grant from GTC Wales) and gave me permission to interview colleagues within the education service with the appropriate safeguarding of anonymity. I also had permission, with informed consent, to interview the parents and carers. The Authority required a periodic update of my research that was communicated through a series of memos.

3.5 The Method

The Main Research Questions:

1. What is the nature of current educational thinking and policy about the most appropriate form of provision for pupils demonstrating behavioural, emotional and social difficulties? How has this emerged in an historical and political context?

This was addressed in Chapter 2

2. *In what ways does current provision in one Welsh Authority match, or fail to match current recommended practice, with particular reference to the issue of inclusion?*
3. *How is the stated policy of the Authority interpreted by those who administer it? Do they see any anomalies between policy and practice? If so, why does this occur?*
4. *What are the views of the headteachers of schools across the Authority with regard to the inclusion of all pupils, with particular reference to those demonstrating BESD? What are the main factors influencing their views?*
5. *What are the views of the recipients of the Authority's policy, i.e. the parents of excluded children? Are they satisfied with its implementation? What do they see as the strengths and weaknesses and the reasons for these? What would be their preferences for any form of alternative provision?*

3.5.1 An Overview

What qualitative method, data collection and analysis most suit my research questions?

There are five possible qualitative methods that could be used to address these research questions; a phenomenological approach, an ethnographic approach or an historical approach, a case study or grounded theory.

A uniquely phenomenological approach requires a deconstruction of the situational and cultural context of the phenomenon and constant recorded reflections by all the players. For the purposes of this research this is not practicable. However, the ongoing reflection *in* the action and *on* the action by the researcher (me) is an integral part of the research.

It is a truism to say that teachers are natural ethnographers. In every learning environment the 'teacher' is trying to make sense of the variety of contexts and experiences that the 'learner' brings to a situation. It seems to me that this study is a parallel to this and both linguistic and situational ethnomethodology are an ongoing stream within the framework of the study, but not the framework itself.

The use of history in this study is to provide background and illustration. It is not in itself a method of enquiry. Using history does help understanding, in the very broadest sense, of how society has identified social, emotional and psychological differences within

educational provision. Tracing the legislation that has been used to accommodate these differences seems to me to illustrate how difficult it is to convert ‘goodwill’, benevolence’, ‘concern’ and more recently ‘assessments’ and ‘diagnoses’ into some kind of educational framework. It also illustrates how political agendas have delayed, even obstructed progress.

Grounded theory has emerged from the rigours of quantitative methods to give qualitative research a comparable analytic credibility. It can be used as a standalone methodological framework. For the purposes of this study there needs to be one framework to explore several sources of data from which several theories may emerge. For this reason a case study seems the best ‘fit’, but there are several kinds of case study. There is also the matter of data collection and data analysis.

Robert Stake (1994), describes a case study as,

“...not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied. We choose to study the case. We could study it in many ways.” (p236)

He further argues that a case is specific, bounded and functioning. It is a system. What distinguishes a ‘case’ from other forms of enquiry is that it allows a variety of methods to collect and record data over time. The data is then analysed and reported. Case studies as a method of enquiry are not new, probably going as far back as the middle of the nineteenth century when they were possibly used as an adjunct to statistical evidence. More recently, case studies gained in ‘popularity’ where researchers were seeking to describe, understand and explain, not possible with exclusively quantitative outcomes. This remains the main strength of the case study. Apart from a major discussion among academics that led to the temporary demise of the method, there has been a more recent flourishing of interest but with closer attention to design, data collection and analysis. There are, however, some academics who maintain a critical view of the case study as a research tool. The core criticisms being; that practical knowledge is not as valuable as theoretical knowledge and case studies bring practical knowledge; single, especially small studies do not allow generalisations and case studies may generate an hypothesis but neither test it or build a theory. Atkinson and Delamont in Hammersley (1994) consider;

“Methodological sophistication is not a marked characteristic of the genre...It is our contention...that the case study research tradition is seriously deficient due to both inadequate methods and a lack of methodological self-awareness...We have called case-study workers anti-intellectual and objected to their lack of scholarship”. (p208)

Nevertheless, there are champions of the case study. Cohen *et al* (2007), quoting from Adelman (1984) define a case study as, "...the examination of an instance in action..." (p253). Walker refers to Malinowski when suggesting that the appeal of the case study is that fleshes out the "skeleton", and gives some relief from the language of theory.

Robert Yin (1994) recognises the role of the investigator who he believes, should know about the phenomenon being investigated, know how to ask questions (and listen sensitively) be flexible and not be surprised if the data throws up some unexpected issues.

Fryer (2004) reports that in her experience the case study from an "...'insiders' point of view could give insights 'denied the outside observer'...". (p179) She also noted the strength is compromised by the vulnerability of the practitioner and that in turn, arguably is compromised by the 'political' dimension of that role.

Stake (1994) outlines three types of case study; the "...intrinsic..." (p439) study, undertaken to have better understanding of a particular case. The "...instrumental..." (p439) study, used to illustrate an issue or theory and the "...collective..." (p439) case study where several studies may share a common characteristic.

He further suggests that case studies can serve to draw the researcher to generalities from the study of the particular and conversely help "...to establish the limits of generalizability." (p448) Comforting for a researcher/practitioner is Stake's view that;

"[the]...Qualitative case study is characterised by the main researcher spending substantial time, on site, personally in contact with activities and operations of the case, reflecting, revising meanings of what is going on". (p242)

Cohen *et al* (2007) do not entirely agree with Stake. They categorise the strengths and weaknesses. They refer to Hitchcock and Hughes who identify the hallmarks of case studies as focussing on "...individual actors or groups of actors, and seek to understand their perceptions of events" (p253) The weaknesses, they suggest, referring to Shaughnessy *et al.*, "...often lack a high degree of control [and] may be impressionistic, and self reporting may be biased (by the participant or the observer)" (p255). They refer to Dyer who remarks that,

"...reading a case study, one has to be aware that a process of selection has already taken place, and only the author knows what has been elected in or out..." (p257)

To round up the responsibilities of the qualitative case researcher Robert Stake (1994) suggests the following:

1. Bounding the case, conceptualizing the object of study

2. Selecting phenomena, themes or issues- that is, the research question-to emphasise
3. Seeking patterns of data to develop the issues
4. Triangulating key observations and bases for interpretation
5. Selecting alternative interpretations to pursue
6. Developing assertions or generalizations about the case.

(p244)

He describes two kinds of case study, the intrinsic and the instrumental. The intrinsic, he suggests is,

“...not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because in all its particularity and ordinariness, this case itself is of interest”. (p237)

An instrumental study is,

“...a particular case...examined to provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory. The case is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role...its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but because this helps us pursue the external interest.” (p237)

The methodological question, *how can the enquirer find out that which they wish to know?* is best responded to by exposing the uncomfortable challenge to validity. Realities change. A situation, a conversation, a recall of an event may be coloured by mood, previous experiences, facility with language, afterthoughts and so on. That is why seeking to establish themes, constants throughout the period of research, seems the way forward. The interpretation of texts, reports of conversations, biographies, personal histories, for example, are the core of the development of a theory. Flick suggests that interpretation may result in uncovering or contextualising statements or in paraphrasing, summarising or categorising statements. He refers to Corbin and Strauss (1990) who suggest that the “...validity, reliability and credibility of the data...[the]...plausibility of the research process...[and the]...empirical grounding of the research findings.” (p232) are dependent on the connection between process and outcome. They have seven criteria for evaluating the process:

- What major categories emerged?
- What were some of the events, incidents and actions that indicated the category?
- On what categories did the theoretical sampling take place?
- On what grounds were the hypotheses formulated and tested?
- Were there instances when the hypotheses did not hold up against the reality?
- How and why was the core category selected?

(p232)

Earlier work done by Glaser and Strauss led to a *grounded theory* approach, which challenged the conventional wisdom of dismissing qualitative research as unsystematic and

requiring the rigour of quantitative methods to substantiate it. The core of their argument is that research questions that drive the gathering of data do not require the confines of an answer but lead to emerging concepts that are identified by close analysis of the data through memoing, coding and mapping. For some thematic analysis remains part of grounded theory, for others it stands alone as a method in its own right. Whatever the view, the approach does away with the division between theory and research and provides a flexible method of reporting themes that emerge from analysing either all or a selection of data within the corpus. If there is a substantial difference between the two, it is that grounded theory expects to identify an emergent theory, whereas thematic analysis seeks to identify emergent themes. This study is an instrumental case study that seeks to provide insight into an issue. The research is conducted from both an insider and an outsider perspective, gathers data principally through interviews and questionnaires and the data is analysed through a process of memoing, coding and establishing themes.

3.5.2 The Design

The ‘design’ began with questions: what kind of researcher am I? Peshkin (1998) suggests,

“...subjectivity can be seen as ‘virtuous, for it is the basis of researchers’ making a distinctive contribution, one that results from the unique configuration of their personal qualities joined to the data they have collected.” (p18).

He refers to Cheater,

“We cannot rid ourselves of this subjectivity, nor should we wish to; but we ought, perhaps pay it much more attention.” (p17)

“Rheinharz (1997) suggests in and Lincoln (2005), that as researchers, we ‘...bring the self to the field’, and ‘create the self in the field’ (p210) and that the demands of the reflective approach require we interrogate each of our selves, that she identifies as the research based self, the ‘brought’ self, that creates our views, and the self that is determined by experience. These interrogations will inform the understanding of the phenomenon and as Richardson and St Claire indicate, guide the process not only of recording the findings but also, the continuing discovery of the self.

What are my tools; words? numbers? maps? What questions am I asking? How long will it take? Does qualitative research suit both the subject (phenomenon) and recording the collected data.

Maxwell (2005) suggests five components that I will use as a guide;

1. Goals
2. Conceptual Framework
3. Research questions
4. Methods
5. Validity

(p5)

Using the Interactive Model of Research Design as a basic framework I have responded to each component.

Goals-Why is this study worth doing?

There is no pre-cursor of this study that quantifies a lack of *satisfaction* with the services offered to the young people who do not maintain a mainstream placement, however, there is ongoing anecdotal evidence that the outcomes of the interventions on offer do not reflect the expertise, goodwill and cost of those services.

There are two communities that may expect a satisfactory outcome to the delivery of service. The first is the clients themselves. Is it axiomatic that families who become the client group for extra services expect the delivery of a panacea? If so, how much time and care is spent challenging that expectation and developing a level of willing co-operation to become an active participant in the process? The other community is that of the professionals. How can a diverse group of professionals offer a seamless service? Is there any way in which the present arrangement could be improved? Does co-operation mean working alongside other services on offer or does it, should it, mean creating a managed individualised programme for each 'case' or an all encompassing departmental model to include all services to children? To foster greater confidence of both the recipients; the young people and their families; the main stakeholders, the schools, and the service providers, an investigation into the provision and the interaction between the interested parties will describe the process and from that offer an explanation and understanding of the current arrangements and could lead to further review of current practice.

The Conceptual Framework

My experience suggests that there are a lot of professionals involved with a small, but apparently growing number of young people who do not have an education within the mainstream. The reason that this numerically small, but significant number of young people are not in mainstream is for a variety of reasons, assessments and diagnoses. The current rigorous and arguably prescriptive curriculum further contributes to the marginalisation of some young people. There are, it seems to me, several avenues that can be pursued: Do the expectations of raising standards within the present curricular framework and emphasis on delivering content inevitably exclude some young people? Are the norms of behaviour and learning styles within the classroom now so restricted that 'deviations' are explained by assessments or diagnoses? Does the involvement of a variety of agencies 'guarantee' or at least ease the reintegration into the 'mainstream'? I do not seek direct answers to these questions. I seek to understand whether the provision that is offered in response to policies *makes a difference*.

My professional practice brings me into contact with all the agencies that may become involved with the young people and their families that are my client group. I need to know what current legislation demands of local authorities, how those demands are translated into local provision, how those services are deployed and delivered and what are the views of the service deliverers and recipients. This will inform my choice of informants, to make a selection from the many players in the phenomenon I am exploring.

Research Questions

1. What is the nature of current educational thinking and policy about the most appropriate form of provision for pupils demonstrating behavioural, emotional and social difficulties? How has this emerged in an historical and political context?

This is the Review of Literature

2. In what ways do current provisions in one Welsh Authority match, or fail to match current recommended practice, with particular reference to the issue of inclusion?

This is very much a local matter. Some provision in Wales is almost emphatically different to that in England and needs some clarification.

3. How is the stated policy of the Authority interpreted by those who administer it? Do they see any anomalies between policy and practice? If so, why does this occur?

In many ways these professionals are at the end of the chain although they hold most of the experience and expertise. Their view on how ‘the provision’ is understood and allocated should provide key information

4. What are the views of the headteachers of schools across the Authority with regard to the inclusion of all pupils, with particular reference to those demonstrating BESD? What are the main factors influencing their views?

This is a key question. Unless there is a very specific (usually medical) reason why a child or young person should not be in mainstream school, that is where they remain unless the school, as personified by the headteacher, requests something additional or alternative.

5. What are the views of the recipients of the Authority’s policy, i.e. the parents of excluded children? Are they satisfied with its implementation? What do they see as the strengths and weaknesses and the reasons for these? What would be their preferences for any form of alternative provision?

The young people who attend one unit are entitled to a wide variety of extra support. Tracing the network of providers and considering the outcomes for the young people from the perspective of one Unit should illustrate the benefits and disadvantages of the current arrangements.

Method

This instrumental case study seeks explanation of the delivery of services in one authority, to children who do not attend mainstream. I would describe the boundaries of this case as, *Multiagency provision for a group of young people not presently included in the mainstream: how it is viewed and experienced by professionals and service deliverers*. It is prestructured in that the centre of the study is one small learning centre. At this time this centre is unusual. Its remit is to provide education for school refusers. This title is a (deliberate?) fudge. It allows the placement of any young person who will not go to school but for whom there is no definitive alternative description or where a previous placement has not worked out. It therefore allows purposeful sampling within an homogenous group. What makes it interesting from a research perspective is, because of the diversity within this group, it allows quite a long term study of the needs, therefore the provision, that is available and how it is accessed. As a sideline, it also invites the close observation of a group of people who would not immediately be considered ‘educational’, or even social bedfellows and so a sideways glance at the much broader matter of inclusion and equity.

In the Review of Literature, I have included a very brief overview of how education has developed in Britain, looking very broadly, at the writings about what we now call child development and what impact they have had on the interaction between education, for its own sake and economic and political priorities. I confined myself to the ‘modern European’ context and, not surprisingly, the interweaving of religion in the debates and conversations. The interaction between the goodwill and philanthropy of those motivated by a religious prerogative and those driven by economic priorities and even financial greed, is an interesting red herring but does feed the thread of the need to provide some kind of compensatory education for the ‘unfortunate’. The legislation during the nineteenth century is testimony to that. Equally, it must be suggested, the notion of equality of opportunity has not been best served by a latent social conservatism, perhaps fed by accidents of history, which has allowed philanthropy to remain as patronage, at least in some perceptions.

Education becoming big on the political agenda is in tandem with the State taking on a responsibility for the health of its citizens and has been driven by events. The effect of two world wars, the information from the bureaucracy that inevitably accompanies such events and the legitimacy attached to ‘psychology’ led to a plethora of reports during the earlier part of the twentieth century most of which were either restricted or abandoned for financial reasons, a theme in itself! Official political party dogma certainly became a powerful feature in the debate about education in the latter part of the twentieth century and for that reason I have made reference to both the debates and the legislative outcomes that are consequent upon them.

Question one was addressed in the Review of Literature.

Question two required reading was the WAG documents and this authority’s response to them. It involved informally, exchanging information with other colleagues. There are a great many local authority documents that arrive in schools and other education establishments. These may be diktats from central government, consultation papers, policy papers and so on. Considering the number of these documents, it is interesting that there are very few top down arrangements for discussion within the portfolio PRU. There are two regular meetings, one for the management of the PRU and the other called the PRU Forum, where the managers of the various sites can get together and ‘chew the fat’. Very rarely, in my experience, do matters that could have a considerable effect on the workings of alternative provision get a meaningful airing. The reason for this could be quite simply that there are more immediate matters of mutual concern and everyone wants to get home

anyway. It is, therefore usually the case that colleagues will chat on site with each other and with passing colleagues, including those from other disciplines and perhaps consult over the telephone. An example; talking with a trainee psychologist who had been given the task of seeking out the names of every voluntary agency available to take referrals. This led to more *information*, but no clue to how to access that provision. Gateways to the provision, a key factor in this study, are discussed and clarified in the interviews.

Questions three and four and five are the core of this research. The choice of interviewees, sampling, data collection and data analysis are pivotal to the validity.

The research was conducted over months but with an overall framework in mind that would allow the time for arranging interviews, school visits and gathering evidence from the case histories.

Getting the responses to the research questions eventually took on several guises. My original intention was to conduct recorded structured interviews, transcribe them and then adopt a text analysis approach to seek out themes. This was not to be. The interviewees either knew me or knew of the PPRU and therefore my part in the scheme of things. In any case there was an unequivocal refusal to allow me to record interviews. Where face to face interviews were possible, with the headteachers, the Inclusion Manager, the senior officer with responsibility for the whole inclusion service, the Inclusion Welfare Manager, the Inclusion Welfare Officers and the Centre Managers, the questions were used as an introduction to semi-structured interviews intended to explore research questions three and four and five.

- *How is the stated policy of the Authority interpreted by those who administer it? Do they see any anomalies between policy and practice? If so, why does this occur?*
- *What are the views of the headteachers of schools across the Authority with regard to the inclusion of all pupils, with particular reference to those demonstrating BESD? What are the main factors influencing their views?*
- *What are the views of the recipients of the Authority's policy and practice? If so, why does this occur?*

(A list of the questions are in Appendix I The codings are in Appendix II)

Two questions were put to the parents and carers; How can we help your son/daughter? Is there any way in which we can help you?

The aims of the interview schedules and the aims of the research were guided by my training and work experiences, including my own schooling, my interest in the political ideologies that determine education policy and an awareness of the number of skills and aptitudes that can be found in unlikely people that continue to amaze and intrigue me.

Memory of my own schooling suggests that I was taught how to learn, that learning is a lifelong personal adventure and that if you learn to ask the appropriate questions you develop a strategy for learning. There were of course other factors; a delight in how words are put together in poetry, the magic of science, encouragement to develop visual and aural awareness, none of which felt like hard work (until revising for exams). This essence of my education leads to the belief that such a simple concept must be the same for everyone, and if not why not? It seems to me that if there is no delight in learning, even where that is in order to earn a modest living then we are all collectively diminished. Importantly, I have never met a child or young person who does not want to learn and even working with troubled young people, we, as teachers are still able to delight, intrigue or even inform. This leads to the big question of inclusion. The literature refers to inclusion as dependent upon 'the confident sense of...worth that limits the forms of hierarchy' (ibid p46) to the attainment of a certain level of educational attainment to avoid risk of criminality to factors that restrain the ideal; unequal family stability, for instance. What constitutes family stability? How can deficiencies in it be compensated for? According to the literature, educational exclusion can happen because of family dysfunction, psychological disturbance, 'recent stresses and strains' (ibid p43) If we are to engage all children in learning how big does the education system need to be to 'fit all'. Is it a matter of curriculum or teaching techniques? What level of personal engagement and self discipline must be assumed before a doubt sets in and structures must be imposed? While it is very worrying that some very young children are now being excluded from schools, as an infant/primary trained teacher, informal, diverse and social learning environments seem to maintain an inclusive equilibrium that gets lost in later years. The questions asked of all my chosen interviewees were compelled by this dilemma: governments and local authorities drive a policy of 'inclusion' but that policy does not stand up when scrutinised. Those children who do not 'fit in' to the mainstream have to be excused or excluded from it and attract a variety of add-ons that are by definition 'excluding' and when they leave school they are left with either the memory or/and the documentation that confirms this. The questions to frame the semi-structured interviews were to get a response to simple questions; 'when did you last review your behaviour and discipline policies?' 'what is your job specification?' 'to which agency do you make the most referrals?' and so on. They

were also in order to trigger a more elaborate response; opinions, views on collaboration with other services, other factors that affect service delivery and satisfaction with outcomes.

The intention was twofold; to make the interviewee feel comfortable, not challenged, and to uncover as much about his or her self perception, their aspirations and disappointments in their professional roles. It was underpinned by the documentary framework that affects us all; the Education Acts, WG papers: Extending Entitlement, the National Behaviour and Attendance Report, reports from Estyn and local government guidelines, for instance. The questions were also guided by my personal experience. For example, the question to headteachers, 'what happens to excluded children?' was posed in our collective knowledge that excluded pupils must receive a continuum of education throughout the time of exclusion and that after fifteen days, that provision must reach twenty five hours each week. The question to Inclusion Welfare Officers, 'How has your work changed in the last few years?' reflected my experience of their work from 'attendance officers' to the now acknowledged wider expectations of the role and my research investigation into their understanding of it. For Centre Managers the questions mainly reflected the questions I would ask myself. Reflecting on the questions and the underlying reasons for asking them was also determined by the imperative of not anticipating the responses and allowing myself the time to observe the non-verbal elaborations of the interviews.

The continuum throughout this research is the case histories. *Cases*, more appropriately; the young people and the families that I meet every day are what informs my response to their needs, the use of my expertise and the way in which I engage the work of others both within the Unit and elsewhere. That continuum, within a reflexive paradigm, continuously feeds more or less into all the other elements in my research, and contributes to the validity of the research.

The decision of which case histories to follow was determined by the variety of illustration that they offered. The choice of the parents/carers was therefore random

The home visits were recorded as *semi-structured interviews* with parent or carer. Responses to a referral have two elements; (I make the exception where there is a critical event requiring immediate child protection or police interventions), what the professionals can offer and what the client expects. The interpretation of that duality should be an informative exchange with a mutually acceptable outcome, even if it is limited and not final. This exchange of views and perspectives may be protracted and flavoured by other events; capacity, change of professional and so on. My recording of these interviews

incidentally suggest some of the difficulties in engaging some clients in meaningful interaction, but the main object was to highlight the very diverse needs of client groups.

There were three essential professional groups to interview, the Service Managers, the providers of service and the Headteachers. Interview with the Headteachers were a cornerstone of this research. They are the main stakeholders, creating the demand for additional educational services that in turn may trigger the involvement of other professionals.

There are three Service Managers, the Inclusion Service Manager who has overall responsibility (including distribution of funding) for all additional education needs including the portfolio PRU, The Behaviour Support Manager, who looks after a team of behaviour support teachers and the Inclusion Welfare Manager who manages the inclusion welfare officers.

The Inclusion Welfare Manager and the Inclusion Service Manager were interviewed together. The Behaviour Support Manager was interviewed alone. A second interview was held at a much later date with the Inclusion Service Manager. This was both to get his view of some new arrangements and to triangulate the data from the original interview. The first interviews took place during visits to the centre, they were confidential but informal. No time limit was put upon them, they took place during several visits to the centre. Questionnaires formed the basis of the interviews and responses were initially coded as;

- Inclusion-attitude to concept - funding-responsibility for outcome
- Communication - between agencies, joint working protocols
- Multiagency intervention - referrals, tracking, outcome resolution
- Packages- management, outcomes

The Inclusion Welfare Officers (IWOs) were freely chosen: the first three IWOs who paid a visit to the centre and were not connected with any of the young people attending the centre. It turned out that none of them was attached to any of the schools whose headteachers I had interviewed. The interviews were framed by a questionnaire but the extent of the information that emerged from these interviews was far reaching and proved the most difficult to analyse. First coding from the collected data includes;

- Understanding of role
- Areas of influence

Interviews with the Heads of the Units followed much the same pattern as the interviews with the Heads of the Schools. The initial coding from the questionnaire was from an insider's perspective;

- Information - pathways
- Communication - client group, other agencies
- Multiagency working

Psychologists were sent questionnaires by e-mail. Conversations during case reviews and on other occasions, generally more forthcoming about their views of the provision cannot, for reasons of confidentiality be included in the data. The coding was initially;

- Understanding of role (apart from statutory requirements)
- Areas of influence

Social work managers were keen to engage in an interview, but the caseworkers were always *in a hurry*. I decided on two sets of coding for this group, for the managers,

- Case assessment
- Communication
- For the caseworkers
- Communication

How to decide a representative group of headteachers? This is a small authority but geographically quite large. The location of the schools largely defines the overall perception of the communities they serve. High school size varies from over one thousand to about six hundred and one secondary school has no sixth form and another has over five hundred students. There seems to be quite an undeclared but nevertheless competitive element in the secondary schools and 'reputation' could influence choice within the sample. Although all schools must teach some Welsh language there are some that could be described as Welsh medium/culture schools. There is a fairly even distribution of male/female primary headteachers. There are only three female secondary Heads. In the end it was the geography that decided it. I chose schools that were roughly equidistant from each other. Two types of schools were excluded; Roman Catholic schools and 11-16 schools. Roman Catholic schools have an additional dimension in the management and pastoral care in the schools; there is a diocesan education department. There is only one 11-16 secondary school within the authority, most sixteen year olds then join the sixth form of another high school or pursue a course at an F.E. college.

The sampling was purposive 8% of the primary heads and 41% of the secondary heads. The interviews were intended to introduce the questionnaires, but, perhaps inevitably,

introducing the questionnaires opened up the conversations. These had an agreed time limit of one hour. Verma and Beard (1981) suggest,

“A good questionnaire should not only represent the aims of the research worker who send it out, but should also allow for the full variety of possible answers”.
(p102)

The framework for these interviews with the headteachers were designed to elucidate; the school policy response to discipline and the additional behaviour management needs of some pupils, the attitude of the headteacher to pupils needing such management and their view of the provision and how it would be best suited to their schools.. My initial memoing was done as notes on the text of the interviews and recorded attitude as expressed in mode of speech (and silence) to some questions, where the Head places his office in the school and so on. The initial coding placed their responses into categories.

- Inclusion - attitude to concept
- Communication - through policies - within school, with parents, with the Authority
- Provision - in house, additional provision, referral routes
- Preferred model of additional support

Validity

Maxwell's last component of research design is validity. In all the literature devoted to validity in qualitative research these constants emerge; the relevance of the research questions to the objectives of the study, the amount of time spent *in the field*, cross-checking (triangulating) the data, the interpretation of the data. Altheide and Johnson (1994) are of the view that qualitative research;

“...is carried out in ways that are sensitive to the nature of human and cultural contexts, and is commonly guided by ethic to remain true to the phenomena under study, rather than to any particular set of methodological techniques or principles.”
(p488)

This research includes a lot of diverse data, from learned journals and government documents to interviews with parents and fellow professionals. I am seeking from all the data a theme or themes that could be further investigated in order to improve the delivery of services that are now available. There are, therefore several sources from which themes may emerge.

From the literature, how young people who are not mainstream have been defined, from the legislation and commissioned reports how provision for that group has evolved and from the local stakeholders, providers and recipients, how the provision is used.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006) there are two types of data; the *corpus*, all the data collected and the *data set*, chosen from the corpus for particular analysis. For my purpose, I have made a distinction between that part of the corpus that I collected to inform me and from which themes may emerge and the data set that was collected for analysis. The data set is the information gathered through questionnaires, and interviews. What makes the research more than the recording of experience is that decisions who to interview and what questions to ask was informed by the rest of the corpus; the Review of Literature and the Provision Available. The research questions are open questions, they do not presume a theory and the analysis is data driven, fitting in to what Braun and Clarke (2006) describe as a latent thematic analysis that;

“...goes beyond the semantic content of the data, and starts to identify or examine the *underlying* ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations - and ideologies that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data.” (p13)

Reading responses from questionnaires, notes from and reports of interviews from a very diverse group, all of whom have an interest in the provision but from very different perspectives offers an opportunity (challenge!) to refine codes that will lead to the emergence of themes that will open the way for further investigation.

Ethics

The final component of the design of this research is the matter of ethics. As a researcher I can comfortably adopt Schon's guidance of reflection *in* action and reflection *on* action as an ongoing process. I also recognise the dilemma that the data acquired may challenge my personal values and the need to reflect upon the reporting of the data. For Cohen *et al* (2007),

“The *costs/benefits ratio* is a fundamental concept....social scientists have to consider the likely social benefits of their endeavours against the personal costs to the individuals taking part.” (2007 p52)

For Greenbank.(2003) however,

‘...the costs and benefits of research are virtually impossible to forecast with any certainty. Moreover, the weightings of different factors involve value judgements’ (p797),

and for him, value judgements may be a decisive factor in evaluating cost/benefit.

This research seeks to obtain information that will inform the framework of the delivery of service to a significant group of young people who do not engage with the educational opportunities that are on offer, but for who the aspiration and expectation is that they will at some point be able to rejoin the mainstream population. It is therefore benevolent in its intent. Punch (1994) identifies potential concerns as issues of "...harm, consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality of data". (p89) Within this study the most pressing are consent and confidentiality of data.

Guidelines for gaining informed consent must include an introduction; the purpose of the research and an explanation of the procedures to be followed; a written questionnaire, a list of agreed questions to guide informal interviews and conversations, the offer of alternative methods of recording, the opportunity to revisit the recorded data and to withdraw it in part or in its entirety. To an extent there is an advantage of being known to all of the participants in a variety of contexts; fellow professional, close colleague, provider, listening ear, gatekeeper. This of course places a responsibility on me, the researcher, to collect data in the most impartial way without relinquishing my own expertise as a practitioner that is reflected in the questions asked. For this reason, the choice of informal interview where possible, guided by the structure of a questionnaire, seem to me to offer the best means to both protect the informant from bias and elucidate the information that I require.

There are two layers of recording data from the interviews. Firstly, by jottings on the day and jottings from memory as soon as possible after the event. Then there is the re-writing of the jottings into a literate format. Apart from checking the responses to the questions within the interviews at the time, all respondents were given the opportunity to agree or disagree with the final version of the reports. Respondents' confidentiality was frequently confirmed.

Throughout this research the personal guideline has been to seek information, not to challenge informants for the motives behind their responses. Any very personal reference to another individual has therefore not been commented on or investigated for its truthfulness. 'Ethics', according to Cavan, in Cohen *et al.* (2007) is "...a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others...while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better". (p58). In so doing, reflection on personal values must remain a constant. For Rokeach (1973) referred to by Greenbank(2003),

'...values relate to preferred modes of conduct, which he calls 'instrumental values'. He argues that these include both moral values (what a person feels is

the 'right' thing to do) and competency values (what an individual believes is the most effective way to go about doing something)... 'terminal values', which relate to what a person hopes to achieve for themselves (personal values) and how they wish society to operate (social values)'. (p791)

The reasons for his research, the standpoint of the researcher and the chosen methodology, now declared, the next chapter will investigate how additional provision is delivered for young people deemed to have BESD (behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties), with particular reference to one local authority.

Chapter 4 - The Additional Provision Available to Young People who are not able to remain in Mainstream Education for Behavioural, Emotional and Social reasons

This part of the research will discuss the provision for children and young people who are excluded, on the verge of exclusion or for some emotional behavioural or psychological reason do not attend mainstream school with a particular emphasis on provision in Presteg. It addresses question two of the five key research questions;

In what ways does current provision in one Welsh Authority match, or fail to match current recommended practice, with particular reference to the issue of inclusion?

The information is from legislation, mainly from the WAG (Welsh Assembly Government), often similar to that in England but in a distinctive guise; from reports, circulars, discussion papers and directives from the WAG directives and policy documents circulated by the LA (Local Authority) from the DfES (Department for Education and Skills) and other literature of personal interest as a teacher and a counsellor. It includes initiatives and solutions, the deployment of resources and examples of multi-agency working. It will also draw on evidence from research done in England.

4.1 Introduction

The literature illustrating the *cycle of deprivation* is plentiful. Cassen and Kingdon observe,

“For most of our history education has paid little attention to the needs of disadvantaged children. To a considerable extent, and for all that has been achieved in recent years, it is still failing a large number of them.” (2007 p1)

Another piece of research by Kenway and Palmer, referred to in a report by Egan (2007) and commissioned by the same foundation, indicates that although child poverty, one of several universally accepted indicators of disadvantage, has decreased from 36% in the late 1990s to 28% in 2003/04, there has been no further decrease since then. The report also refers to Hirsch who identified that, “...educational opportunity cannot rely solely on better delivery of the school curriculum for disadvantaged groups, but must address multiple aspects of disadvantaged children’s lives...” (p10). For him, therefore,

“...the transformation of educational relationships inside and outside the classroom will be at least as important as the efficient delivery of the school curriculum in boosting the chances of children from disadvantaged families”. (p10)

The information referred to in this chapter was gathered from a review of international, national and local authority documents and my own experience.

4.1.1 The Welsh Perspective

The Welsh Assembly Government (WAG), now the Welsh government (WG) is increasingly setting out its own policies and agenda for education. These affect everyone from LAs and schools to parents, pupils and teachers. Wales does have special features of its own. These include the promotion of the Welsh language, the rural dimension and the extent of deprivation and poverty in some parts of the country, especially in South-East Wales, the Valleys and some coastal areas in North Wales. Some of these issues are outlined in detail in David Egan's Report (2007). Another key feature of Welsh policy is its adoption and commitment to implement children's rights and the UNCRC. Historically, Wales has always experienced levels of non - attendance far higher than the average for the UK. Of particular concern is that rates of unauthorised absence amongst primary-age pupils. The number in 2005/06 was much higher than those for England although the criteria used to collect the data differ. Similarly, rates of exclusion are extremely high in some schools in Wales and, in some areas, are continuing to rise. Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Training and Education in Wales has expressed concern over the significant increase in fixed period exclusions in recent years.

Estyn has also produced a number of reports relating to the management of behaviour and attendance. These include; *Improving Attendance* (Estyn, 2006a), *Improving Transition Provisions* (Estyn, 2004a), the *Report on Caerphilly LEA School Improvement Service* (Estyn, 2007c) and *How LEAs Can Challenge and Support Schools with Weaknesses* (Estyn, 2005), the *Report on Good Practice in Managing Challenging Behaviour* (Estyn, 2006b), *How to Improve Behaviour Management Training* (Estyn, 2004b) and finally, the *Evaluation of the Impact of the GEST Programme on School Attendance and Behaviour* (Estyn, 2003).

The National Behaviour and Attendance Review (NBAR) (2009) authored by Reid posed these questions;

- How does exclusion fit in with natural justice and pupils' rights?
- Should all schools have an Exclusions Code of Practice?
- Why do some schools exclude more pupils than others?

- Why do reasons for exclusions vary between schools and pupils' groups?
- What does exclusion practice say about fairness and equality?

(p6)

It found evidence,

“...that some schools regularly exclude (fixed and/or permanent exclusions) more pupils than others. In Wales for example, a few secondary schools account for more than half of all exclusions annually’.... exclusions vary from local authority (LA) to LA and within the same LA. For example...one school regularly accounts for more exclusions annually than all the other secondary schools put together....Another concern is the continued rise in the number of fixed term exclusions more especially at the primary level with pupils as young as five now being excluded from school” (p5)

Within this authority the number of pupils excluded over an eight month period (prior to 2008) from a total number of fourteen schools ranged from eighty four to four and the number of days lost ranged from eight hundred and six to sixty two. The Review identified variations in practice varying from short term to permanent exclusions and from *Fresh Start* initiatives to managed moves and managed transfers and informal (illegal), arrangements such as agreed part-time attendance. The Welsh Assembly Government should set standards for the funding, referral, admissions and management of pupil referral units and ‘Educated Other Than At School’ (EOTAS) for those pupils who are not on a school’s roll.

In her introduction to the paving document, *The Learning Country: a Comprehensive and Lifelong Learning Programme to 2010*, (National Assembly for Wales, 2001) in Wales, the then Minister pointed out that;

“...[although] the National Assembly does not have primary legislative powers, its capacity to ensure that Westminster legislation is suited to Welsh circumstances is significant...The primary legislative framework generally also provides for the Assembly itself to initiate secondary legislation’....The Assembly may then choose to act or not to act, in ways that are entirely distinctive to Wales.” (2001b p5)

Wales is the first country within the United Kingdom to adopt a national play strategy. It seeks to implement Article 31 of the UN convention on the Rights of the Child.

Key considerations for the Welsh Assembly Government Play Policy (2002) outlined in the Department for Training and Education Implementation plan (2006) include:

- every child is entitled to respect for their own unique combination of qualities and capabilities;
- the perceptions of the child, their views and opinions should always be respected for each child is connected to, and a bearer of, a wider culture;
- the child’s free choice of their own play is a critical factor in enriching their

learning and contributing to their well being and development. (2006, p3)

Within the paving document, The Learning Country (2001b) published by the then Welsh assembly Government outlined the vision for the future for lifelong learning. These seem the most relevant;

- **stronger foundations for learning** in primary schools...a radical improvement for early years provision and support to parents
- **better transition between primary and secondary school**
- **adjust schools' working practice** so they can operate more flexibly
- **better services for young people** to develop

(2001b p15)

'Extending Entitlement: a supporting Young People in Wales', a Welsh Assembly Government Report (2002b) aimed provision towards 11-25 year olds, the providers being essentially drawn from the public services, including a strong, well trained youth service working closely with other agencies (including Youth Justice) and a commitment to community schools. This substantially reflects and endorses the spirit of the Albermarle Report.

The well recognised problem with emotional and behavioural difficulties as a diagnosis or assessment is that there is no way of predicting either the length or manifestations of the 'disturbance', although experienced early years practitioners will often say that they can identify a child who is likely to have such difficulties. There are few disorders that can be identified and treated. However, there seems to be a growing inclination among some teachers and headteachers to seek a diagnosis or assessment either through a referral to an educational psychologist in the first instance or seeking parental agreement to a referral to CAMHS (Childhood and Adolescent Mental Health Services) through the general practitioner. Within the mainstream setting, nevertheless, such students will be managed in a similar way, irrespective of the reasons for their state of mind. The prospects for young people who have had their equilibrium disturbed are not often very hopeful during their school years, thus giving a very negative imprint on them and colouring the perception of their peers.

This means that although the potential for achievement is often within the normal range of academic expectancy, they are unlikely to achieve it, therefore putting them on the fringes of both social and educational inclusion.

This paving document outlines quite clearly where the weak spots within the system lie and how the WAG proposes to address the issues;

- Nursery and early years' provision
- Reducing class sizes
- Transition from primary to secondary provision
- School exclusion
- Disaffection at Key Stage 4 and beyond
- Low attainment of black and ethnic minority students

The impact of the provision and remedies that are proposed, the way one authority has worked out the way it delivers the service to a targeted group of young people of secondary school age is the subject of this part of the study.

Section 316A of The Education Act 1996 requires all children to be educated in mainstream schools so long as this is compatible with receiving the provision that they need and significantly where it is "...compatible ...with the efficient education of other children and the efficient use of resources". (1996 Part 4, Chapter 1, Section 316, 3b). The NAW Circular 3/99 document, now updated and included in the more comprehensive NAW Circular 47/2006, gives advice on the inclusion of children with difficult behaviours and the school exclusion process.

The National Assembly for Wales Special Educational Needs Code of Practice for Wales (2004) requires full time provision for all pupils of school age. Four areas were identified as;

- Communication and interaction
- Cognition and Learning
- Behavioural, emotional and social development
- Sensory and/or physical

(2004 p84)

The response to any of these identified needs is to be gradual, School Action towards School Action Plus, beginning with the responsibility of the school to have and deliver a special needs policy co-ordinated by the SENCo (Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator) soon to be known as the ANCo (Additional Needs Co-ordinator).

Where the delivery of that service is not adequate, then within the schools own resources an Individual Education Plan should be drawn up with the deployment of extra staff if necessary. Where this is still not adequate School Action Plus enables the school to request the intervention of other agencies. Where that too proves inadequate a Statement of Special

Educational Need may be drawn up. This will include appendices from parents, the school, medical, psychological social services and any other interested party. When a statement is agreed the provision must be made and reviewed annually.

The Draft Guidance on Social Inclusion: Pupil Support published by the Education Department of the Welsh Office, (Circular, 1999) identifies five initiatives to tackle the causes of social exclusion;

- Investing in Young People – a new comprehensive strategy for 14-25 year olds
- Homework and study support centres
- Healthy Schools Initiative
- A National Advisory Group on Personal, Social and Health Education
- Education Development Plans

(1999 p23)

Since 1999 the WAG, through Grants for Education Support and Training (GEST) funding has included monies specifically for LEAs (Local Education Authorities) to address the matter of attendance and behaviour. The advice is that the funding should be used along with other sources to identify local need and fund initiatives to achieve agreed targets.

The Estyn Report of 2003 identifies thirteen strategies included in most LEA's Behaviour support plans which are required as part of the arrangement for the education of children with behavioural difficulties and are aimed to support schools, support individuals in mainstream schools and for pupils being Educated Otherwise Than At School (EOTAS).

The conclusions and recommendations of the Estyn report recognise the links between disaffection, behavioural problems and low attendance. It acknowledges that the curriculum teaching and learning styles and emotional aspects of learning are at the heart of the problem and presumably, therefore at the heart of the solution. It also identifies the need for a consistent approach to cross phase strategies and the importance of multi-agency initiatives.

4.2 The Provision in Presteg

This authority is described in the Presteg Corporate Plan 2005-2009 as;

“...occupying a unique border location...it boasts a significant and prosperous industrial heartland...The economy has changed dramatically over the last twenty years (from) an economy based on coal, steel and textiles. Now...the economy is the manufacturing of products within the aerospace, food, paper, chemical and automotive sectors...Despite a history of decline agriculture still features significantly.....(2005 p1)

The ethnic profile (office of National Statistics – Census 2001) confirms the level of immigration from England. More than ninety five per cent of the population is ‘white British’ (about fifteen per cent are Welsh Speaking), about one per cent of the population is Chinese, Asian, black or mixed race and under two per cent are ‘white other’, mainly from Eastern Europe. There are 91 schools attended by 25,000 pupils. 7,000 young people have access to Youth and Community services, there are 35 Youth Clubs, 157 Adventure Playgrounds, none manned. In 2002/03 53% of pupils achieved 5 or more GCSEs (grades A-C), above the national average and in 2003, 2.7% left full time education with no qualifications, below the national average. 147 children were looked after, and 82 were on the Child Protection Register.

Governance is organised into directorates, Education, Children’s Services and Recreation being one. The Directorate is answerable to an Overview and Scrutiny Committee that reports back to one of the four main County Council Committees. The Executive has a forum specifically concerned with Social Inclusion.

The Estyn Report on Presteg’s Inclusion Service identifies the Directorate as being one of the very few to include “...all social and educational matters relating to children...” (2003 p2). The Inclusion Service “...combines SEN support and statutory functions relating to special educational needs and school attendance...” (2003 p2) The hierarchy of responsibility includes the reporting of the Head of the Inclusion Service to the Head of School Improvement to the Director.

The report notes that although the Authority spends the fourth highest percentage of total tax resources on education, the Local School Budget was the lowest in Wales resulting in a spending of over three hundred pounds less per pupil each year than the national average. The spending on all SEN resources was considerably less than the Welsh national average.

The overall report was *promising* recognising that the quality of support for SEN in all schools is at least satisfactory with most schools offering *good* or *very good* provision and that the relationships with parents is good.

There are some key observation and recommendations that have relevance to this piece of research;

- The authority does not give parents enough information about how and why it makes decisions about the allocation of resources
- ...schools and off-site providers do not exchange enough information about the needs and progress of pupils with behavioural difficulties

- ...the Authority does not do enough to inform parents about the membership of the Moderation Panel
- ...some parents find the process of dealing with a number of different agencies during statutory assessment confusing and frustrating (reflecting the national picture).

(Estyn Report, 2003 p8)

While not all young people with EBD receive a Statement, some do come before the Moderation Panel for consideration. Referring to the Young Person's Education Centre (YPEC) at the local college;

- ...members of staff do not always receive enough information about their needs to make an adequate assessment of the potential risks to other people at the Centre
- ...the service does not have a system for keeping schools informed about the progress of their former pupils

(2003 p12)

In response to this report, Presteg drew up eight key recommendations to be addressed including;

- Agreeing actions and targets in the improvement plan for reducing the numbers of excluded children
- Improving the communication between schools and off-site providers
- Giving parents a clearer understanding of how and why decisions about the allocation of resources are made

(2003 p17)

The subsequent Action Plan recognised that different schools had different criteria for exclusions, thus creating not only different standards of expectation within a very small school geography but also administrative difficulties for the Authority when drawing up support plans or managed moves for the pupil. The statistical information from 2004 suggests that this was indeed an issue. The exclusion statistics from September 2004 to May 2005 show that the number of exclusions range from three in one school to eighty-four in another, the total number of days ranging from eight hundred and six to sixty two. While the arrangements at administrative level may become more rationalised in the schools, for some parents, spending the time to respond, indeed using the process to satisfy natural justice and fair play, may be a challenge in itself. The Welsh Assembly Government suggests the use of an advocacy service where there is the likelihood of a permanent exclusion. (Reid 2009) For the most hard to reach parents and families, the seriousness with which the schools and the authorities take exclusion may be no more than part of a general marginalisation; how it is managed is therefore significant. Since 2008 the structure of the directorates has changed, in spite of the expectation of Every Child Matters

that every authority should have a Childrens' Department as the overarching administrative hub for all matters concerning children. The new Director of Lifelong Learning is supported by four strategic heads of service delivery. He leads the Children and Young People's Plan that has become the overarching strategy for service delivery. It is divided into three tiers; Tier 1: Universal, Tier 2: Targeted, Tier 3: Specialist. It is within this framework that all service is demanded and delivered.

4.3 The Delivery of Service

In its advice to parents, adopted by this authority from a document taken from *My Child in School: permanent exclusion in Wales* (2007), there is the statement;

“Your child should only have been excluded from school: If they have seriously broken the school's behaviour policy”. (p1)

“It would seriously harm the education or welfare of themselves or others if they stayed in school” (p4)

There can be a difficulty for some families with understanding the meaning of the words, underlining the findings of the research in socio-linguistics, mentioned in the Review of Literature. Apart from the difficulty in understanding the concept of a broken discipline policy, for many parents the concept of discipline in a school context may need explanation. Previous research by this writer suggests that the stated expectations as written in the staff handbooks, student handbooks, codes of behaviour and prospectuses are not without obfuscation. For example; “Children are expected to conduct themselves in a courteous and civilised manner, and to show respect for people and property”; another; “Children are expected to behave in the correct way as they must remember that they are representing the school wherever they are especially when they are wearing school uniform”. (Camino 1988). For some children and their families the concept of collegiate behaviour may seem a little archaic.

Very few documents are available to parents give clear instructions that are not open to interpretation of expected behaviour. A significant number of parents still rely on their own experience of school, its environment and its discipline, to inform the expectations they have of a school ethos. For some this was a harsh experience, flight from which might have resulted in an even more unequivocal response.

Several anecdotal examples from casework suggest that the understanding of *correct* or *courteous* and *civilised* is a performance that has to be gone through in order not be told

off; a special behaviour reserved for school and the *posh*. It is understood by some, at best, as diplomacy, at worst as a sham, almost as a lie, far removed from the raw, explicit, monosyllabic truth of many home lives. This lack of mutual understanding between school, the pupil and the family is often in itself a barrier to the meaning of home school interaction. At a personal level it is often several levels of interpretation through, for instance an inclusion welfare officer; repeated interviews and meetings before there is a meaningful and necessary rapport. Expectations of behaviour are made more complicated by, for instance, differences in teaching and personal style within the staff group. A familiar social style in one classroom may be entirely unacceptable in another. The change in relationships between school staff and pupils during the transition period from primary to secondary education is perhaps the most obvious example of this. The most immediate difference; classroom organisation. In primary school the teacher will have close responsibility for one class for most subjects throughout the year and the intimacy between all staff and students is usually well established over the years of primary education.

As reported by Panayiotopoulos and Kerfoot, (2004), half the sample of the Home and School Support Project for Children Excluded from Primary and First Year Secondary School was between the ages of ten and twelve, confirming yet again those in transition from primary to secondary school,

“...face a difficult task in terms of adjustment to a new environment that is more competitive and sometimes less friendly than the primary school.” (2004 p113)

This project also found that,

“Chaotic families tend to ignore signs of their children’s difficult behaviour because they have other more pressing problems, such as financial worries or problems in the marital relationship, to focus on.” (2004 p112).

This raises a further question; must this lack of identification of family dysfunction necessarily be transferred to an emotional and/or behavioural difficulty, or even mental health problem, to one individual child? In spite of all the best effort and initiatives, joint working, meetings, exchange of information and so on this remains a significant problem and a matter of debate amongst some teachers.

For this authority as indeed many others, following the requirement of the DfES’s Revised Guidance on Exclusion (2002) that all pupils excluded for more than fifteen days should receive full-time (i.e. 25 hours) education each week, there has been some urgency in putting together an educational package for a considerable number of young people. The interim report for the Local Government Association into *Good practice in the provision of*

full-time education for excluded pupils, (Atkinson *et al.* 2003) suggests that generally full-time provision for excluded pupils is thought to be beneficial. Full-time provision seems always to have been a grey area within the education service. For many children and young people just being in a classroom and the inability to comply with a code of behaviour are usually the reasons for exclusion, although not necessarily the causes of the unwelcome behaviours. It is therefore both a challenge and a dilemma for any local authority to juggle the needs of the child with the requirement of the law to provide education with the resources available.

Using other educative elements in a programme, often delivered by other agencies may, should, or should not be considered legitimate in any package. For example, the work done by a member of the Youth Justice Team (previously known as the Youth Offending Team, YOT), commissioned by the court, could be included in a package, although such interventions are often short term only and therefore may prove more of a disturbance than a constructive input. This and the co-ordinated delivery of other multidisciplinary service provision will be considered later.

The cost implication and the deployment of resources raise issues of priority. The report suggests that a major concern was the using of resources for immediate, maybe short term solutions at the expense of what the summary describes as “preventative strategies...reintegration of excluded pupils” and “the needs of the most complex emotional and behavioural difficulties”. The NBAR Review (Reid 2009) suggested that;

“There was another concern. England currently provides additional funding to LAs and schools to manage exclusions. This is not presently available at the same level in Wales as the money is included as one element of the Welsh ‘Better Schools Fund’. Often it appears that some of this funding does not find its way into pupil referral units (PRUs) or those other organisations coping with excluded pupils”.

(p7)

The evidence from interviews conducted for this research therefore suggests there is general support for the notion of inclusion, indeed, in an interview with officers within this authority they were quite emphatic in their support for the policy; *‘because there had been consultation’*. However, the notion of ‘inclusion’ does not always sit happily with the more practical implementation of ‘integration’ and the dispersal of funds. There is a requirement that schools should maintain all students within the mainstream wherever possible, but with limited resources to create a diverse education environment and with a cut back in in-house individual support this is likely to remain an aspiration rather than an aim. There are unresolved key points in a school career when difficulties are most likely to arise;

transition from one phase to another. Acting out behaviour is always the main trigger for attention and indicates an urgency for a response and although multi-agency interventions may be effective, *full time* education/provision is open to interpretation. The administration of service delivery ranges from databases to unrecorded conversations. The Integrated Child System (National Assembly for Wales, 2001) is intended to,

“...help social service managers and practitioners together with colleagues from other agencies to improve outcomes for children in need and their families....(it) is based upon the practice process of assessment, planning, intervention and review and will impact on practice in each of these areas both within and between agencies.” (2001

It goes further,

“Successful implementation of the Integrated Children’s System will require the involvement of all agencies working with children and young people [and] should not be viewed as purely a social services responsibility” (2001 p1)

Within this authority the ICS is for the moment confined to child protection issues and there is, as yet no pilot scheme for implementation across the services in place. There is no arrangement for any other service apart from Social Services at any managerial level, to have access to the ICS. This seems a little surprising since both Education and Social Services have been, until recently, managed under the same Directorate and are the two agencies most concerned with the wellbeing of children and young people.

There is no formal, discrete structure for tracking the whereabouts of children who are falling out of the system. Knowing where pupils are from day to day is dependent upon the Inclusion Welfare Officer (IWO) a service that, although managed centrally, has a duty to report to the school. There is a requirement for all schools to report exclusions to the authority that are then stored on a central database, but this does not necessarily trigger intervention other than the in-house provision that may sustain a child in school. Recent government directives have made informal exclusions more difficult, indeed illegal.

Arguably, short term exclusion, considered to be a reminder to pupils and their families or carers that exclusion is the most serious sanction a school may impose, is largely without value. It could be said that if the programme of education is sufficiently important to a student then denial of access would trigger an appropriate response. Often however, for a child who is excluded, where there is no inconvenience to others within the family, it may turn out to be a day or two away from a not very appetising school routine, with the possibility of adventures elsewhere with perhaps even companions who can be persuaded to truant. In fact, anecdotal evidence suggests that the greatest inconvenience to parents is the time taken to attend meetings at school! For analysis of the situation that results in

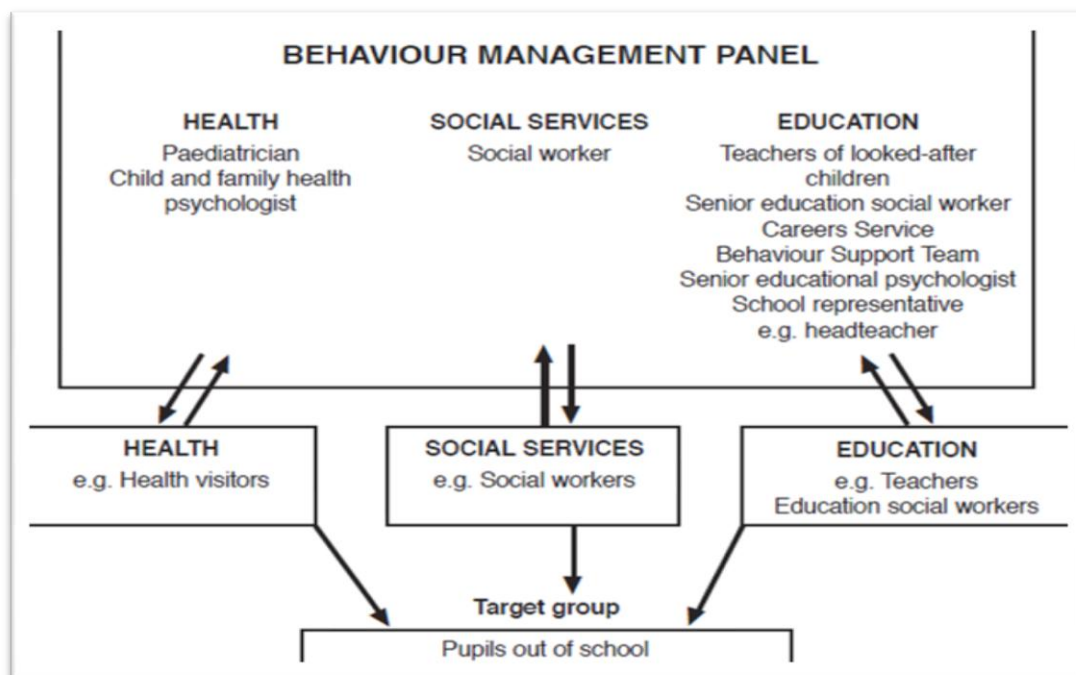
exclusion and a more investigative response, there would need to be a pattern of that exclusion.

At Directorate management level, informal but ongoing conversations between the manager of the Inclusion Welfare Service and the manager of the Inclusion Service seem to be a reliable and effective monitoring service within the authority. What happens when this demonstrably successful personal arrangement changes will seemingly depend upon the establishment of protocols and records of informal meetings and conversations.

Rapport between individuals, local knowledge and a trained intuition about families seem to be the most significant factors in this arrangement. Information about the whereabouts of non-attending pupils has risen from nil to 100% in four years and recorded on a database, a success rightly acknowledged in the Estyn Report. That observation made, the formal structure in place is that of school referral to a Behaviour Planning Meeting where options for intervention are discussed and agreed upon.

This meeting is to be replaced with the Behaviour Planning Meeting, soon to be renamed the Behaviour Moderation Group. The former, meeting monthly will soon be meeting on a two week cycle with increasingly detailed case history referrals. This, it is anticipated, through discussion and consensus will maintain a child within the education system with recommendation, where necessary, for interventions by other professionals.

The Behaviour Moderation Group will comprise the manager of the Behaviour Support Service, a representative from Children's Services, the manager of the Inclusion Welfare Service, a representative from Special Education and a senior Educational Psychologist. In addition, the Young People's Partnership (YPP) is also represented. Its remit is to investigate the reasons and offer support to young people who are deemed hard to reach. The newly set up Youth Justice Education Service is also represented.



(Atkinson *et al.* 2002, p13)

This NFER Report, *Multi-agency Working: a detailed study* (Atkinson *et al.* 2002) commissioned by the Local Government Association gives an example of a Behaviour Management Panel (above) that suggests a very diverse, dedicated core team that while focused at a strategic level is also “...expected to impact indirectly on service delivery at operational level...” (p11) From this illustration, on paper at least, the flow of information could be extensive and structured.

Within this Authority the Prevent and Deter Panel informs the group about the whereabouts within the community of young people who, by being the subject of discussion are by definition an ‘at risk’ group. Although the panel is principally to review the status of young people within the legal framework, representatives from Education and Children’s Services can inform deliberations on other issues arising within the overall provision. It should be noted here that in response to the Welsh Assembly Government’s allocated funding for a Counselling Service, to fall under the remit of the Education Psychology Service, three part time counsellors have been appointed and allocated to the high schools within the Authority. Frequent meetings of the Behaviour Moderation Group hold this rather diffuse model of multi-agency activity together. It does not include in its remit an evaluation of joint services delivered. The more information that becomes available suggests the need for a greater diversity of educational service provision. The number of young people within this authority needing alternative schooling in the

secondary sector in September 2005 is about one hundred and thirty, thirty of whom are in Year 9 (the number increased to about one hundred and fifty by February 2008).

4.3.1 Referrals to Children's Services

The Directorate includes all the services apart from Health and Youth Justice that can provide statutory and non-statutory provision for children and young people.

The trigger for engaging the notice of Children's Services is simple: a referral. Anyone can make a referral by phone, by filling in a form or in the case of some professionals, by invitation to a meeting. The response is less easy to predict and, experience suggests, may be determined by the wording of the referral. One agency's priority of action may not be reflected in the guidelines or remit of another agency. Experience suggests that this is the core of the sometimes uneasy relationship between all or any of the services available to children, young people and their families. It may be a surprising reflection but it is possible that teachers' may have a more perceptive understanding of a child's situation than a parent. An example from experience: a young person regularly attends a Unit. He/she looks tired and anxious and is clearly 'on something'. Loyalty, or fear or anxiety prevents them from volunteering information, so the Unit, not wishing to ask leading questions that may subsequently make the young person's situation worse, nevertheless need to engage other professionals: social services being the usual first referral unless the physical condition of the child determines a request for a medical referral. Lack of hard evidence about a child who regularly attends an education placement is unlikely to trigger more than a Child in Need referral that may take some time to be followed up.

A teacher referring a child in need may speak with a social worker to determine whether a referral to social services is appropriate. This is a judgement call by Social Services. A child with a diagnosed disability or a Looked After Child automatically falls into this category. Where the disability is of a physical kind and a child has need of specific provision such as a wheelchair or extra support for ancillary health provision, the outcome is straightforward.

If a discussion with a social worker has taken place, or even when no discussion has taken place, the referral form will be returned to Social Services. That service will make an initial assessment as to whether there is need for a further assessment with the prospect of opening a case or whether a referral to another agency, National Children's Homes (NCH) or Family Conferencing, for example would be more appropriate. Any referral from Social

Services must have parental permission and indeed co-operation, if there is to be any outcome at all. Where permission or involvement is refused by the parent, no action will be taken. If Social Services make an assessment that there should be an open case, a social worker will be allocated to negotiate the service input required and agreed with the family.

When the police have become involved with a juvenile, a referral will be made by the Court to Youth Justice. The Youth Justice team is a multi-agency team that may comprise social workers, the probation service, the youth service and parenting mentors. Until recently there was no member of the Youth Justice Team responsible for monitoring the individual education programmes that are generally arranged by service providers within the education department. Youth Justice has immediate access to medical services and CAMHS. Within this authority the Service Manager is a social worker. The team is accountable to the Youth Justice Board and where a client breaches the court order in any way the team may refer the client back to the Court. The police are not involved with the implementation of a Youth Justice programme although they may be requested to monitor a curfew order for example. It is only where a young person has been given a police caution that a police officer will be involved. The potential effectiveness of the Youth Justice Team is that it is a multi-disciplinary team collectively answerable to the Youth Justice Board giving their work and that of any other agency on who they may call, an urgency possibly underpinned by the power of a court order. It is however time limited.

It was also evident that where Social Services consider it appropriate, especially with regard to preventative work, a referral to voluntary agencies has a less predictable outcome. The voluntary arrangement is mutual so unless the client can be persuaded that the support offered is appropriate, there is unlikely to be any outcome except that a record of *non co-operation* or *lack of interest* will be recorded. Thus there is a double disappointment: There may be no outcome for the client who remains dissatisfied with the service provision and there is, understandably the possibility of a reduction in the interest of the social worker.

4.3.2 Referrals to the Health Agencies

The PPRU (Portfolio Pupil Referral Unit) no longer has a dedicated school nurse. It is the school nurse for the referring school that looks after their needs. Most recent arrangements have relocated the school nurse caseload to serve the home address of a young person. This will create another level of exchanging information from the schools and the young person

may have had several changes of address, therefore, most recent continuity will be lost. The community of Looked After Children does have a dedicated nurse. All schools have a nurse who, although not on site, is responsible for all screening and regular or requested checkups. This is relevant because all young people attending the PPRU are dual registered with their last attended mainstream school. Any medical need that is identified during routine screening may be referred to the appropriate agency within the health service. Referrals to the CAMHS (Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service) may be made by this route or, where a difficulty is identified, by the Education Psychology Service. A school psychologist is unlikely to be called upon to make an assessment, statutory or otherwise unless the involvement is requested by an education service provider. All interventions, unless triggered by a child protection procedure must have the co-operation of a parent. A parent may request a referral through a general practitioner.

The Department for Education and Skills/HM treasury Review (2003) A Joint Policy Review on Children and Young People, found that parents were more likely to listen to a CAMHS worker than a teacher and,

“Another problem identified was professionals losing their identity and feeling de-skilled, or becoming absorbed into other agencies organisational culture...A core problem seemed to be information sharing. For example, the practicalities of creating shared databases and files, and the issue of different levels of access and traditions of using files between different agencies.” (2003 p3)

CAMHS structures varied, although most time is spent working directly with children and acting as a consultant to teachers and support staff. The research also indicated that over 50% CAMHS work was with educational psychology, welfare and behaviour support services, the most focussed work being joint integrative work including secondments between the health and education services.

4.3.3 Incidence of Mental Illness and Disorders.

A recent government survey suggests that in one in four families there is an incidence of mental illness. The Office of National Statistics Report for 2004 indicates that 10% of children and young people had a clinically diagnosed mental illness. The survey reports that absence from school for at least sixteen days in one term was 17% for emotional disorder, 14% for conduct disorder and 11% for hyperkinetic disorders.

The Everybody's Business Strategy Document (2001) noted that;

- More than 40% of young people have recognisable risk factors for the development of mental health problems of disorders
- 30-40% may at some time experience a mental health problem and
- ...up to 25% may have a disorder at any one time

(2001a p22)

The present set up for mental health services for children and young people has three strands. The ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) team CAMHS and the ASD (Autistic Spectrum Disorder) team. The ASD team may become involved after a referral from mental health professional or a paediatrician referral. The ADHD Team accepts referrals from the school nurse or school doctor or Youth Justice. The school nurse or doctor is likely to have had referrals from either parents or school personnel. On referral, a member of the team will make an observational assessment and if appropriate will refer to the doctor for diagnosis, presently a paediatrician with particular interest in ADHD. The CAMHS accepts referrals from GPs according to strict criteria;

- Disorders associated with severe or disabling anxiety such as complex phobias
- obsessive compulsive disorder or post-traumatic stress disorder
- Depression
- Psychosis
- Persistent self-harm
- Severe and disabling Autistic Spectrum Disorder

A child psychiatrist will then make a diagnosis or refer back to other agencies. In 2005 there were about two hundred and thirty referrals to the CAMHS team. After the first interview there is a reported fall out rate of about 30% for further appointments.

The number of sixteen to twenty four year olds admitted as inpatients in 2004 from this area was five, with informal referrals to the North East Wales Adolescent Service, which covers four neighbouring authorities, numbering thirteen.

In a consultation document the Local Health Board suggests a Mental Health and Psychological Well-being of Children and Young People in Presteg Strategy and Action Plan 2005-2015 (2005)

“The approach to child and adolescent mental health [CAMHS] adopted in this document is therefore all inclusive, covering the full range of emotional health and psychological well-being, from the absence of any difficulties at all through the most severe mental health disorders...there is a continuum of need”. (2005 p7)

The document identifies four tiers of need, the first, and least demanding includes all those children and young people who are in school. It acknowledges within the education framework some children will benefit from;

“...services on an individual, more specialised basis, supporting pupils who may present with needs greater than the majority of children...This type of support falls into Tier 2, and at times, depending on severity and complexity, Tier 3.” (2005 p8)

It is also recognised within the document that at Tier 1 there is,

“...insufficient understanding of the general mental health needs of children in staff whose main role is not explicitly to address emotional health and wellbeing...insufficient access to an appropriate, responsible adult with listening skills sufficient for young people who want to talk over everyday problems.” (2005 p16)

The suggestion that school staff do not have sufficient understanding “...of the general mental health needs of children and their emotional well-being,” (2005 p16) seems rather provocative. Personal relationships within a school community are generally quite sensitive to changes in the behaviours or moods of children and young people. It is only when a situation deteriorates beyond the capacity of the collective expertise and understanding of the pupil and the family that outside help is sought. What does seem to be lacking is an understanding of the decision of what levels of support that mental health agencies offer.

The document identifies the Tier 2 model as being, “...the most difficult to maintain both [in] early intervention and prevention...training, consultation and liaison with Tier one and other non-specialist Tier 2 staff..” (2005 p21) To address this, the proposal is to set up an Early Intervention Service, Primary Mental Health Workers (PMHW) This service, it is envisaged, will place PMHW in schools or G.P. practices and would provide both intervention strategies and an easy route to more specialist intervention. It is further proposed that where that service and any other specialist support service within the Education and Children’s Services or Youth Justice seeks more specialised support for a child a new referral group will be set up. The Specialist CAMHS Multi-agency Panel (SC-MAP) would provide a single reference point. This proposal is in direct response by many agencies within this authority that have requested a single route of referral to CAMHS.

According to strict criteria the SC-MAP will have the authority to require specialist mental health teams to provide initial assessment which will in turn drive the appropriate provision for the client. The Supplementary Information Report identifies “Gaps and Shortfalls in Current Provision.” (2005 p15) These generally relate to a change of

emphasis in criteria towards a smaller group of young people with more severe difficulties thus creating a longer waiting time for those with less severe difficulties.

The importance of the role of schools in promoting psychological health within that population is referred to specifically while also noting that,

“...not all services across all agencies have sufficient understanding of the general mental health needs of children and their emotional well-being.” (2005 p24)

In the ‘*Proposed Key Feature of the Model*’ there is,

“...a comprehensive multi-agency approach throughout, that affirms the significant role played by staff from partner agencies in addressing the emotional and psychological well-being, behavioural, emotional difficulties, and mental health disorders of children and young people” (2005 p28)

Within the SEN Policy Framework there is included in A2, The Promotion of High Standards of Education for Children with SEN the following provision which applies to children with Behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties.

- Assessment by central SEN services where appropriate, of children with SEN according to the nature and severity of their needs.
- Issuing of statements of SEN, or Notes in Lieu of a statement, which arrange appropriate provision to meet the child’s needs.
- Placement in specialist LEA managed facilities for children with emotional and behavioural difficulties
-
- Placement in specialist out of county facilities and schools for children whose exceptional needs cannot be met within our own school and resourced facilities, and future developments to include: Increasing the range of provision for children with Autism Syndrome Disorder (ASD) and Behavioural, emotional and social difficulties (BESD)

(2005, p 23)

Within mainstream provision in Presteg there are two specialist units, one primary and one secondary, catering for sixteen BESD pupils and two units for children on the Autistic spectrum with capacity for twenty two pupils. The ratio of staff for Behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties (BESD) is 1:7. It is not clear whether a child with less severe Autistic symptoms will always be managed within the provision for Autism or whether he or she may be included as either having communication difficulties, in which case the ratio is 1:6 or moderate learning difficulties where the ratio is 1:10 or may remain in a

mainstream class. The impact for staff and on staffing, especially in a mainstream school may be considerable.

The PRU, which is a portfolio facility, now comprises six groups, one of which is exclusively for KS2 pupils, another a part time provision directed by Youth Justice. The others are for young people with acting out behaviours, school refusers, end of Year 11 'exam only' students and another based in the local college for young people given a 'package' and likely to go on to follow a college course.

Accountable to the CAMHS Strategy Group, a study by a Start and Finish group sought,

“...to identify the need in terms of the nature and extent of mental health problems within a group of young people aged 11-16 years attending Portfolio Pupil Referral Units (PPRUs) across the County compared with a matched sample of young people attending mainstream schools.” (2004 p2)

They concluded that;

“...children and young people attending PPRUs have multiple difficulties and present with needs considerably above those of general mainstream school populations thereby representing a major challenge to services...” (2004 p11)

Reaching young people with identified problems requires multi-systemic interventions and this needs to include working with parents and (where possible) extended families...through close working with the Parent Strategy Co-ordinator and Educational Psychology Service...” (2004 p11)

The National Attendance and Behaviour Review (NBAR), (see Reid 2009), suggests that there should be more educational psychology time devoted to work in schools and as a consultancy service to school staff to inform and design programmes to help avoid exclusion.

To complete the cohort of possible provision I have included other interventions that could be included but are rarely represented at a decision making level. Youth Justice is now represented on the Behaviour Planning Group. It is a part time, short term provision and provides additional short term social and essential skills education through the Links programme that may or may not build up to the required twenty-five hours education each week.

4.3.4 Law Enforcement

After the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Police Reform Act 2002 the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 further strengthened police powers to deal with anti-social behaviour.

It also gave powers to the local authorities and their agents to work with the families of young people behaving anti-socially creating mechanisms for enforcement where necessary. The strategies available range from voluntary contracts between young people, their guardians and the police, Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ACBs) to Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) which, if broken require that the young person is brought before the magistrate.

During the inquiry of the Welsh Committee reported as the Welsh Office Committee Report (2005), Dyfed Powys stated that;

“This widespread use of what is essentially a non-specific description reflects the inherent difficulties which prevent the formulation of a comprehensive and consistent definition of what constitutes ASB and also reflects the subjective nature of the way in which the problem is perceived by individual members of the public, depending upon their age, circumstances and disposition.” (p139)

The inquiry referred to the difficulties of information sharing because of the Data Protection Act, suggested that this was more due to interpretation of the Act rather than the restrictions of the Act itself. An example of the easy flow of information came from a Dutch model and the inquiry was told of the Welsh Local Government’s pilot scheme establishing protocols for the sharing of information.

4.3.5 Housing

One of the more vivid illustrations of family life is seen in a home visit. It is also where subjective judgements may inform and colour perceptions. The effect on a community of the behaviour of a neighbour may make a large contribution to the expectations and behaviours of a family. An interview with a senior housing manager suggests that the department sees itself as an enforcing agency, with the comfort and satisfaction of the community being the priority. Where this is challenged by non payment of rent or the behaviour of a family they have, eventually, the power to evict. This officer did not feel that his department had any obligation to support families although he said that local housing officers often worked in conjunction with social services.

Local housing officers within the Authority manage up to 7500 tenancies, two housing associations manage a further 900 dwellings. It is at this level that the housing department becomes closest to being a supportive agency. Where there is a complaint they can make home visits, suggest referral to other agencies or provide neighbours with Nuisance Record Sheets that record the time and place of a complaint and the social effect of the behaviour.

Collectively these reports may lead to the intervention of the senior housing officer to investigate anti-social behaviour. This officer may consult with other agencies, including the police, to put pressure on a family to comply with the conditions of their tenancy or face eviction.

4.3.6 Play Provision

The following recommendations were made by The Department for Training and Education's Play Policy Implementation (2006),

“...to place a statutory duty on all local authorities to provide for children's play needs to meet national minimum standards...Training for school staff, both teaching and non-teaching, to enable them to recognise and facilitate children's play needs...The development of action research to inform the issue of play deprivation and its consequences”. (2006 p20)

“The Welsh Assembly Government believes that: Play is the elemental learning process by which humankind has developed....Children use play in the natural environment to learn of the world they inhabit with others. Play encompasses children's behaviour which is freely chosen, personally directed and internally motivated. That is, children determine and control the content and intent of their play.” (2006 p2)

The role of the playworker is to support children in the creation of a setting in which they can explore and nurture their own emotions, identity and their environment, as well as their common past and future. This authority has adopted the Wales Play Strategy. There are one hundred and fifty seven adventure playgrounds and three open access play provisions in the Sure Start Centres. Thirteen qualified playworkers are employed as sessional workers and during the summer holidays one hundred and three part time unqualified playworkers are employed to run the playschemes. There are no manned adventure playgrounds, although trips are arranged to those in neighbouring authorities by the Play Unit.

Most recently within the Authority, two Communities First (2005) areas, identified as having the greatest child poverty and the greatest incidence of anti-social behaviour within the county have engaged families in play and community activities that “...have successfully challenged parental attitudes and modern day trends aimed at children...” (2005 p5). The Office of the Children's Commissioner for Wales (2005) states,

“Children’s right to play is enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child but even so it is sometimes considered to be a luxury rather than an entitlement” (p2)

The value of play as a most essential part of development is recognised, researched and accepted. A personal view, from observation, is that play is not understood by many parents. It is considered an occasional interruption to the sedentary occupation of television and computers. It is not used as a means for encouraging co-operation between siblings and peers, a precursor to more serious problem solving or a predisposition to explore the wider world.

Where the tradition of play is not established in the home, there is the opportunity to use the provision at the Sure Start Centres. When this is not used a young child may enter the education system already developmentally inhibited. The use of skilled playworkers in Infant and Nursery Schools would therefore seem desirable.

4.4 The Administrative Organisation

Within the legal framework, local authorities have the autonomy to manage their affairs as best suits their communities. These decisions are made politically, by the allocation of funds and strategically, by the outcomes from discussions between service managers and their managers, the directors. Increasingly directors of service have had more experience directing services than they have had as providing services. This may lead to some tensions between the ‘strategists’ and the service providers and it may also lead to shifts in emphasis within services. The County Council has decided to change the responsibilities of the Directorates. Lifelong Learning is now separate from Childrens’ Services. To ease communication the Directors of Social Services and Education are presently drawing up protocols for communication between the two services. Although they have yet to be published, they presumably will include access to the Integrated Childrens’ System.

4.4.1 Children and Young People’s Plan 2008-2011 (Presteg 2008)

The report by the Welsh Assembly Government, 2002, was the outcome of the National Assembly’s new Policy Unit. It focused on creating partnerships between the young people and both statutory and voluntary bodies. The partnerships were to be within the unitary authorities, therefore quite small and would cater for children and young people between the ages of 11-25.

For the purposes of this research several factors from the Needs Assessment should be noted. Around two thousand children and young people have assessed mental health difficulties and a further five hundred have disabling mental health problems. Homelessness is increasing, mainly because of parental financial problems and many young people live in poor housing. Alcohol use by both adult carers and young people and youth offending are also of serious concern.

Although less than the Welsh national average, 18.8% of 16-14 year olds, have no educational, vocational or professional qualifications. From the consultations that produced this information a great number of initiatives, new and existing, funded from a variety of sources, have been gathered under one overarching organisation the CYPP, the Children and Young People's Partnership. (Presteg 2008) The local priorities indicate, among other things, that the CYPP will;

Develop more flexible learning paths to be offered to students/pupils to include formal, in-formal and non-formal educational experiences working with a number of organisations including the voluntary sector and employers. (2008 p19)

Continue to identify as early as possible those children at risk of poor learning and poor academic achievement. Assess their holistic needs and adopt a multi-agency approach to intervene appropriately to support them. (2008 p20)

Although the Young People's Plan does not contribute more than about £40,000 directly to education, it does fund Achievement Support Programmes, some youth work and Careers Wales initiatives. Of the six managers of the Portfolio PRU two had not heard of the CYPP and the other four could not easily identify which services came under that umbrella.

4.4.2 Children First Programme in Wales

A letter was sent from the WAG to the directors of all local authority agencies including Health, Education and the Young People's Partnership. It referred to The Children First (Revenue Support) Grant that was to be transferred to local authorities in 2007-2008. It sent out several Briefing Papers that initially were for the benefit of Looked After Children. The first focussed on "...social service departments to provide concrete evidence that demonstrates that they are fulfilling their parental responsibilities towards children in their care." (WAG 2001 Briefing Paper no.2, p1)

By the time of the next Briefing an "...integrated approach was considered to be a comprehensive research model which furthered the emphasis on social work practice and inter-agency working (WAG 2002a Briefing Paper no.3, p1)

Briefing Paper no 6 outlined the aims and implementation of a system that, "...is based upon the practice both of assessment, planning, intervention and review and will impact on practice in each of these areas within and between agencies." (WAG 2004 Briefing Paper no.6, p1)

The 2004-2005 Evaluation Children's Services rated the implementation of the ICS and its use as a tool to help drive up standards of assessment and practice as a key strength and achievement.

4.5 Conclusion

How does Presteg respond to Welsh Government policy directives and the thrust of its reports?

The persistent themes throughout the Local Authority responses to Welsh Government papers and inspectorate reports are; inclusion, identification, provision and communication.

Certainly the identified number of exclusions has reduced. Not included in the record of young people not attending school are those being provided with work to be done at home while awaiting alternative provision; a managed move or placement. They are almost certainly not having twenty five hours weekly education and that situation may continue for the time it takes to comply with statutory assessments, discussion with parents and meeting of the Moderation Panel. Recognising and responding to the emotional and social needs of young people through multiagency strategies with efficient administration of cross agency information is hindered by poor or undeveloped use of interagency information networks, including the ICS. The requirement to clarify funding streams, ensure effective communication between schools and other providers and keep parents and carers well informed is held back by the lack of embedded protocols. How to unravel the correspondence between the actuality and the expectation?

Until recently, all services were within one directorate and included education, educational psychology, social services and through them some voluntary agencies, youth justice and with a lower profile, leisure (libraries/play/sports facilities). Now the directorates have again been divided into Lifelong Learning and Social Services. The health and mental health agencies and housing, where a public housing agency is involved, have always been managed as separate entities. Some of these services can be accessed by any member of

the public; libraries, swimming pools, play facilities, although not trained playworkers and so on, others are enforceable; education, youth justice Some discrete agencies are available on demand or by a referral; health, mental health.

So far, so good. With or without the new structure what is evident is that there are services available to meet just about every need and there are a variety of workers who could be called upon to support young people in and out of an education environment.

The School Nurse or the GP are most likely to be seen as a *one off* fix or as a gateway to other services; Mental Health or Social Services. It is the involvement of these services or the level of involvement that is determined by what can sometimes seem mysterious reasons. For example, it is clear that for those young people who do not fall into the diagnostic pigeon hole of extreme Autism or mental illness and whose behaviours and difficulties are not so disturbing as to require out of county placement the assessment of need, that does not seem to include an analysis of cause, is complex. Primarily, for the benefit of the child, but also for the judicious deployment of resources. Assessment is not likely to happen quickly. The matter of a *holding* provision is the first consideration. This never seems to be addressed, so a pupil may remain at home with little or no provision for so long that integration into a new learning environment may be made more difficult.

Reports from parents suggest as much as twelve weeks before a final decision is made and that after in-house strategies have been exhausted and non-attendance may have become acceptable.

Is this the point where in depth discussion with family and professionals, a co-operative analysis of cause perhaps managed by a caseholder should take place?

It is not clear why there are so many administrative strands involved in the delivery of single services. For example, medical screening may be administrated by the school nurse, the LAC nurse or even, where requested, by the GP. Mental health provision will, at the lower tiers, include voluntary agencies and the school counselling service all of which are administrated discretely. No one accessible data base provides baseline information to all interested parties of which provision, including education is in place at any one time. Administrative communication between agencies seems convoluted, unless it is at a personal level and that, of course does not include decision making.

Once a young person has a place within the PPRU referral pathways remain complex. There are two options; to refer the young person back to the BMG, almost always when the placement is breaking down. The BMG meets fortnightly. Alternatively, referral to a

particular agency. That referral will have its own internal referral trail. For example; a Child Protection referral must be responded to with some urgency. If the decision is made after the initial assessment to 'downgrade' that referral, it opens another trail. If a Child in Need referral is made, and it is decided that the issues described do not necessitate a social services intervention a form will be returned with suggestions about which agency should be contacted, TAF (Team Around the Family) for instance. The PPRU must therefore make a further referral that may encounter the same fate thus leaving the PPRU to continue to seek the appropriate agency to contact, or give up. Referrals to CAMHS will also be responded to with the possibility, after their consideration that another agency is more appropriate. The referral is passed on to another agency internally, usually one that is under the umbrella of the CAMHS organisation. Medical referrals from the PPRU can be made either through the school nurse of the referring high school, although that arrangement is now changing, so that caseload allocation is made according to the child's home address, or by advising the parent or carer to seek G.P. advice, the outcome of which may never be passed on, even if it has a bearing on the educational well being of the pupil.

Until recently the PPRU had a dedicated EP. The arrangement seems to have changed, but here has been no formal notification. Assumptions have been made that the EPs now correspond to their caseload whether that is an individual school or the outcome of statutory assessment. Apart from reviews, particularly Annual Reviews for a Statemented child when the EP is invited and may or may not attend, there is no reason for any contact with the EP service unless a particular learning problem emerges or a parent requests an assessment; for dyslexia, for example.

The 2009 Estyn Report commented on several matters germane to this research,

'school level performance data and evaluative performance reports are not detailed enough to enable him (the new portfolio holder for Lifelong Learning) to have a complete picture of how well the service is performing' (p8)

'Much of their (the Learning Directorate Managers) development work has been demand driven...and the relationship with schools was based on these principles.....schools have been too dependent on the local education authority' (p8)

Regarding the CYPP the Report found that,

'There is inconsistent use of data to measure performance there is too much emphasis placed on service inputs rather than performance outcomes. Therefore the evaluation of service effectiveness, impact and value for money are not robust'

It should be mentioned that in response to the key question ‘How effective is the authority’s strategic planning?’ it got a Grade 3 and to the key question ‘How effective are the authority’s services’, it got a Grade 2.

The Report is categorised into ‘social inclusion and well-being’ and ‘Additional Learning Needs’ and reports on them separately, suggesting that the unique problem around ‘learners unable to attend school because of personal, social and emotional reasons’ is that they fail to respond to or disrupt mainstream classroom learning. What does not seem to be taken into consideration and would make the strongest argument for a multi-disciplinary child service is the matter of ‘cause’. It is not therefore surprising that the Report comments that although ‘The PPRU is generally successful in addressing the varying needs of its learners, too many of these pupils do not return to mainstream schools.’

The literature is littered with descriptions of causes of behaviours. Granello (2000) cites ‘conduct disorder, socialised aggression, attention problems, anxiety withdrawal, psychotic behaviour, and motor excess’, Resnick and Burt (1996) identify characteristics ranging from mental illness to family dysfunction.

This Authority responds first to the symptoms of the behaviours rather than the causes; the schools are encouraged to put in place in-house support networks to manage the symptoms, the PPRU roughly categorises young people out of school into ‘acting out’, ‘withdrawn’, ‘disaffected’ and resources to support ‘diagnoses’, such as ADHD, ‘dyslexia’ and so on. What it does not do is make a much more comprehensive analysis of where the support could be most effectively directed.

To deconstruct this further. A young person apparently withdrawn because of failure in school may have an assessment of dyslexia that will be provided for within the curriculum but the social effect of this perceived ‘failure’ may actually require another kind of individualised support. A young person may be taking medication for ADHD but the understanding of the family of that condition may be limited and the individual response to the medication may need careful regulation with regard to routines and even diet. The core of the argument is that the response to school failure is not ill informed but that it is often clumsy and poorly analysed.

Where there are concerns that further investigation is required, what happens? A re-referral to the BMG or further referrals from the PPRU provider.

There are enough agencies with enough statutory obligations and strategies to address and to some extent anticipate problems. There may even be enough personnel employed by those agencies to fulfil, on paper at least, all the tasks that could be identified. The

effectiveness of the network to respond to need promptly and comprehensively remains questionable.

The first part of the next chapter takes the views of all those who manage all the additional provision that is within the domain of the Lifelong Learning Directorate. How do they understand their function and how does it fit in with the expectations of the schools. Is it to regulate exclusions, fulfil the requirement for full time education for excluded pupils, does it work discretely from the mainstream education service, provide additional services that individual schools cannot or do not deliver? Is it to be the lead service for multi-agency provision?

Following from that, the second part of the chapter looks at how the practitioners see their part in the Inclusion Service. Do they see themselves as part of a multi-agency service whose combined efforts are accountable, or do they see themselves as offering services independently of other services but with the same overall aim and if so, what is it?

Chapter 5 The views of the service managers and the service providers

This is the response to question three

How is the stated policy of the Authority interpreted by those who administer it? Do they see any anomalies between policy and practice? If so, why does this occur?

5.1 Introduction

To get a personal perspective of the management and administration of the services to young people not in mainstream, the following interviews and responses to questionnaires were sought over a period of about five months. There was not the enthusiasm for responding to the questionnaires that there was in the interviews. All interviewees took the opportunity to widen the interviews to cover all sorts of issues that they felt needed airing. Although social services are not directly involved in the education process, since their involvement may have a quite dramatic affect on educational provision I felt their views were relevant in this part of the study.

5.2 The Views of the Officers: the Manager of the Inclusion Service and the Manager of Inclusion Welfare Officers

Both Managers were interviewed on the same day, in the same office. This was partly to save time and partly because they work closely together and perhaps wished to present a united front. They were both given small questionnaires that formed the basis of the discussion that followed.

5.2.1 The Manager of the Inclusion Service

The Manager of the Inclusion Service was keen to point out that he has a heavy and diverse workload. He has oversight of the whole Service; Inclusion Welfare, Behaviour Support and is responsible for managing the portfolio PRU which includes the Youth Access facility that deals with as many as one hundred and fifty young people excluded, or at the point of exclusion. Their needs are often very diverse. There are no structures for multi-agency workings and although there are good professional to professional relationships, there can be tensions at managerial level that remain because of the lack of

structure for service delivery. The matter of confidentiality was a question asked. He said that there was a spirit of co-operation with several of the agencies that are bound by rules of confidentiality but emphatically excluded Children's Services.

The most effective tracking of service delivery was at Key Stage 4 because of the Behaviour Planning Group Meetings and tracking on a database. There is no protocol for the management of KS 1, 2 and 3 pupils where exclusion leads to another school placement and that also fails. The likelihood is that the child will be placed in an element of the portfolio PRU and the tracking will take place through the Behaviour Planning Meeting minutes that are held monthly. There is a need and now an initiative to set up a monthly meeting devoted to primary age children. In his written response he briskly identified eight possible referrals; Educational Psychology, Children's Services, NCH (National Children's Homes. now Action for Children), the Youth Offending Team (now Youth Justice), the Inclusion Welfare Service, Behaviour Support Service, the PRU and Youth Access.

The Inclusion Manager felt that the variety of provision managed as a 'package' for individual students had varied success, but that the statistics for permanent exclusion indicated positive outcomes; permanent exclusions had reduced from twenty eight in 2003/2004 to six in 2004/2005. 'Varied success' suggest the unspoken acknowledgement that a 'package' can only be delivered effectively with the co-operation of the student, that there must be a level of maturity in the student to benefit from a variety of locations and the acceptance that 'social education' is not as carefully monitored, attendance recorded or assessed for outcomes as the school curriculum element of a 'package'.

The Inclusion Manager was of the view that the least effective management of provision was at year 6, the transition to secondary school, a matter identified in The Learning Country, and reintegrating KS3 pupils. He suggested that the greatest successes were the Behaviour Support Service at KS 1 and 2, evidence of which was that exclusions had reduced to zero. The Authority has invested one, experienced special needs primary specialist teacher and one classroom assistant in a primary Nurture Group following the principles established by Marion Bennathan and the Nurture Group Network. It is too early to evaluate the long term success of this initiative.

He suggested that Youth Access seemed the most effective way of making provision for Yr10/11 pupils. This is a flexible provision only available to Yr 10/11 pupils that may include part-time mainstream school, hence reducing the need for permanent exclusion. Other parts of a 'package' may include attendance at one of the two part time Education

Centres at local libraries, work experience and part time attendance at the Young People's Education Centre (YPEC). It can also include Home Tuition. Local figures suggest that in 2004/2005 85% of Youth Access students left secondary education with some formal qualification. It may be a sign of either the success of this mixed provision or an increasing frustration with pupils manifesting difficult behaviours that the case load for September 2005 is one hundred and thirty one, thirty of whom are Year 9 pupils.

The Inclusion Manager felt that there is not enough support for integration if or when it happens. He felt that some schools are able (and willing) to offer in-house support for their most vulnerable pupils, but that some wait until the difficulties have become so unmanageable that the chance of maintaining the student in mainstream is probably lost. This interviewee felt that there was some reluctance by schools to admit or reintegrate excluded KS3 pupils. His view of Statementing was to emphasise that Statements are for educational need and should reflect the provision *available*. He expressed irritation that by using the strength of the Statement a colleague could demand a particular placement for a student even if none were available.

In his experience most young people would welcome a counselling service within the education system but that it should not be school based. He felt that young people are not inclined to trust school based pastoral services. The Inclusion Manager was enthusiastic in his response to the question 'What could be done to improve the Service?' 'Clearer strategic thinking and prioritising, more money and more time'.

5.2.2 The Inclusion Service Manager

Because of the new arrangements at Directorate level and the decision that the YPP should be the overarching body for implementing the provision, a further questionnaire was given to the Inclusion Service Manager, about one year after the first interview. His responses were recorded during a discussion. The Manager was conscious that there is no data to monitor the workings of 'in house' inclusion strategies, although this is a matter he hopes to address. He acknowledged that within this authority the most likely outcome is that of integration. There are no general criteria for exclusion. Different schools have different thresholds of tolerance, not uncommon in Wales.

As pointed out earlier (ibid p11), evidence from the NBAR Review (Reid, 2009) said that, 'a few secondary schools account for more than half of all exclusions annually. (p5) This manager felt that this was preferable to having a general 'tariff' as it recognised the

autonomy of the schools and allowed for flexibility in assessment.

To support the 'Fresh Start' initiative, a consensus for a 'managed moves' protocol had been proposed to the Headteachers. There had been no agreement. This means effectively, that there are several schools that are less 'tolerant' than others, unwilling, in most circumstances to either maintain behaviourally disordered children or accept a managed move for a fresh start for a pupil from another school. This situation is further complicated with the change in promotion structure for teachers. Previously, points of responsibility might be awarded for pastoral duties. The present system of Teaching and Learning Responsibilities (TLRs) determines that such awards are for subject disciplines, usually with pastoral responsibilities tacked on. The role of the ANCO (now ALNCo) is largely administrative and mainly concerned with providing a differentiated curriculum. It is therefore very often the case that unless there is a persuasive argument for a 'high profile' pastoral role, most governing bodies will lay a greater emphasis on subject areas.

The outcome is easy to predict. Some schools will exclude some pupils and some schools will be willing not only to maintain all their own students, but where possible support a fresh start for some others. This can at best be described as a policy of integration and at worst, 'social engineering' and 'unofficial selection'. Another 'mechanism' to manoeuvre school placements must include the strategy of potential overcrowding; a school is 'oversubscribed'. The Inclusion Manager agreed that 'acting out' behaviour was the most likely reason for a child or young person to become 'noticed' and that other difficulties were most likely to be identified by poor attendance.

On the matter of 'full time' (twenty five hours per week) education, he recognised that not every child who no longer attends mainstream school has full time education. There are now more non-teaching service providers, mainly through the YPP and Achievement Support as well as the Youth Justice Service. This means that although there is nominally almost full time provision within a recognised framework, there is likely to be more social education, work experience in the voluntary sector and outdoor pursuits. Intensive full time remedial learning programmes are not financially viable. He felt that there has been very direct funding for supporting the initiatives for young people with BESD such as counselling in schools and twenty five hours educational provision, however that is interpreted.

For many children and young people who no longer attend mainstream school other agencies are involved, principally Social Services. Communicating information is at its best within this Authority when it is done between 'front line' practitioners, perhaps one of the advantages of a small authority. There has, nevertheless, been a difficulty in the flow of

information, unless there is a particular need and responsibility, reflected by Planning Meetings, LAC Reviews or an Education Review. This can and has led to re-active service delivery rather than co-operating in preventative strategies.

5.2.3 The Inclusion Welfare Manager

The Inclusion Welfare Manager was quite reticent in committing his responses to paper but was keen to enter into the discussion. He has responsibility for all the previously titled Education Welfare Officers, now known as Inclusion Welfare Officers (IWOs). He felt that the most vulnerable children and their families were keen to use the support networks available to them. He identified the main reasons for exclusion were disaffection, involvement in crime, mental health issues, if not their own, then those of a family member. He felt that the most effective support was a long term inclusion plan without which it would not be possible to maintain some pupils in mainstream. He accepted that this idea was not universally accepted as the ideal. This manager was keen to refer to the Young Persons Partnership, Keeping In Touch Strategy (Presteg 2005/6), whose vision is;

“To work in partnership to establish systems at local level which makes timely, supportive interventions, helpful to and valued by young people who are facing difficulties and are in danger of being ‘lost’. (2005/6 p40).

“... One of the seven key strategies is to ‘identify, engage with and support young people aged 11-15 who are in danger of losing touch with the mainstream services (2005/6 p40)... Youth Support Services and other organisations will be expected to work together and share information within the agreed and formalised Information Sharing Protocol...”. (2005/6 p44).

The strategy, the document states, is to be funded through existing funding streams although the partnership ‘may consider allocating funding focussed on identified needs/gaps’. The Inclusion Welfare Manager also brought with him the Summary of as LGA Research Paper, ‘Good Practice in the provision of full-time education for excluded pupils’, (Atkinson *et al.* 2003) particularly pointing out, from the introduction,

“Is there a need for further clarity on what constitutes the components of full-time provision, and also the precise number of hours required at different key stages” (p.viii)

The researchers suggest,

“The answers to this question revealed much disparity in understanding. LEAs gave various figures from 18 hours to 25+ hours, with several indicating that the required number of hours fell somewhere within a range (e.g. ‘20–25 hours’), or anything above a minimum level (e.g. ‘20+ hours’). (p14)

This Manager was very conscious of the importance of a rapport between members of his team and their client group. His own experience of close involvement with vulnerable young people in a residential setting and as an educational welfare officer himself, made him recognise that in a great many instances the successful outcome of both social and educational inclusion depends on the energy and commitment of this very frontline educational professional

5.2.4 The Behaviour Support Service Manager

At the time of the interview, the Behaviour Support Service Manager was newly appointed. Prior to her appointment she had run a primary EBD Unit in a neighbouring authority. She said she had been ‘drip feeding’ reform since taking up her post. She felt that all children likely to be excluded should be referred to her service to ensure preventative work. She remarked that there was no need to inform the Authority if a young person was excluded for less than five days.

At the moment her team was adopting two strategies, preventative and supporting excluded pupils who were being reintegrated. Permanently excluded pupils were immediately allocated home tuition, of usually three hours a week, and a support package would be agreed if and when it was agreed that the pupil should return to school.

This Manager felt that too often the reintegration of permanently excluded pupils was determined by ‘personalities’, resulting in ‘packages’ of provision. She was also of the view that some schools felt that students could be taken away, ‘given a cure’ and then returned to school. She felt that in most cases a Statement for EBD could be managed within the Authorities resources, but did acknowledge that there were too few staff to deliver a really effective service. She was quite knowledgeable about a behaviour curriculum, referring to the work of Deborah Waters. She felt that a behaviour curriculum would provide schools with evidence for differentiated teaching styles to help maintain some pupils in mainstream. She was also of the view that a counselling service within education provision would be useful. With regard to a school’s behaviour and discipline policy, she felt that all of the extended school community; teachers, governors, pupils and parents should be involved so that they had some *ownership* of it.

‘Developing’ was the word that the Behaviour Support Service Manager used to describe the management of inter-agency interventions. Her team of teachers were involved in school meetings which might involve social workers or health service professionals but

they were not included in meetings initiated by either Social Services or the Health Service.

5.2.5 Discussion

The Inclusion Service is managed as an alternative to mainstream education, it might be better named an 'Exclusion Service'. Once all the procedures from School Action to School Action Plus have been exhausted alternatives are sought. The disability model is therefore embedded in the system, only to be ameliorated, perhaps, by a 'managed move'. That leads to a situation that some schools will accept children who have failed in one environment, but other schools will not.

One of the challenges to the Inclusion Service identified by managers was the varying levels of tolerance within mainstream schools and the diversity of strategies to maintain mainstream placements. Those strategies were not always well communicated to the Inclusion Service and therefore preventative strategies negotiated with the schools were not well established.

The unquantifiable element that emerged from these discussions was the real rapport between the Manager of the Inclusion Service and the Inclusion Welfare Manager. Coming from very different perspectives within the education system they clearly had a personal working relationship that works well. It should perhaps be mentioned here that the former 'turned to teaching', becoming the deputy head of a large high school within this authority after experience in industry and the latter has always lived locally and worked in this authority. He has extensive experience in residential care as well as within the community.

What happens when the demonstrably successful partnership is changed when and if the people involved move on? Is there an underlying protocol or pattern of professional behaviours that could or should be replicated or is the delivery of service to remain dependent on good working relationships between individuals?

From these interviews four main topics established themselves. Twenty five hours provision, the impact of confidentiality on service delivery, protocols between agencies and the substance of multi-agency provision. Statistical evidence is useful to the managers of the services. In graphic form it 'satisfies' Welsh Government requirement and for the local authority it concentrates administrative efforts on specific aspects of the service. The matter of twenty five hours 'educational provision' is perhaps the global issue. Any child

or young person out of mainstream school indicates additional cost. A research paper by Scott *et al.* (2001) suggests that in a small sample divided into three categories; conduct disorder, conduct problem and no conduct problem the mean total cost to public services by age 28 ranged (1998 costs) from £70.019 to £24.324 to £7423 respectively. The services included the consequences of crime (identifying a young offender cost £1200, successful prosecution £2500 and placement in a secure unit £3450 each week) extra educational provision, foster care and residential care, state benefits and health costs. The study describes conduct disorder as,

“Conduct disorder is strongly associated with social and educational disadvantage. It occurs four times more often in families with unskilled occupations than in professional families; reading difficulties are common, and many children leave school without qualifications are permanently excluded. The antisocial behaviour tends to persist - 40% of 8 year olds with conduct disorder are repeatedly convicted of crimes such as theft, vandalism, and assault in adolescence. The misuse of drugs and alcohol is widespread.” (2001, p1)

The study concludes that antisocial disorder at the age of ten “...was a powerful predictor...” (p3) of the total cost of public services used by the age of 28. The paper concludes that the most effective interventions happen pre adolescence. It concludes,

“A well coordinated multi-agency approach that used interventions of proved effectiveness could considerably reduce the costs of antisocial children when they are grown up”. (p5).

This scenario will not be unfamiliar to many teachers in mainstream schools.

From these interviews there seems to be a consensus that although on paper there is provision for every eventuality in a young life, there is such a diversity of professional interests and structures as well as legal responsibilities that smooth service delivery is inhibited.

5.3 Practitioners Views

5.3.1 The Inclusion Welfare Officer.

Every secondary school and their cluster of feeder primary schools has an IWO (Inclusion Welfare Officer). Their current tasks have evolved and expanded from those of the Attendance Officer. Although the original purpose has remained; to investigate the absence

of a child from school, they are now also expected to investigate the reasons for that absence and act as an unofficial gate keeper to other agencies. They are often the custodians of local knowledge and can inform referrals to other agencies regarding matters of child protection, adult or child mental health issues, for example. They are almost always included in education initiated case conferences and are usually present at meetings convened by social services, conveying the position of the school with regard to absences and exclusions. Inclusion Welfare Officers are responsible to the Manager of the service, who also provides monthly individual supervision for his staff. Four Inclusion Welfare Officers were interviewed. The interviews were wide ranging with no particular direction, the subject matter being determined mainly by the current cases with which the interviewees are engaged.

K is local and has worked in the Inclusion Welfare Service for some considerable time. Having worked in a variety of 'non career' jobs before gaining a university degree, she is well placed to understand the 'character' of the community. K is keen to emphasise that over time, the qualifications of those employed as IWOs has reached, for several, degree level. She indicated that she found there is sometimes a marked difference in the ways in which her colleagues approached their work, even though they are managed centrally, determined by the great variation in qualifications, experience they have and the expectations of the schools.

She viewed her responsibilities as ensuring that 'children are able to achieve their full potential educationally', including attendance and child protection. To this end the workload for her and her colleagues has increased. She felt that more social welfare issues were affecting attendance. The main agencies with whom she is involved are Children's Services, CAMHS and the school nurses with whom she made home visits. She is included on the invitation list for meetings concerning all those children who are dually registered at both their referring high school and their temporary placements after consideration at the Behaviour Planning Meetings (BPM). In spite of sometimes making a contribution to the 'green form' for consideration at the BPM she felt that she had no influence in planning the 'other than mainstream' provision for a young person.

The second IWO is based in a high school where there is provision for quite a large group of young people who are Statemented for, or deemed to be on the autistic spectrum. For this reason there are a large number of classroom assistants and one, whose background is in residential care, acts as a liaison officer/ advocate for that group of young people. She is employed by the school and has no official connection with the IWO service, although K

works closely with her. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that the Manager of the IWO service was unaware that another high school, with no specialist provision also employs a high level classroom assistant (HTLA) to support internal inclusion strategies.

D has previously worked as a care assistant in a residential school for young people with emotional and behavioural difficulties. He felt that although his present role was 'like a social worker', he felt very much that he 'belonged' to the education service. His approach to the families with whom he is involved is informal and low key. He said that response to referrals to social services depended very much on the wording used in the referral, that even a child protection referral would trigger a slow response, unless there was a major issue of some form of immediate child abuse. He felt that the way in which social services identify their working priorities meant that all but 'acute' family situations would be assessed and then often referred on to other agencies, often Action for Children. While education personnel may make the referral to that organisation, it is the client who must recognise the value of such a referral and keep the appointments if the referral is not to be set aside. 'Acute' cases follow statutory procedures. Children placed on the 'At Risk' register will have their welfare and provision closely monitored and may include an IWO on the core group. The interview with D developed into a general discussion about 'expectation' and 'provision'.

L, who works part time, is attached to a school with 'excellent' results 'high expectations' and a firm educational framework that has the expectation that its pupils will fit into that framework in order to make optimum progress. It has a learning support centre within the school and has a dedicated part time behavioural support teacher. L said that whereas her post is part time, that of her colleague in a neighbouring school is full time. She suggested that this uneven provision indicated, not only that the neighbouring school had more families in need of the service, but also that that school was in a better position to cater for the needs of disaffected and disadvantaged children and young people. Bearing in mind that the needs of the child are paramount she felt quite comfortable in recommending a change of school to one that places greater emphasis on pastoral care where that was the outcome of meetings in school and possibly with other agencies. The counter argument to that position, she agreed, is that in such circumstances, this is effectively selection by the back door.

The IWOs interviewed were committed to the essential requirements of their work and 'experts' in their knowledge of their working environments. There was nevertheless, a feeling that the approaches to the families with whom they worked, the interpretation of

their role, perhaps decided by their qualifications and the demands of the school were very different, even within such a small sample.

5.3.2 Unit Managers

As is often acknowledged in the media and elsewhere, education is in the ‘front line’ of child care. While central government is keen to raise academic standards and has put many procedures in place for monitoring academic progress, it also acknowledges that the social and emotional needs of children may most immediately be recognised and identified in an educational setting. This dimension of educational provision is more concentrated in settings for children who, in spite of the will to provide an inclusive education, cannot be maintained in mainstream school. Identifying the boundary between that part of provision that can legitimately be met by the education service and that part that needs to be passed on to other services is one that exercises teachers and their non-teaching colleagues daily.

A questionnaire distributed among the managers of this authority’s portfolio PRU revealed a generally universal response: that they were generally ill informed about the involvement of other services and the time and outcomes of that involvement. Information usually came from the young person or the family. Of all the managers of the portfolio PRU who responded to the questionnaire or responded to the question, ‘Do you know what the Integrated Childrens System is? Do you access it?’ two managers had heard of it but none of them had ever used it.

There seems to be an aspiration of the portfolio PRU managers to be part of a multidisciplinary team but little confidence that this is the case. In conversation the managers suggested that the onus is often on them to make the referrals to other providers, the procedures for referral being different for each agency and the wider network of support may need an intermediary agency to reach it. They also felt that reporting back on interventions, where such interventions had an effect on a young person’s wellbeing in an alternative provision only occurred when a unit representative is invited to a planning meeting. This does not always happen unless a meeting is called by the education service.

The most likely referral is to Children’s Services. There was an underlying continuum of dissatisfaction with the flow of information from that service. The matter of confidentiality was for some an issue, especially when the sharing of information on a need to know basis has been established within the Authority. There seems to be an unrecorded view that

‘confidentiality’ remains in the control of Children’s Services and that on occasion valuable information that could inform the management of a child’s learning is withheld.

Within the education service the movement of a child or young person to another provision is more easily managed, at least ‘on paper’. The Authority has identified areas of need; short term assessment and ‘turn around’, BESD acting out, school phobic and disaffected and one unit attached to a high school managing KS3 pupils who have a good chance of being reintegrated.

The Behaviour Management Group manages the allocation of pupils taking advice from the schools, the Behaviour Support Teachers, Educational Psychologists and the Inclusion Welfare Service. Although the Managers of the PPRUs have the *right of refusal*, they seem not to be consulted very often, at the ‘planning stage’. Indeed, one of the complaints, from the interviews, was that they are offered a *fait accompli* that may even have been set up before the young person is on the agenda for the Behaviour Management Group. One manager went further, suggesting that an educational psychologist’s report may perhaps disproportionately influence the decisions of what provision should be made available for a particular child or young person. There was general resentment that when a decision of where to place a child was made, over which they had no control, changing the placement was difficult.

With regard to evaluating the outcomes of their work there was a predictably mixed response. Those units within the PPRU with short term goals were able to measure the ‘success’ of the reintegration through the schools attendance record, discipline reports and so on. Those elements of the PPRU with longer term objectives had more subjective ways of assessing outcomes; ‘ask oneself’, ‘ask the service user’ ‘ask the parents’. National directives now require more formal ‘feedback’. This means, of course, that not only is the PPRU assessed on examination results, but there must also be evidence through questionnaires, minutes of meetings and Individual Education Behaviour Plans.

All the PPRU Managers felt that to improve the service and to feel part of a multidisciplinary service there needed to be a list of services available, the protocols for referrals, a co-ordination of the services taken up and as one respondent put it,

‘Agencies and individuals stepping off their egos and actually remembering why we are doing this (work) and who we are doing it for.’

5.3.3 The Educational Psychologists

The Presteg Mission Statement for Educational Psychologists, (2006) is "...applying to promote the development and education of children and young people". (p2) Their handbook states "All children and young people should be included in the education system and society". (p2) The Educational Psychology service acts as a quasi-autonomous service within the Authority. Besides doing the statutory assessments, each psychologist is allocated a cohort of schools from whom they take in-house referrals. Beyond this each psychologist is responsible for a specialism within the discipline.

In response to a questionnaire one respondent indicated that 65% of service time was devoted to consultation within schools, both mainstream and special. In response to the question 'Do you consider your work to be part of a multi-disciplinary team?' the response, from the interviewees was indecisive, indicating that there was a lot of 'intervention and dialogue between ourselves and other teams...although we are not all working on a daily basis alongside professionals from other backgrounds'.

It should be noted here that in answer to the Welsh Assembly Government's allocated funding for a Counselling Service, to fall under the remit of the Education Psychology, a part time school based, confidential , 'on demand' service has been set up in the high schools.

5.3.4 Children's Services

The Directorate in Prenteg has, until recently included all services apart from Health and Youth Justice. For most people Children's Services means social workers.

I have included the LAC (Looked After Children) Officer in this group. Looked After Children are the overall responsibility of Social Services. The LAC Officer responsible for education provision and is herself responsible to the Principle Learning Advisor. She holds a small budget for KS4 LAC, but her main role is advisory. She attends LAC Review meetings, the regular Behaviour Moderation Group meetings and works with foster carers and social workers. She was sent a separate questionnaire

In an effort to explore the relationship between education and social services I had an interview with a Senior Social Work Practitioner and a questionnaire was circulated to all qualified, non-agency social workers by e-mail.

5.3.5 The Senior Social Work Practitioner

Social Services interventions are driven by the 1989 Children's Act. Referrals can be made by almost anyone or any agency. In May and June 2004 200 referrals were made in this authority. All referrals are kept on electronic file indefinitely. Child Protection referrals may or may not be acted upon. This is a judgement by the service. Often such a referral will need further evidence or advice will be given to make an initial referral to the police who take an objective assessment of the situation. This may trigger cross agency checking and information gathering. Child Protection falls outside Data Protection Act so information can flow freely, whether a child has been placed on the Child Protection Register, for example.

A Child in Need referral is often made when parents feel they cannot cope with the family situation or by any other agency including education where family circumstances indicate the need for professional guidance. A child with disabilities will automatically fall into this category. Since the Climbié case there has been a greater emphasis on multi-agency responses. This respondent suggests that there should be a protocol within all agencies to chase up lack of action if a referring agency is not content.

She also felt that third party information should always remain the responsibility of the informant. She was not satisfied that at a court hearing, for example, application for an interim care order, Social Services became entirely responsible for the presentation of all the evidence.

When all the action is taken in a Child Protection case it may be reduced to Child in Need status. If the family does not want the case closed the department will make a judgement as to whether their expertise is appropriate. If not, the case may be referred to other community or voluntary agencies. This means that the family may still have access to support that can, should the need arise be part of a later referral. If no other agency is involved for whatever reason, the case may be quickly closed. Social Services have criteria in place for assessment, although this practitioner felt that this might not be easily understood by other agencies.

Where a case is closed and opened regularly Social Services may make the judgement that an interim Care Order should be sought. The final decision is made at a Legal Planning Meeting. Educational psychologists or/and CAMHS may all make an input to inform the judgement made by Social Services. The weighting of the information is variable.

5.3.6 Social Work Practitioners

The responses from the qualified, non agency staff were minimal and came from one area; 'long term'. There was a consensus that most referrals came from education and the police. In answer to the question 'Who decides what 'category' the referral falls into, are there 'universal criteria?'. The answer was that the managers decide. In response to another question, the decision is conveyed either by letter or by phone call. Experience suggests that it is often the case that the referrer has to chase up the outcome of the referral. When asked how information regarding the nature/time span/progress of an intervention is conveyed, the answer was that confidentiality absolutely precludes a flow of information. This means that apart from calling a meeting there is no way that an interested professional can remain informed of the nature (not in matters of confidentiality) of any social service input. Personal enquiry seems the only way to get information and yet, in response to a question about the impact of confidentiality on multi-agency working, the answer from two respondents was 'none, in this authority'. There was an emphatic positive reply from all practitioners that financial consideration had a major effect on preventative work and case closures. Most respondents valued contact with colleagues as a way of evaluating the progress of their cases and most were keen to feel 'ownership' of their cases.

There is a constant reminder that the most powerful legislation for children of school age is education law and yet it is a Care Order, interim or full that can remove a child from 'home territory' and thereby prompt a change of school placement and all that goes with that.

5.3.7 Discussion

How is the stated policy of the authority responded to by those who administer it? Do they see any anomalies between policy and practice? If so why does this occur?

In short, the responses to this research question indicate that as individuals and as professionals all the respondents understood the thrust of government intention, their professional responsibilities and did their best to achieve the best outcome for their clients.

- All the respondents were frustrated by the deficiency in information gathering.
- The absence of a central, accessible, comprehensive hub for information contributed to that frustration.

- It was evident that the different timescales for interventions affected the understanding of the need to share information.
- Professional status and professional expectations had some effect on co-operative working.

While the understanding of both policy and professional responsibility remained clear, the professionals had differing concerns. For the Manager of the Inclusion Service who has oversight of all that provided by the education service the concerns were;

- Managing the network of the possible agencies to which a young person could get support. He mentioned eight, four of which were outside his domain.
- The dependence on personal professional relationships for negotiating provision, that could become strained.
- The lack of information from schools about young people who were already failing.
- The criteria for exclusion varied considerably and,
- the view that schools ‘held on to young people’ until the point where moving from the mainstream became the only option.

For the Inclusion Welfare Manager his priorities of service provision were;

- An overall inclusion plan involving the YPP (Young Persons Partnership)
- The judicious use of existing funding for that purpose

The Behaviour Support Manager felt that she was ‘a reformer’,

- Introducing preventative strategies
- Supporting young people being reintegrated after exclusion
- Suggesting that school discipline should be a co-operation between all interested parties and a behaviour curriculum would help identify impending problems
- Supporting a school counselling service.

She also identified what she saw as shortcomings;

- Too much of the service was determined by ‘personalities’
- There were enough resources within the Authority but too few people to deliver it.

The work of the IWOs (Inclusion Welfare Officers) was the most diverse because;

- Each school is autonomous and apart from the monitoring of absence, will be interpreted differently
- The qualifications and therefore the expectations of individual IWOs may differ
- Although IWOs work within schools they are managed and answerable to the Authority

The Unit Managers all;

- Felt that they were ill informed about other agency involvement.
- Did not feel they were well informed about the protocols for referrals to other services.
- Wanted to be part of a multi-disciplinary team, but felt that they were not.
- Were disappointed in the flow of information from other services, mainly Childrens' Services.
- Felt that the assessment of their success or lack of it was subjective.

The Educational psychologists' view of their work was;

- That it was mainly consultative within their allocated schools.
- That they worked co-operatively with other agencies, although not on a day to day basis

Childrens Services (a senior practitioner and a social worker) observations were :

- Most referrals come from the education service and the police.
- Referrals are responded to according to the internally determined criteria of Childrens' Services
- Decisions about the response to a referral are made by senior practitioners
- Much depends on the co-operation of the client
- There is a need for a protocol to enable a referrer to challenge a response from Childrens' Services
- Confidentiality guides the flow of information
- Information from a referrer should remain their property if it is required within a legal proceeding.

It cannot be argued that the Welsh Government has not identified all the difficulties that arise in providing education and disrupt the delivery of mainstream provision. From the Education Acts to local initiatives 'things are in place'. There is a danger in making an assumption that the more structured the delivery of service the more efficient it will be. Similarly there is a risk that too flexible an approach will produce patchy outcomes with

little overall satisfaction and no identifiable model of practice. For all the interviewees in this chapter it was clear that here is no woolly mindedness with regard to their professional responsibilities and accountability whether it is the delivery of the National Curriculum or the accurate record keeping of social service interventions. What frustrated the interviewees seem to be the simple but apparently insurmountable difficulty of communication, from matters of confidentiality, compatibility of computer software to the synchronisation of reporting and the location of meetings.

An observation coloured my reflections on these interviews. Education is the only provision with a fixed location that is devoted to the client group. Other practitioners either have offices that are not accessible to the clients, or they use interview rooms or they have offices in school. IWOs are not always available as they may have responsibility for more than one school or they may be out on home visits. It is not surprising then, that many social workers chose to request the education sites of their clients to hold their regular core group meetings. Decisions are made elsewhere, however, and Unit managers can be forgiven for feeling that they are not fully aware of all the agencies within the system and how they are engaged. This is particularly frustrating when this group is keen to be part of a multi-agency service.

The matter of communication between agencies is constantly emerging. A referral made from a school may not get a response from another agency that they had expected or hoped for. Social services will make their decisions according to their own criteria and without explanation, except through personal contact with a practitioner, not a manager and that is not obligatory. From their responses, educational psychologists see themselves as consultants, both in mainstream schools and within other education services. It is at the Behaviour Moderation Group that their views may carry considerable weight in decision making. Inclusion Welfare Officers have what they feel is a disproportionately small influence on outcomes. One IWO held the strong view that their service and their observations rarely become factors in the decisions made about a young person. Unit managers made the same argument.

What is unclear from the information gleaned from the interviews, is how the professional expectations and outcomes of the different agencies are monitored 'jointly'. Simply put, is there, could there be a co-ordination of multi-agency working, even on a short term temporary case by case basis within an identifiable known, shared framework where outcomes and evaluations are possible? Importantly how is the dissemination of

information conveyed to the client so that the client is satisfied that their needs have been met and if they are not satisfied, at least be at ease with the explanations given.

The next chapter records the views of the Headteachers. They are the main drivers of the 'inclusion policy' and their interpretation of it is influenced by many factors; their personal thoughts about inclusion, the notion of 'inclusion' as opposed to 'exclusion' their response to the NBAR question regarding the tension between exclusion, natural justice and the rights of the child. Making matters more complicated, Presteg has an 'Inclusion Service'. Is this service seen as an available alternative provider to inclusion in mainstream education, regulatory, advisory or supportive? Does it satisfy the requirement of the schools? The outcomes for the pupils is not uniform either within this authority or within Wales.

Chapter 6 - The Views of the Head Teachers: Individual Interviews

6.1 Introduction

This is the response to the fourth research question,

What are the views of the headteachers of schools across the Authority with regard to the inclusion of all pupils, with particular reference to those demonstrating BESD? What are the main factors influencing their views?

This authority maintains a centrally held budget for specialist teachers, the Educational Psychology Service and the Pupil Referral Unit. The Inclusion and Behaviour Improvement Service includes Inclusion Welfare Officers attached to each school or cluster of schools. The 2002 Estyn Best Value inspection judged the services to schools to be good with uncertain prospects for improvement, mainly because of the uncertainty of funding. The Estyn Report of 2003 judged the Inclusion Service to be good with promising prospects for improvement. This report refers to headteachers who "...speak very highly of the support that the behaviour improvement service and learning inclusion service give to their schools". (2003 p21)

This part of the study seeks the views of some schools, through interviews underpinned by a questionnaire, about additional services nominally available to support children and young people who are presently displaying challenging or disturbed behaviours in school.

The interviews for this research were done on an individual basis; five primary heads (8%) and five secondary heads (41%). The introduction to the questionnaires, the framework for the interviews led into far more wide reaching discussions than I had expected. Initially, in order to 'make life easy' for the interviewees and for me, it was suggested that the questions should be posed orally, recorded, and the tapes be transcribed at a later date. Without exception this was rejected and no reasons were given, although the looks 'said it all'. My interpretation of the 'looks' was that they were speaking to a colleague who did not belong to the mainstream framework so was 'safe to talk to', but not so safe as to allow evidence of personal identity. It was agreed that I should take notes. This I did, marking down the responses to the questions as they were given. The responses were then categorised as matters 'in common', 'particular to primary/secondary', 'peculiar to the individual head'. The willingness with which every head teacher responded to the questions was surprising, my perception being that any avenue to pursue frustration and on occasion, grievance, was worth a try!

All the interviewees conveyed a possessiveness about their students, even for those who were the most difficult to contain in the school structure. The financial constraints which led to a lack of in-house provision and the lack of advisory and support staff from the central pool was the cause of the greatest frustration.

6.2 Secondary Heads

Mr A is head of a 900 pupil high school. He answered the first question, 'When did you last review your Behaviour/Discipline policy?' briskly, with no hesitation. As he became more comfortable, his responses became less of an interview, more of an offload. He seemed keen to introduce me to what was a recurring theme: the lack of financial provision for behaviour support. He had come to the authority from an English county where 4% of the students had free school meals. In his present school 59% of the pupils live in the 'Communities First' locations of social deprivation. In his previous school he had been able to get a grant of £40,000 annually from the Standards Fund for Social Inclusion. Here he can get nothing.

He said that there were two levels of children with behaviour problems. Those in Year 10/11 for whom exclusion was often the only available sanction, who saw school simply as a social opportunity and those in a 'second tier', in Year 8/9 for whom there does not seem to be any kind of intervention available.

When asked what happens to excluded children he said that the guidelines were followed: work sent home, a discipline committee convened and a reintegration programme set up. He felt that some students enjoyed being at home and often encouraged other students to stay off school as well. The school has a behaviour support teacher who is in school for one afternoon a week. Apart from that, behaviour problems are dealt with by senior staff on an 'on call' system, a burden for an already overburdened staff.

He felt that in many cases concerns about EBD had not been disclosed to the school although there must have been evidence in the primary sector. He said that the Authority was unwilling to statement for EBD, indeed, he had never met a pupil with a Statement for EBD.

Mr A would prefer to manage challenging behaviour in-house, suggesting that going to the YPEC as part of a package, encouraged the pupil to lose commitment to the school and eliminated the school funding for the pupil.

Unlike Mr A, Mr B had been a deputy head teacher in this Authority before taking up his present post quite recently. The school has about one thousand pupils. He summarised his view of behaviour problems in children ‘How far can a child’s trials and tribulations be allowed to impact on the school?’

Mr B was absolutely convinced that the school environment was vitally important to the maintenance of order. He gave the example of a history teacher (in a previous school) who had always ‘played safe’ in lessons, unable to take risks and therefore becoming a dull teacher. He had spent £1000 to refurbish this teacher’s classroom. He said that the effect on both the students and the teacher had been remarkable. The children’s attitude improved and the teacher was consequently inspired to more ‘risk taking’ in his delivery and the lessons became more stimulating.

Mr B preferred a centrally managed multidisciplinary team with a rapid reaction remit and quick interventions from the appropriate agency. He wanted to offer his Year 10/11 pupils an alternative curriculum determined by in-house assessment; a ‘buying into areas of provision in another school that his school could not provide’ (the arrangement would be reciprocal). He was adamant that the programme should be determined and funded by the schools. He would like to employ a Learning Support Mentor, a qualified teacher to oversee IEPs that would include college and work experience. He reckoned that about £80.000 a year would pay for the whole service, including transport, to serve about ten to twelve disaffected pupils.

Mr C heads a small secondary school of about five hundred pupils. He felt that with a close knit community and strong year heads most behavioural difficulties were satisfactorily dealt with in-house. To support those young people who needed extra input he would prefer a centrally employed extra member of staff permanently based in the school. He thought that there should be a dual approach to behaviour management. Within school a counselling service and what he describes as the ‘proper use’ of the short term Assessment Centre. When pressed, he was unwilling to elaborate.

He gave an example of what he describes as *good practice* where a Year 11 pupil, expected to get a range of GCSEs (C – G) had been excluded and was finding reintegration difficult. A package was arranged for him so that he had two days work experience, was taken for most of his timetable to another facility in a local library where he followed his school work programme and only spent one day in school. This head was a strong advocate for a differentiated rather than a modified curriculum.

Mrs D, was quite outspoken in her assessment of Presteg's provision. She felt that there was 'no joined up thinking' within the Authority, that every school got help in different ways. She was concerned that there should be provision for both education and social inclusion. She took the view that the manager of the service had too diverse a remit to be able to deliver an effective service. Her view was that the academic curriculum should be appropriate to a child's needs, that some students should have a modified curriculum combined with an enriched social curriculum.

Discussions in the Heads' Federation were usually part of the agenda for all the heads and should bring about a more cohesive service, but Mrs D was aware that there would be financial implications that would be difficult for some schools. Being the head of a 1500 place secondary school which is very well supported by a well informed parent association, Mrs D was conscious that there were comparatively few behaviour problems in the school. She was confident that the physical state of the school was vitally important, that every child should be educated in a *congenial environment*.

Mr E almost emphasised that he did not consult pupils, the Sixth Form Committee, for example, or parents when drawing up the school's discipline/behaviour policy. He also mentioned that he did not hold assemblies, by implication therefore deliberately remaining to some extent remote from the everyday running of the school. He was, however, enthusiastic about running the school's pastime clubs.

For most pupils who misbehave there was the possibility of 'internal exclusion' that is managed by senior staff. If a child is sent to him on matters of discipline it was, he felt, an extremely serious matter. Like all the other head teachers interviewed he was committed to keeping all students within the school. The school's approach to discipline was 'common sense', that a behaviour curriculum was contained within the ethos and hidden curriculum of the school. Like the other high schools within this authority, a behaviour support teacher visits the school for one half day a week essentially to support staff in their management of pupils who have been referred for needing extra help in managing their school behaviour.

Mr E was aware that the inclusion welfare officer was working beyond the core brief of finding out why children were not in school. When, in the questionnaire, given a choice of what structure any extra expertise should take he said, not entirely facetiously, that he would like all the services, but not have to pay for them from the school budget. He was, he said, very conscious of cost benefit. He was in firm agreement with his peers, that the physical condition of the school and the level of 'comfort' had a direct effect on service delivery and outcomes for the pupils.

6.3 Discussion

These quite lengthy interviews, with more than one third of this authority's secondary head teachers, including Welsh medium schools, but excluding Catholic schools, identified, most assuredly that there was a wish to maintain the management of provision for all the pupils in their mainstream schools. All interviewees were aware of the effect of the school environment and the material provision for their students.

These observations are very much in tune with the other respondents in this study, both during interviews and in the questionnaires. All wished to be associated with a school community, however loosely. They felt that their performance was affected not only by their personal relationships with the teachers but also by such simple matters as the comfort of the chairs and the sensitivity of the décor.

The main differences in the responses from the secondary heads lie in the nature of the provision. There was certainly a feeling, more or less expressed, that their preferences were idealistic and there was little optimism for substantial funding by the LEA. Only one head was in a position to even consider extra in-house funding. The approach to seeking extra support varied from school to school.

One head holds multidisciplinary meetings triggered by a year head's completion of a standardised form. Another has a more informal system where disaffection, poor attendance as well as challenging behaviour, emphatically where it included verbal abuse or humiliation of staff, might cause further action to engage out-house support. Yet another relies heavily on discussion with the behaviour support teacher, thus engaging the expertise of that colleague as a consultant, not simply as an extra pair of hands. For another, any behaviour that becomes consistently beyond the management capability of the school discipline system triggers a referral. This head made reference to the authority's reluctance to Statement for EBD and implied that as this option was not generally used, then the Authority must come up with another solution.

When given a choice of a centrally employed specialist teacher as a permanent member of staff, probably having greater insight into the *workings* of the school, peripatetic support, possibly with better access to other agencies or a centrally managed multi-disciplinary team accepting direct referral from the school, the responses were again varied except to confirm that more support was needed.

When asked 'do you prefer behaviour management interventions to be done in school or would you rather a troubled pupil had time out at an offsite provision?' two heads

preferred the provision to remain on site and three wanted both. None of the interviewees felt that the school budget could be deployed for extra provision, indeed one head said that another part-time member of staff was preferable to a full time inclusion welfare officer.

All the interviewees recognised the value of a counselling service, (this will be referred to later in the study) although what became evident was that none was entirely clear what a counsellor is. Most confused a counsellor with a mentor, a learning coach, a key-worker or an advisor.

The autonomy of schools, the policy of inclusion and provision of centrally resourced services raises some challenges. The schools, ever conscious of their budget, must balance what support services they were able to provide in-house with what they take from centrally funded resources. If they show too much dissatisfaction with the service, the authority has the option to delegate funds for schools to manage their own extra needs provision, a possibility occasionally raised by the Director. Everyone in this sample of head teachers shied away from taking a firm view on the matter. This is not surprising where there is an increasing reluctance by LEAs to state for behavioural and emotional difficulties. In some instances pupil behaviour could be so challenging that with the risk of teacher union involvement schools could be compelled to decide to make more long term or permanent exclusions with the consequences of LEA disapprobation.

6.4 The Primary Heads

The second series of interviews, with a similar questionnaire was with a small but socially representative number of primary heads within this authority. Small, because there are fifty nine primary schools including many small rural primary schools.

Only one headteacher, Mrs G refused to answer the questionnaire because she said she had not understood it. She was prepared to give a very long interview instead.

She said that in spite of all governments' initiatives her teaching philosophy had not changed and that her approach to the curriculum; cross curricular, was following the pattern set by previous incumbents. The high standards in the school, as recognised by inspection reports, were never compromised. In order to cater for every type of learner, the school had adopted the Catchup programme for some curricular areas to help identify what kind of learning situation is most appropriate for individual pupils. When a child did not respond to any of the strategies for inclusion employed by the school, parents were

included in discussions and where this was not fruitful the SENCo became involved in further in-house intervention and where required outreach referrals were made. Surprisingly, Mrs G was the only head to mention the role of the SENCo.

Mrs G identified the transition period as the most stressful for her pupils. Being the head of a junior school, she felt she was almost a filter between two discrete elements, the infant school and the choice of several high schools. Although the school is part of a consortium there is a choice, as for all primary schools, that includes a Roman Catholic or a Welsh medium high school.

Mrs G was a powerful advocate for primary school methods, although she did identify the disadvantages that could arise from the intimacy of staff/pupils relations in a primary environment, not least, the regulation of peer interaction which was immediately lost in the high school environment.

On reflection, after the interview with Mrs G, I felt, perhaps more acutely than with other colleagues, that she wanted a 'voice' and that she was such a strong champion of the primary environment that it made her almost reluctant to relinquish her children to the high schools.

The other headteachers interviewed expanded the dialogue around the questionnaire. For Mr J, Circle Time, which happens daily in his school is the opportunity to reinforce class rules. Mr E had set up a working party including older pupils to review the discipline policy. Mr F said that positive discipline based on mutual respect was effective in his school. He was at pains to point out the difference between positive and assertive discipline. Mr H encouraged class rules to be negotiated between the class teacher and the pupils.

Mr H, a long serving Head, felt that there needed to be more clarity of how extra support is managed. He liked the idea of a multi-disciplinary team with interventions being school based. His experience of inclusion was mainly with pupils from local Special Schools for severe learning difficulties and autism. These pupils always had 1-1 support. On the few occasions he had had to exclude pupils they had been found other mainstream placements.

Mr E felt that a multidiscipline team structure could not work because the response time would be too slow. He felt that a permanent member of staff experienced in behaviour management would be most suitable. This respondent did have one hour a week services of a support teacher, part of Presteg's Behaviour Support Team. He felt that behaviour should be managed where it takes place; in school. Where all avenues to contain a child within

school had failed and there was no alternative, but exclusion, he was adamant that the child should never have the opportunity to return to the school.

At the time of writing the Primary Care Team is only locally based within the county. Mr F explained that he used the PATHS Curriculum. He said that he was working with the new head at his designated zone high school to use the Primary Care team to ease the transition to high school for some pupils. This head was of the opinion that the immaturity of some children was a major barrier to a successful transition and that in his experience a return to the Middle School structure was worth revisiting. When all possible in-house and extra support services had been exhausted Mr F, who had never, during many years as a head had to exclude a pupil, had a preference for a primary Pupil Referral Unit to follow an agreed programme of short term intervention. Like Mrs G, Mr F felt that his teaching practice had been unaffected by government initiatives, that the long term practice within his school easily encompassed new thinking.

6.5 Discussion

It is generally true that primary schools illustrate their philosophies, aims and objectives more openly than secondary schools. Welcoming messages, mission statements, children's work, the presence of many ancillary staff, even volunteer parents, are all demonstrably part of the school community.

There are far fewer exclusions from primary schools, although anecdotal evidence suggests an awareness of children whose behaviour is sometimes cause for concern and even a prediction of future problems. My personal experience as a primary school teacher is that generally, primary schools consider it almost a mission to retain all their pupils within the school community.

None of the interviewees knew what a behaviour curriculum was but all agreed that behaviour and discipline were contained within the ethos of the school and the everyday working of that ethos was what maintained discipline and order in the school. It also became clear during these discussions that within the school day there were many more opportunities to reinforce the discipline policy of the school. Not only were there 'occasions' built into the timetable, but there were many more adults moving around who would, not even deliberately, monitor behaviour. It must be concluded that where there is a homogenous staff there is more likely to be effective behaviour management within the school. Having an homogenous staff is rarely deliberate. In primary schools, there seems a

greater likelihood that homogeneity will emerge for some obvious reasons. Team teaching, classroom assistants, open plan classrooms are all likely to foster a synergy amongst the staff. It should also be mentioned that the staffing structure within primary schools, with fewer TLRs (Teaching and Learning Responsibilities) and therefore less competition among the staff may also affect staff relationships. The generally encouraged involvement of parents within a smaller catchment area may also influence the collective empathy within the school community. It would be interesting to investigate what prerequisites need to be in place to encourage homogeneity and if there is an optimum complement of staff to foster that environment. The counter argument of course is the danger that an homogenous staff might foster lethargy and inhibit a lively and dynamic learning environment.

With regard to the help available there was some confusion and lack of faith in the system. One reasonably new head in the authority felt that the available services were disjointed and that there were *too many chiefs and not enough Indians*. He wanted an immediate response from a direct referral.

6.6 General Discussion

The most outstanding difference between primary school head teachers and their secondary colleagues was their independence of attitude. While the secondary heads all seemed to be touched by the burden of managing all the administrative, curricular and human resource aspects of their work, the primary heads, while well aware of the burdens of educational bureaucracy, seemed more prepared to stick with strategies that worked and make a personal mark on the school. Clearly the management style is very different; a school becomes an *organisation* when there are perhaps over one hundred members of staff. There must necessarily, therefore, be a higher level of detachment. Increasingly and included in the sample, head teachers of large secondary schools are being recruited from among those who have had some 'other than education' management experience. This chasm between the cultures of primary and secondary schools was very evident. Again, consequent upon this study, it would be interesting to find out whether high schools offer conflicting or consistent nurturing within their classrooms. While it is arguable that all young people should and need to get used to a variety of personalities and teaching approaches those changes may not be underpinned by a harmony within the school and that may have a lasting effect on both the more vulnerable students and the newest intake, in spite of all cross phase initiatives. There was a frustration expressed by every interviewee about the network of support available both because of the paucity of

provision and the lack of co-ordination of the services. The most vociferous colleagues were those who had the most to lose in the reputation of the school; there are no 'league tables' in Wales although Estyn reports are public documents. One of the secondary heads interviewed has made it his business to 'do a deal' with the authority whereby he is prepared to accept students as part of the 'Fresh Start' initiative in return for which he is able to expect more resources. The possible implications are obvious.

All the primary headteachers had heard of the Headstart initiative but none felt that in their experience it had had any effect on the families of their pupils. The Primary Care and CAMHS services were not known to all the respondents, although for Mr F it provided a valuable service for those most vulnerable pupils on the borderline of exclusion.

As in the responses from the secondary heads there was unequivocal agreement between the interviewees that the comfort of the school environment was paramount to effective delivery of the service and the optimum outcomes from the children. All the interviewees agreed that the involvement of parents in behaviour management was essential. In all cases here was some confusion about the level of and availability of support from centrally financed and managed services

There was surprisingly little reference to the structures set up by the Authority towards Statementing. The new structure is tiered as a gradually increasing level of interventions with a Statement as the most intense and therefore costly support. The number of Statements completed decreased by 3.7% during 2006.

There was little mention of the SENCo (now ALNCo) as a discrete post within the staffing structure. Although the question was not asked directly, it seems that in most cases the administrative responsibility is taken on by the Head while the in-house service delivery is done or at least managed by a post-holder who is responsible for IEPs, a form of modified curriculum, with extra support from a visiting behaviour support teacher or/and the allocation of a teaching assistant where necessary or financially possible.

In the part of the interview that was initiated by the unanimous view that the school environment has a major effect on teaching, the matter of play and non-directed learning arose. Although the Authority provides training courses for midday assistants, 'training' was usually delivered in-house by meetings with teachers and the head.

The Play Unit that provides Summer Play Schemes was not involved in any school based play initiatives. This is surprising, especially since Wales celebrates being the first country in the UK to have an official play policy and the importance of play in child development

having been recognised for centuries and included in all primary post graduate teaching programmes.

After very friendly semi-structured interviews, I was left with the impression that the mission to include all pupils and deliver a service that would ensure the optimum outcome for each pupil, was frustrated by the interminable changes in procedures and protocols and the lack of a co-ordinated support service that was, in any case, very understaffed. Nevertheless, it should be noted that during the interviews everyone enthusiastically took the opportunity to identify their ideal provision for their schools and measured the shortfall against that ideal.

What seems to happen in reality is that there is a less than optimum outcome for some pupils at primary level. This is due mainly, in the perception of primary heads, of the failure to get either an immediate or adequate response from other agencies upon whose expertise and intervention, in theory, they should be able to depend. In the case of some children and some families, this is translated into more significant and long term difficulties that become the responsibility of high schools, where the pastoral agenda is increasingly reduced, if the new management structures and posts of responsibility are to be the evidence.

I interpreted the enthusiasm for primary school methods and the protectiveness that some primary heads had for their pupils to mean that they challenged the appropriateness of a phase change at the age of eleven. One head articulated his view that the *Middle School* experiment was a lost opportunity. It is a view, that the 14-19 Pathways initiative is, as was the TVEI of the 1990s, an acknowledgement of this.

The general frustrations of the high school headteachers and identified in this sample, are by now almost an established part of the daily round. The recognition in the 1970s that the education service cannot, on its own, meet the needs of the disadvantaged is a long endured legacy and still the reason for the greatest complaint. Chapter 3.1 of this study refers to a variety of definitions of childhood disturbance from Underwood to WO Circular 56/94. Farrell refers to three types of EBD from *stresses and strains* to the *seriously disturbed*. Resnick and Burt refer to definitions from socio-economic status to sexual abuse. For the schools, and especially the headteachers who are ultimately responsible for the request for extra support, how to get the speediest, optimum, *appropriate* outcome seems to be an additional challenge.

Taking a broader view of education as a social tool, even accepting that fairness of opportunity can only ever be an imperfect aspiration, some conflicting backgrounds seem to emerge. Brighthouse' view that where education fails to prepare children for the economic order there is a 'complaint of injustice'. This is answered by the headteachers in this research, particularly in the secondary schools, by eventually seeking external remedies and educational provision whether distributed internally by outside agencies or externally by the removal of the young person, either part-time or full-time, from the school establishment. In the same way, in an attempt to satisfy the 'threshold of social inclusion', a pupil may be excluded from the mainstream, the optimum educational curriculum, therefore depriving them of a possibility of reaching beyond that threshold. A pessimistic view would be, that in spite of the protestations protecting the comprehensive ideal, for some young people the education they are offered is at best, no improvement on the differentiation suggested in the 1940s, as recommended by the Norwood Committee and at worst no better than what was on offer in the 1890s.

These interviews and answers to the question are a direct response to the fourth main research question,,

What are the views of the headteachers of schools across the Authority with regard to the inclusion of all pupils, with particular reference to those demonstrating BESD? What are the main factors influencing their views?

- All those interviewed were keen to keep responsibility for all the pupils on their roll
- The headteachers were not satisfied with the service they were getting from the local authority.
- There was some lack of confidence in the flow of information between the schools and the authority,
- The matter of finance and the allocation of funds. What is the source of the funding? Would the schools be better managing their own extra provision?
- The slow, uncharted response to an initial referral for out-house support.

There was a general agreement that any referral or request for additional help was met unsatisfactorily either because the response was too slow, or there was not enough of it, or it did not match the identified need. They were sympathetic to having responsibility for all their pupils, with the evident proviso that they 'fit in' and if they did not, outside help should be sought and matters put right; clearly subscribing to the idea of 'integration'. Nevertheless, this view limits the Learning Country recommendation to, 'adjust schools'

working practice' so they can operate more flexibly'. The Headteachers showed little knowledge of the variety of provision available, relying entirely on one strand of referral as a gateway to that provision and with little influence, except argument and discussion on the outcome of their referral. They did not express an interest in investigating how additional provision could be interwoven into mainstream practice. For most headteachers it seems that making a referral, once the decision to do so has been made, is a protracted process that must be endured.

Chapter 7 takes a sample of young people from one Unit, considers the reasons for referral of a group of young people, the views of the parents/carers and the staff looking after them, with an overview of what and how additional services have been engaged. It will investigate whether the additional and alternative provisions fulfilled the needs of the young person.

Chapter 7 The Children: Case Histories

This is the response to question five,

What are the views of the recipients of the Authority's policy, i.e. the parents of excluded children? Are they satisfied with its implementation? What do they see as the strengths and weaknesses and the reasons for these? What would be their preferences for any form of alternative provision?

7.1 Introduction

Hammersley is of the view that,

“An account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorize.” (1992 p69).

It seems to me that the only way to ‘make the case’ for doing this piece of research is by illustration. The examples from the recent case load in a Pupil Referral Unit illustrate the diversity within a client group and the interventions by other agencies. It also illustrates the group that in general will be marginalised in ‘mainstream’ environments whether education or ‘other’.

This PRU, part of a portfolio, was set up to cater for a number of young people who were not attending school, either because they had been excluded or because they refused to attend school. Their behaviours did not fit into the existing categories for educational provision. Arguably, it satisfied Presteg’s obligation to provide education but spared it the expense of putting in home tuition. It also gave employment opportunities after the decision was made to close a residential school for children with emotional and behavioural difficulties.

The youngest child in this sample was eleven and the oldest was seventeen. Except for the youngest their placements in this unit coincided for a short time or they were connected to the Unit as ‘outreach’ pupils.

Interviews with parents were looked at in a different way to the interviews with fellow professionals. I wished to avoid a ‘them and us’ obstruction between us, not only for the purpose of the research and my reflexive approach, but because our relationship with our client group is most effective when we are understood, not only to deliver a service to the child but have some recognition of the circumstances of the family.

These case histories have been constructed to be seen from three perspectives;

- An overview, based on the information either in conversation with a manager or through the written documentation that preceded admission to the Unit.
- Semi –structured interviews with parents or carers. These turned out to be conversations that are noted, guided by the questions put to the parents or carers of every new student, ‘How can we help your son/ daughter?’, ‘is there anything that we can do to help you?’ They would best be described as ‘guided conversations’. This was a deliberate decision for information gathering. Conversations, especially where time has been given to create a comfortable environment can lead to an exchange of views that allows, at best, honesty and a free flow of information. After all, both the practitioner and the client have a mutual interest in securing a satisfactory outcome for the young person in question, even where the process may be difficult to explain and understand. The conversations took place in locations determined by convenience, suitability or choice.
- The view from the Unit describes the young person in a specific and educational context. It took into account the views of all members of staff.

It would have been interesting to get the views of other agencies involved under a separate heading. This was not possible firstly because ‘confidentiality’ precludes a frank exchange of views and secondly because the level of other agency involvement was not consistent throughout the sample.

7.2 Martin

7.2.1 Overview of the presenting situation

Martin has been in a residential special school (EBD) since primary school. He lives with his mother and has no contact with his natural father. Due to an accident (caused, on his admission by his own behaviour) he received 75% burns to most of his body, limbs and head, although not to his face. On his discharge from hospital he was referred to the Unit for a period of rehabilitation and a ‘catchup’ basic skills learning programme. While he was in hospital he had one visit from his natural father. Martin is now a Year 10 student and return to a residential unit would not be appropriate.

7.2.2 Conversations with parent and relatives

Martin’s mother says she has a very unconventional relationship with her only child. Management of Martin seems to have been a family affair with her brother and sisters and

very indulgent grandparents having considerable input. Money is not an issue and Martin has had his own bank account for some time.

Recurrent difficulties in the adult relationships have further complicated Martin's situation. His uncle has recently disclosed that he is homosexual, which has had an effect on Martin's response to him as a role model. Martin's mother's male companion, is an occasional visitor, is well liked by Martin, but does not seem to play a significant part within the family.

Martin was diagnosed with ADHD as a young child and prescribed medication. For the moment, since the accident, he has not been taking the medication. Since early childhood he has also displayed obsessive behaviours with, in particular, the working of a washing machine. This has caused distress and worry to his mother who feels that he cannot be left alone.

Social services have intermittently been involved with the family, as Martin's mother has sometimes been unable to cope with Martin's behaviours. He is occasionally in voluntary foster care. The most recent intervention has been to provide a sessional worker as part of the rehabilitation programme and monitor his foster and educational placements. Martin has been involved with the police both for his attacks on his mother and anti-social behaviour in the community.

Martin's mother admits to often being in conflict with Social Services and teachers. Her attitude to Martin varies between 'parental' and 'sibling' leaving him with little direction, except from his uncle who believes in rigid discipline and unchallenging obedience. This has led to some violent encounters between Martin and his uncle. Recent revelations regarding his uncle's sexual orientation that seem to have remained without discussion have created more difficulties between the two.

The accident has created a heightened anxiety about Martin's sometimes bizarre behaviours. This added factor in the often volatile relationship between Martin and his mother has left her at the point of emotional breakdown. Martin and his mother have both received support from the Mental Health services but the relationship remains troubled, volatile and occasionally violent.

7.2.3 The View from the Unit

Not having known Martin before the accident it is difficult to assess what, if any, of the challenging behaviours he displays, are directly caused by that and what are in response to other factors.

We make the assumption that his wish to expose his body, sometimes in a very flamboyant way is recent but his ruthless determination to have his own way and be persuaded to follow a different path only by the most elaborate manipulation is the result of his socialisation. Martin's very unpredictable relationship with his mother has resulted in him being 'Looked After'. He presently resides with foster carers, which has given him a period of calm and security. He sees his mother for one daytime visit each week. After what can be described as a 'honeymoon period' of about three months Martin's volatile behaviour is beginning to be displayed in the foster home.

At the many meetings, Planning Meetings, Core Meetings, Child Protection Meetings, meetings with the YOT Martin admits to being bored, rarely listens to what is being said and 'signs up to' any agreement so the meetings will end and then later rejects or fails to play his part in the agreed provision or support.

What makes Martin's situation of specific interest is that his placement in a residential unit ended prematurely and we are able to see some of behaviours and expectations that need to be addressed at the transition from a residential environment to the wider world.

Some of his behaviours are reverting to those that triggered the need for a residential placement in the first place. He will decide to walk out of the Unit on some or no pretext. Sometimes he is surprised that no one follows him to persuade him to return. If he is thwarted in any course of action he is determined on that is likely to cause harm to himself, others, or property and he refuses to leave the Unit, he becomes extremely violent and destructive and the police have been called on several occasions. Martin finds it difficult to respond to simple requests or instructions and is clearly more used to 'wheeling and dealing' for there to be any compliant outcome.

We have taken the view, however, that for the immediate future he is correctly placed and that our essential task is to introduce him to a less protective environment and learn to face the consequences of his behaviours rather than continually seeking a 'fresh start'.

Martin's educational needs are 'remedial'. A great deal of educational time was lost while he was in hospital, and in the past the educational tasks he has been set have not been

challenging, behavioural concerns having taken precedence. We have yet to make the academic demands on him that will hopefully contribute to raising his self esteem.

Martin's needs are complex and challenging and raise questions about the nature of long term residential care. Even with the 'Leaving Care' programme provided by the local authority, the particular social environment that is integral to the provision of residential special schools, by definition, not the same as foster care, raises issues of reintegration, not just to new domestic arrangements but also to work or any other educational establishment. Even where a young person is, as in the case of Martin subject to a shared care arrangement the number of people involved with a young person leaving care reduces, while the relationships at home that have for many years been both intermittent and linked to the regime at school will need some careful adjustments. At this very sensitive time of re-integration consistent high priority guidance and monitoring may prevent the need for reactive or even crisis intervention.

7.3 Tammy

7.3.1 Overview of presenting situation

Tammy's history is of breakdown within the family caused by Tammy's accusations of abuse that have been investigated and supported by Social Services, although the medical evidence has been inconclusive. Tammy is in voluntary care. Her foster placements seem to break down after only a few weeks when she returns to Mum and the whole cycle starts up again. At the moment Social Services do not have the powers to make Tammy remain Looked After. Tammy's education provision has been the only consistent element in her life for the last two years. There does not seem to be a flow of information between Social Services and Education although Education keeps Social Services informed of any changes in provision and general information. A recent example of this lack of communication is a change of foster placement during half-term. The new foster carers are now indicating that Tammy's educational placement should be nearer her new home. No one in the education service had been informed of the change in the arrangements for Tammy.

7.3.2 Conversations with parent

Tammy's mother Dawn says that she was 'in the Unit' when she was at school and indicates that she had some learning difficulties. She says that ever since she was small

Tammy has always resented her boyfriends. Tammy does not know her own father although Dawn has made several abortive attempts to locate him, sometimes with the help of a social worker.

Dawn says that even boyfriends who have been kind to Tammy have been resented by her; she has often made accusations of inappropriate sexual behaviour, acted violently towards her mother and her siblings and on one occasion at least, 'smashed up' the house. Dawn does not entirely believe Tammy when she made an accusation of sexual abuse by her latest partner.

When Tammy was twelve and in a high school she became so violent towards her mother and one of her younger brothers (who has since become a LAC) that Dawn requested Social Services intervention. She was allocated a sessional worker who was asked to take Tammy out on a weekly basis. Both Tammy and Dawn became very fond of this person who became a consistent benevolent influence on the family for three years (an unusually long commitment) even though there were sometimes 'lively discussions'.

Until this point Tammy had managed her behaviour in school and although she was given extra support, in Dawn's view there were no difficulties in school. However matters did deteriorate and eventually Tammy was excluded and for some time she was excluded without any education until she joined the Unit with full-time one to one support.

Dawn says that overall she is grateful for all the support offered by Social Services even though she has had several 'run-ins' with individual social workers and rejected and demanded their support in equal measure. She has been particularly grateful for the friendship of the sessional worker and misses her company now that the service has been withdrawn.

During our conversations Dawn has always been prepared to expose her own vulnerabilities. She is a drug and alcohol user, has diagnosed anorexia and has a history of abusive relationships. She is however supported by her family, albeit inconsistently, and always feels she is striving for the best for her children.

Tammy's attendance at school has never been better than when she was living at home. Tammy is now the subject of an interim care order and being cared for 'out of county'.

7.3.3 The view from the Unit

Tammy had a strong attachment to her long term education support worker, an experienced NNEB. When this person was re-located and another one-to-one worker arrived there was a very different style of management of Tammy's behaviour. It was decided that for Tammy's safety and that of the other pupils her management would be shared between all the adults who took over different roles in Tammy's school life; 'ultimate arbiter', 'friend', 'school work mentor'.

Tammy's history is essentially that of inadequate parenting and family breakdown. Although family breakdown is usually described as being caused by Tammy's accusations against her mother's partner there are underlying factors.

Tammy's mother has 'borderline' learning difficulties and had was in a 'special class' when she was at school. She has a long history of personal difficulties. Recurring referrals suggest that Dawn and her family are 'well known' to Social Services.

For Tammy, the inconsistency in support provision seems to be caused by the changing status of Social Service intervention and the consequent impact on educational provision compounded by the financial constraints within the education service resulting in the movement of staff and lack of continuity following her exclusion.

7.4 Joe

7.4.1 Overview of presenting situation

Joe was referred to this service in Year 9 after a long period of non-attendance in mainstream school. He has a Statement of Special Educational Needs (dyslexia).

To begin with Joe attended the Unit regularly although he was mainly uncommunicative, working willingly, even smiling on some occasions. The task of the service was to give Joe enough educational experience leading to a 'paper qualification' to enable him to attend a practical course at the local college in year 12. Joe's attendance fell away dramatically in Year 10 and after several home visits and the 'threat' of home tuition by a member of staff it was decided to make a referral to Social Services.

7.4.2 Interview with the parent

Joe's Mum is very open about the difficulties she has as a lone parent with four children of school age. Her older daughters are grown up and live away from home. One daughter, a graduate living in the Midlands, occasionally comes home for the weekend.

The three older school children have the same father. Although she has occasional contact with him, he promises presents he does not send and promises visits he does not make. She obliquely admits to a severe drinking problem, not explicitly enough to suggest support from outside agencies.

The boys aged from seven to fifteen have a poor record of attendance. The youngest has been assessed for ADHD and Joe's other brother is regularly excluded for misbehaviour in school. A daughter aged ten attends school regularly, does well and is optimistic for her future prospects.

Joe's Mum says that as the boys have got older she is no longer able to break up the fights that occur, resulting in broken windows and doors and kicked in walls.

She works as a care worker in a residential home and so sometimes works at night. She admits that this not only provides an income but also some respite from the ravages of her home life. She has an elderly companion who she visits several times a week but who has no involvement with the care and management of the children.

It is clear that Joe's Mum is not aware of any additional support that could be given to her.

7.4.3 The view from the Unit

Joe's family is dysfunctional in that there is no structure, conventional or 'alternative' in operation. The children seem very attached to their mother but with no awareness that there are contributions that they could make so that the household could run in any way apart from at crisis level. For them, going shopping for a loaf of bread or a bottle of milk very late at night or very early in the morning, for example, is the 'norm'. Nevertheless, they bring her flowers on her birthday and after a particularly nasty confrontation. Mum admits to being and clearly is, very depressed. She has a drink problem although no assessment has been made. Apart from managing to get to work herself there is so little structure to the family life that getting to school is very much a hit or miss affair.

Maintaining order does not happen although all the children are 'brought to attention' by their mother's shouting, however short lived the effect.

The interventions that have been triggered by home visits by the Inclusion Welfare Officer and the staff at the Unit have resulted in an initial assessment by the intake team of Social Services. In spite of initial promises of sessional worker support at key times during the day; breakfast time and tea times, the eventual recommendation was for a Family Conference to be set up. This was apparently initially successful on the day. The follow up meeting seems unlikely to take place.

It was recommended that Joe should move on to a college placement at the Young People's Education Centre at the local College. His attendance so far has not been good.

Although there are no child protection issues apparent in this family, there is an argument that there is a 'mother protection issue'. It seems clear that Joe's Mum has become so used to the way she lives now that a past life of comparative order is now, as she says a 'fading memory.' It is also clear that all the boys in the family are in need of a structure to their home lives that would have some influence on school attendance and behaviour. These are 'Children in Need' and as such should surely qualify for long term, low level intervention by Social Services and the provision that they can offer. So far, that has not been forthcoming.

7.5 Lisa

7.5.1 Overview of presenting situation

Lisa was referred at the age of thirteen having been excluded from all the schools she has previously attended. She had spent some time 'out of county'. She has long been a Looked After Child, having been the victim of sexual abuse by her natural father, a convicted sex offender serving a long jail sentence. Lisa's mother has been in the care of community mental health services and although she had been in contact with Lisa they have widely differing and strongly held views of Lisa's possible contact with her father. Lisa's mother had made the decision that Lisa should have no contact with her father, a decision supported by Social Services.

Lisa argued her case for meeting with her father but the view was taken that she was too vulnerable for such a meeting to take place. This was one of the main causes of, reasons or excuses for, Lisa's 'wayward' behaviour resulting in her absconding from her residential

placement displaying very sexualised behaviour in most situations, having many sexual encounters in any location at any time of night or day.

After some time 'out of county' residential care where education had been on site it was decided that Lisa should be placed in a very small residential care establishment, a bus ride away from her mother's house and attend the Unit with a view to reintegrating her into her 'home environment'.

7.5.2 Conversation with parent

Lisa's mother is clearly used to 'opening up' to 'professionals'. There was only one visit made, in order get a flavour of her perspective. She has other children, a partner to consider and mental health needs of her own. She is clearly quite happy to see Lisa regularly, although she anticipates a continuing clash of views on some issues.

7.5.3 The view from the Unit

Lisa was, from the outset, keen to establish her identity with each individual in the group. Those who felt shy of her extrovert behaviours became marginalised, while those who responded became increasingly vulnerable to her manipulating of loyalties and skilful avoidance of responsibility for disruption. The adults were constantly 'fielding' her behaviours, always wary of Lisa trying to get into a physical confrontation with another pupil or a member of staff with the probability of accusations being made.

Lisa has poor concentration and a low boredom threshold but thoroughly enjoys 'performing', so lessons that include reading aloud or games with talk have been successful, at least for her.

Lisa has formed warm relationships with the adults in the Unit where 'unconditional acceptance' along with one to one support seemed to provide her with sufficient nurture to attempt some school work, although in no way commensurate with her probable potential. Most of the time the other members of the group were protected from her siren calls although there were several significant incidents.

In order to create a flavour of real stability and co-operation for Lisa in her overall care plan close and open contact was made with the staff at the residential placement, the only

residential care home for young people in the county. Phone contact was made with her mother.

It was felt, that within the very low expectancy of outcomes, that the adults set for Lisa, her progress was consistent and she was keen to continue with her educational placement.

Behaviours at her residential placement and in the community were difficult. Absconding, abusive behaviour to the staff, having sex for money and drug taking in the community had become the norm. Limited legal powers prevented a controlling environment and there was regular police involvement, but at a 'low level'. Because of Lisa's early experiences there is a plethora of provision in place for her.

The difficulty of managing a very determined, manipulative child presenting highly sexualised behaviour where there are no constraints, as the law has not been broken, is huge indeed. The review raised the possibility of drug therapy for Lisa. For non-medical colleagues this raised considerable concerns. Managing behaviour is often a key skill for special educationists. Without strong convincing argument, many teachers, in conversation, are reluctant to believe that medicinal therapies hold any long term benefits, especially if their experience is of a poorly managed regime, often of which they are unaware. Seeking an effective behaviour management regime for such a vulnerable young person requires a detailed consultation if there is to be no confusion and if the outcomes, not least the pharmacological ones, are to be considered as part of a multidisciplinary approach.

7.6 Francine

7.6.1 Overview of presenting situation

Francine first came to the unit when she was living in a refuge with her mother and her siblings. She was taken into care after she had been evicted from the refuge. The rest of the family remained in the refuge and Francine was allowed supervised contact with them. After a long intervention from Social Services all the children were placed in the care of the Local Authority. It was not possible to place all the siblings in one placement. Because of her unresolved accusation of abuse by her mother's partner, she was considered vulnerable and therefore placed in the Unit.

7.6.2 Conversation with parent and foster parents

It was extremely difficult to engage Francine's mother in any meaningful dialogue with particular regard to Francine. It was clear that the involvement of so many agencies connected with each of her young children, five in all, and her placement at the refuge, that Francine 'going to school' was enough. Francine's mother remained and remains a totally disinterested and latterly a 'defiant' parent. It was not until Francine was given foster parents 'out of county' that their contribution to meetings helped provide a 'context' for our work with Francine.

Francine's foster parents were new to foster caring. Not only were they keen to make a success of their relationship with Francine, they were also subject to a great deal of supervision themselves by their own social worker and their professional organisation. They seemed to have a good relationship with all their professional colleagues, although there were times when they disagreed with some aspects of the care arrangements. The main contact from the Unit was with the foster carers. Conversations were frank, exploratory and informative. While official meetings were also open and informative, the strong and usually reasonable views of the foster carers were often lost in the bureaucratic nature of the meetings. Where matters became of such significance that a meeting was called by the Unit, it was often subsumed into another meeting that had been scheduled by another agency but about which no calendar was available.

7.6.3 The view from the Unit

When she arrived at the unit Francine was clearly hostile to all 'figures of authority', refused to take her 'hoodie' off and generally refused to co-operate. In the refuge Francine had learned to become very self sufficient, a reliable carer for her younger siblings but 'wild' in her behaviour with her peers. This led to her being evicted from her placement at the refuge, and the involvement of the Youth Justice Service. The first task was to establish some trust. Francine felt that she had been completely let down by Social Services. For Francine to learn at all we had to contain a wild, hurt mistrustful child who on principle trusted no one, especially if they declared that they were 'there to help her'! Francine's 'out of county' placement was against Francine's wishes; it meant that she would be separated from her family, but from Social Services perspective the most appropriate as it maintained her placement at the unit and enabled her to have regular contact with her siblings.

Over the months that followed, the discussions at review meetings and the concerns raised in telephone conversations with the foster carers made it clear that although Francine was benefiting from the placement at the unit, gaining some basic qualifications and taking part on group activities, the ‘balance of power’ was shifting from the adults to Francine herself. There came a turning point, as she was allowed more independence, that Francine was coming to the Unit by train more in order to meet with her mother and her highly unsuitable connections than to take part in Unit activities and look to a future away from the powerful influences of her family and their connections. Even though these concerns were raised at many meetings, further evidenced by police reports, and described by a reviewing officer as the Authority condoning and actually encouraging precisely those behaviours and that situation for which she had been placed in care, no change was made in Francine’s care plan and the deterioration in her behaviour in the Unit (deliberate - she wished to be excluded) affected not only her immediate prospects but also the behaviours of other young people who were easily influenced by her, in spite of the best efforts of the Unit staff.

7.7 Colin

7.7.1 Overview of presenting situation

Colin came to the Unit in Year 8 after his placement at a short term assessment unit became inappropriate. Colin lives close to the Unit and the High School from which he had been excluded. He came with a reputation most importantly, for him, as being very good looking and being highly intelligent. He has a reading and spelling problem but no assessment has indicated the need for specialist provision. Our objective was to engage him in a broad curriculum and explore some of the difficulties that had led to his exclusion.

7.7.2 Conversations with parent

Our relationship with Colin’s mother Becky became very close over several years. As the lone parent of two children, she felt she has had no moral or financial support from their father who lives in the South of England. Becky says she feels quite isolated, has a ‘normal relationship’ with Colin’s younger sister, but in spite of its closeness has a difficult time with Colin.

Becky feels that her anxieties about Colin began at his birth. She found looking after a baby difficult and eventually took up a programme designed to encourage bonding, child management and play. She referred to this a lot in conversation and although she felt she had benefited from the help there seemed to be a lack of confidence in her relationship with Colin often resorting to frustrated outbursts of abuse in her attempts to control his behaviour.

Colin had always held his father in high regard believing him to be a successful businessman, although he regularly failed to keep any promises to his children. Becky has a long term boyfriend, Mick, a drug user and small time dealer and admits that she knows that Colin is a habitual cannabis user although she denies ever providing him with any substance. Colin's relationship with Mick is difficult. Becky has tried to 'give him up' because Colin resents him and there have been some violent confrontations. She then finds herself in a lonely situation, still finds it difficult to manage Colin's behaviour who, in spite of all his efforts, cannot fulfil the role of 'man' in his mother's life.

Becky feels that her relationship with Colin becomes so overwhelming and guilt ridden that her daughter is almost excluded from any attention, even though she does not seem to mind. Becky feels that Colin is a 'marked man' in the community and any anti-social behaviour is going to be blamed on Colin because even though he has a hard exterior he is extremely naïf and not street-wise at all.

7.7.3 The view from the Unit

Colin is likeable but perhaps burdened with a reputation. He compensates for his learning difficulty by being very articulate and argumentative which puts his peers rather in awe of him. This learning environment encourages students to face their difficulties rather than compensate for them. This is not a comfortable situation for Colin.

During the first year Colin attended regularly, was keen to follow his individual work programme. We became aware of difficulties at home and began an ongoing dialogue with Colin's mother. By his second year with us he became increasingly hung over or 'stoned' in class, limiting performance and creating difficulties with his relationships. Confidential representations were made to the drug squad. Colin began getting into trouble with the police resulting in several court appearances and the involvement of the YOT.

Although Becky was supportive of Colin at meetings she was unwilling to face some of the underlying issues that were compounding Colin's problems, almost entering into a conspiracy with him for public consumption.

The professionals were united in their private perception of the situation, but have been left in a position that allows them only to deal only with the symptoms, not the underlying causes, leading to punitive measures for Colin.

7.8 Mark

7.8.1 Overview of presenting situation

Mark was the youngest pupil to be referred, just eleven years old. We were asked to have him temporarily with one to one support after he had made accusations of assault against a teacher in his previous placement. His reputation therefore preceded him. The boy that we met was small, assured but clearly wanted a close attachment to his mother. When she visited the Unit Mrs L was keen that we should know that she felt that Mark should be taken into care. Mark had been diagnosed with ADHD but was refusing to take his medication. We felt that our task was firstly to remove any expectation of confrontation, provide him with work that would engage his interest and investigate more fully his relationships at home.

7.8.2 Conversations with the parent

On the first visit Mark was taken home with our intention of meeting his Mum. Mark knows a lot about his Mum and she was included in much of the conversation during the journey. Mrs L was overly concerned that Mark should be seen to know how to behave, not interrupt her activities and especially that he should sit still. When his elder brother came home from school he immediately went upstairs.

Mrs L came over as being extremely houseproud and controlling, she had several chronic medical issues that meant that her household had to be always be devoted to her need for consideration. She felt that her partner who is now living with her was the only person who could control Mark and of whom Mark was very frightened. It became evident that Mrs L had abdicated responsibility for 'controlling' Mark almost relishing in her need for 'X's

protection. Mrs L was very keen to know that if ever Mark should 'kick off' we should make a telephone call to ask X to assist us.

Mrs L said that Mark had been diagnosed with ADHD after an interview with the psychiatrist when she had told him exactly what behaviours Mark displayed.

It was explained to Mrs L what our objectives were and that we looked forward to working with Mark and with her.

7.8.3 The view from the Unit

We were immediately aware that Mark lacked trust. He lacked trust at home because he was always aware that should he fail to please his mother she might seek to have him taken into care. He was well known to the police, mainly because he 'hung around' with much older young people, very often late at night. He had no trust at school because, again he felt that unless he performed in a certain way he might be restrained or excluded, thus making the adults at school inadvertently co-conspirators with his mother. Our concern therefore was to develop an atmosphere of trust based on a very honest relationship. This was not an easy task, not least because of the effect of having such a young child in a unit catering for pupils at the end of Key Stage 3 and Key Stage 4.

Mark has several frustrating learning problems. He is very quick to pick up maths concepts, enjoyed puzzles and conundrums and responds to stories and 'amazing facts'. Because he has a reading and writing difficulty, successful performance in oral lessons, depending on memory are important to him. The immediate task was to give him some success in the written word, not least of all to impress his mother for whom his wish for an attachment is very obvious. He asked to telephone her at least twice during the school day and when her response was hostile his behaviour deteriorated immediately. We decided, unusually, to have home school diary requiring his mother's response. This was not always forthcoming.

Initially, there were many explosive incidents that were handled in an absolutely 'hands off' way and trust began to be established. One of the problems with trust and an emotionally damaged child is that it can become dependency and one of the problems with dependency is that it may become distorted to become familiarity which can easily be abused.

Mark's mother re-referred him to the psychiatrist and he agreed to take the new medication. It took several weeks for the 'benefit' of this to be noticed and although Mrs L believed that this was a miracle 'cure' we found Mark lethargic and unresponsive. The need to exclude all possible social or emotional reasons for a child's behaviours during the assessment for ADD or ADHD would seem to be a valuable exercise as would a joint management plan with all those involved in a child's educational and social life. This did not happen.

It is significant that Mrs L is very keen that the diagnosis of ADHD should hold and that a 'disability model' should be followed for Mark. It is the collective view, perhaps a cynical one, of all members of staff at the Unit that, so long as the benefits for disability are available for Mark, Mrs L will not willingly co-operate with strategies to ease Mark's difficulties.

7.9 Julia

7.9.1 Overview of presenting situation

Julia was referred as a school refuser when she was at the beginning of Year10. Already over six feet tall, she lacked confidence and was unkempt in appearance. Closer observation over days showed that she was a chronic self harmer. Julia found it difficult to settle to any task but was clearly potentially an able student.

She had been under the care of a psychiatrist in a neighbouring authority and one of the first tasks of the unit was to explore her state of mind as there had been concerns that she might attempt suicide. This psychiatrist expressed concern that the children of those who are currently receiving support from adult mental health services are not themselves included in a support 'package'. Julia's mother has long term mental health problems. We felt that over time we would be able to establish a rapport with Julia.

7.9.2 Conversations with parent

Although, as a matter of course, Julia's mother was invited to visit the Unit, she did not and it was some time before it was appropriate to make a home visit. When that opportunity did arise it was because of a difficulty within the home. The home set up was unusual. The family group was; Julia's mother, Julia, her older sister and her young son. Julia's mother had made a complaint that not only was Julia's room in a dreadful state but she felt that she was being cruel to her young nephew.

The visit allowed for many disclosures; premature widowhood, mental illness and unclear sibling relationships. (It was later disclosed that Julia's 'sister' was in fact her aunt and therefore her 'nephew' was her cousin). Mrs J was clearly at her wit's end, blaming Julia for all the ills in the household, including her own fragile mental health. Mrs J had a close relationship with another sister, who was not part of the household, had been allocated a psychiatric social worker and made regular visits to her own psychiatrist. She said that Julia was never short of money, but abused her situation, sometimes staying out all night, getting drunk, smashing up her room and making her 'sister' and her son feel uncomfortable. It was agreed that we would talk to Julia and see what support we could offer to family beyond that already in place.

7.9.3 The view from the Unit

As in any establishment primarily concerned with education, the main task is to encourage optimism and achievement that may lead to career or work opportunities. It was soon clear that whatever opportunities we were able to offer Julia, they would become a 'therapy'.

Physical self harming was sometimes a daily occurrence; serious alcohol and drugs misuse was constant. Julia's personal relationships were incestuous, abusive and personally and physically damaging. A badly managed termination from such a relationship continued to haunt her. Her creative work, both written and pictorial, were explicit and it must be said, heartbreaking. Julia formed a very close relationship with one female member of staff, making extremely sensitive disclosures. She absolutely refused to allow a referral to any outside agency.

Making a decision to report matters that may be covered by child protection legislation, especially when the young person recounting a history is sixteen or nearly sixteen creates a dilemma for many people working with him or in this case her. It may sometimes be a choice between reporting a matter of concern and losing the trust or even the child.

7.10 Jane

7.10.1 Overview of presenting situation

Jane was a Year 11 outreach student who is included in this sample because her situation illustrates an anomaly in service provision.

Jane is one of three children. She, uniquely, chose to live with her father when her parents' marriage broke up. The expectation was that she would attend the local college to complete her compulsory education with the possibility of a further education placement. Jane's attendance became cause for concern and a home visit was requested.

7.10.2 Conversation with the parent

A home visit indicated that Jane's father was not aware of her poor attendance although he did have concerns about her behaviour towards him and the company she was keeping. He was tearful but determined that he wanted the best for Jane but that she was lying to him, stealing from him, having undesirable friends, some considerably older than she was, taking drugs in the house when he was at work. Mr W did not feel that he would be able to tolerate Jane's behaviour for much longer as she was not only abusing the domestic arrangements but she was either not allowing him to make any friends of his own or wrecking any relationship that he might have.

Jane's mother lives some distance away and is a long term cancer patient. At the time of the divorce, Jane's older and younger sisters chose to live with her mother and her new partner. Jane's elder sister is now about to leave home and live with her boyfriend. The younger sister comes to stay with Jane and her father at weekends. She is happy with the arrangement and is flourishing at her school.

7.10.3 View from the Unit

It was clear that Jane's father felt extremely isolated in his situation. He had good relationships with Jane's sisters and could not understand what had gone wrong, especially since at the time of the divorce, he felt that Jane was the one child who had desperately wanted to be with him.

An interview with Jane when only her younger sister was at home suggests that she found her father unreasonable and that he often drank too much and that any confrontation with him was likely to become violent. Matters were arranged between them and for a while Jane's attendance at college improved. This was not to last. More reports of violent encounters between Jane and her father came to light and Jane made a visit to Social Services. She refused, however, to make a formal complaint. Jane's father made the decision that he would no longer tolerate a situation that he felt would not improve. He

consulted his solicitor who advised him of his rights and he decided that, although he could just put Jane's belongings on the door step and refuse to have her in the house, he would give her a short time to find alternative accommodation. Jane will not be able to live with her mother although the education service has suggested that they will arrange a transfer to a local college if she should wish it.

Jane has another four months of formal education. As she is now sixteen and as she has refused support from Social Services there is no person or agency that is obliged to take responsibility for Jane, unless she makes the first move or unless some contravention of the law is known to have taken place. She is presently staying with a variety of friends.

7.11 Fran

7.11.1 Overview of presenting problem

Fran has long been a low level but continuous problem in school; poor attendance, disruptive behaviour, association with other 'problem pupils'. Her educational situation could probably be described as 'remedial' as she has missed a lot of school and does not engage effectively when she is there. She has sometimes spent the night away from home, has been known to the police, mainly for drunken behaviour, known to take 'soft drugs' and has had a caution for shoplifting. Both her brothers had a similar history in the same school and moved on to alternative provision. Currently Fran lives with her father and elder brother. Fran's mother lives a long way away. Fran's other brother has lived with their mother and her new husband until recently. Now he too has returned to live with his father. Fran would like to live with her mother but that arrangement broke down when she was still in primary school. Since returning to live with her Dad, Fran has continually failed to meet the behavioural 'targets' set by her mother to enable her to move back to live with her.

In spite of referrals to CAMHS, that have not been taken up, the involvement of the IWO and numerous Family Conferences there has not been a sufficiently optimistic outcome for the school to reconsider its decision to make a permanent exclusion.

7.11.2 Conversations with parents

Fran's Dad admitted that he was at a loss with parenting. All he has wanted Fran to do is 'be good'. He was in the army for many years, the time that he was married to Fran's

mother, who also comes from an army family. Until the breakup of the marriage that was caused, he said, by his wife's infidelity and a period of her very heavy drug use, he had little to do with the bringing up of his family. He has become the only breadwinner and the only parent parenting.

The family home was a small two bedroom house, which meant that either Fran or her brother had to sleep on a two seater settee. His mother, who lived round the corner, was a major figure in the household and although she wanted the best for Fran, had little understanding of a teenage girl. Dad's partner occasionally stayed overnight and did her best to be a 'friend' to Fran, but was always rejected.

Dad's view was, and always has been, that Fran should be living with her mother, especially at her age (fifteen). He knew that this was not going to happen and he also knew that Fran was not going to accept this rejection. He believed that all her behaviours were connected with this.

At the break up of the marriage Fran's mother had all her children living with her. At the time, there was a great deal of threatening and occasionally violent behaviour in the house, often fuelled by drink and drugs. All the children decided to return to live with their father. As time passed Fran's Mum's new partner (soon to be her husband) agreed that the younger of the two brothers could return to live with them but not Fran. In conversation Mum agreed that she was unwilling to take on the responsibility for Fran with her wayward behaviour but would have her to stay occasionally for a week, her work pattern permitting. It was Fran's father's family view that the rejection of the children has been orchestrated by his ex-wife's husband.

Fran's hopes of going to stay with her mother were often dashed at the last minute. Dad has always felt that he has always been left to 'pick up the pieces' but that he is ill equipped to do so. He has made many referrals to Social Services but the outcomes have not been satisfactory for him. He was of the view that Family Conferencing had not delivered any outcome and no one has recognised the difficulties he has had. More often than not, in moments of despair he goes to the pub.

7.11.3 The View from the Unit

Fran is clearly a 'little girl lost', not savvy; a liability or a victim within her peer group. She is 'Billy no-mates' who seeks acceptance by giving more than is wise and supplements her material disadvantage by stealing and shop lifting.

Fran shows a childlike affection for women and is quite effusive in her relationship with them. She makes no effort to hide her sexual activity and is very willing to seek contraceptive advice from even a 'new' adult female friend. She seems to be disappointed when the reality of the relationship with a 'professional' meets boundaries. Because of her activities in the community she has been referred to the Prevent and Deter Panel. She, and the family, have been offered support from the Alcohol and Drug Team, the Family Support Worker and the Parenting Officer, all commissioned by Youth Justice.

Her education placement has been a 'package' of small group learning for three days a week, an outdoor activity placement and an occasional leisure activity day. This has seemed to be a very effective arrangement for Fran. She has thrived educationally, attended regularly and acquired certificates for some outdoor pursuits. Recently however, she has been 'returning to her old ways'. Getting home in the middle of the night, very drunk, not attending her education placement and stealing from the staff there. She has also been shoplifting.

The consequences of these behaviours have resulted in her Dad spending more time in the pub. There have been scenes of violence in the house and Fran has rung the police several times on the advice of her friends to make a complaint about her father. He was recently arrested, held in the cells overnight and Fran became Looked After. The consequence of this has been that Fran has still not been attending her educational placement and has been behaving so badly at the foster placement that that too has broken down. Her mother has consistently refused to become involved. Fran returned home after four weeks as a LAC, has rejoined her education placement and is doing her best to keep things peaceful at home. She now has an extended education placement in the hope that she will get some public examinations. There is still the matter of theft that must be addressed

The uncertainties about Fran's domestic arrangements are a major factor in the management of her current (and future) situation. The importance of 'housing' in any young person's life should not be underestimated. Space, warmth and a sense of 'domestic order', however unconventional, must be considered an essential.

7.12 James

7.12.1 Overview of the presenting situation

James was dragged into school by his mother, even at infant school. She continued to drag him to school until junior school when he became more willing to attend. When the time came for the transition to secondary education the difficulties returned and although the physical approach was no longer used and the school put in place as many strategies as they could to encourage attendance the emotional strain that was imposed on all concerned led to James being classed as school phobic in year eight. His academic record indicated that he would have been predicted A* results in most of his GCSEs.

7.12.2 Interview with Parents

When James came for a visit to the Unit with his mother it was clear that his mother wanted us to understand the difficulties that she has had with James and getting him to school, and the effect that this has had on the life of the family. James has an older sister. The family is very attached to the maternal grandmother and there are very strict weekly routines for visits and courtesies. James' mother had a very close relationship with her father. She was very keen that we know that he had been there at her birth and she indicated that she had an unusually close bond with him. His death had been a devastating experience for her and she had had to seek professional help for depression after he had died. She wanted us to know about her own general health and psychological difficulties.

A home visit revealed quite an unexpected view of James' father. He had a quite simplistic view of the solution to James non attendance although admitted to having been a very quiet child at school and although a 'slow starter' in the work environment was by now very successfully employed by a local major multinational employer. He said that he had little ambition in the work place and still liked to 'keep himself to himself'. James' mother was of the view that James' difficulties in school started when he was a very small child and had 'wet himself' in school and had been dragged to the shower, stripped and washed by a classroom assistant. James had been referred to the CAMHS but had refused to engage with them.

7.12.3 View from the Unit

It was made clear to James that no attempt would be made to force him to attend that Unit but it was also made clear that there would be no alternative provision. He seemed to accept this as a base line agreement between us.

Although the assessment of James' potential indicated good possible academic achievement it was clear that James was not at all interested in schoolwork. He had an anxious need to feel in control of his environment. Any attempts to persuade or entice him to doing school work that was age and 'curriculum' appropriate were met with an impenetrable stubbornness.

James enjoyed maths, providing he was 'in the mood', but resisted absolutely any attempts to express himself either in the form of understanding literature or creative writing. With many periods of 'excused absences' and the priority being attendance, the expectations for James were reduced to Entry Level. It was clear that James had decided on a 'cloistered' life at home. His mother reported that she might not see him for days except for meal times. He had little to do with family activities although he consistently and very verbally resented being made to visit his grandmother every Sunday. He was making relationships on 'chat rooms' with a wide variety of 'friends' from all over the world. He developed some skills with computers and his mother would bring in CDs of cleverly manipulated family photos that he had produced. As he got older she reported about the success he had had buying and selling on the internet with his father. Any attempts to encourage James to put his interest in computing towards getting a formal qualification were absolutely rejected.

When James did engage in conversation about the reasons he was so unwilling to be 'biddable' he referred to his resistance to being forced to do things he didn't want to do in school, being tricked into attending school.

Engaging James' mother in co-operative management of James was extremely difficult. Although she engaged with the idea that reducing James' control of her and what went on at home, she clearly had an agenda of her own. Even the most personal of conversations linking James' very close and time consuming relationship with her and her seemingly less close relationship with her husband was met with an understanding but also a resistance. She is content to rely on her husband's goodwill and understanding as she, on her admission, wrestles with 'the problem' of James, but also her own emotional difficulties.

James remained an onlooker within the Unit. Never getting involved in any confrontational situations, indeed being rather amused by them, never making friends and yet accepted by all and generally held in affection. His mother reported that he was very upset when any of the female staff seems get hurt by an 'acting out' young person, but his attendance was not affected. He would never go on trips out, nor would he take part if there was a visitor delivering a course for the pupils. There was a consensus among the staff that Stephen is learning how to cope socially, with some underlying questions he has about himself, by watching the interactions between those with whom he has become familiar.

7.13 Nick

We were asked to consider Nick for a placement at the Unit. Several home visits were made but in the end other arrangements were put in place for him. Because so much of the difficulty for Nick and his family are within the community, his situation is used to illustrate the importance, in some cases, of including 'housing' in a multi-agency response.

'S' is a single parent who since the end of her marriage, before she was twenty, has had sole responsibility for her eldest child, now seventeen and four younger children aged between fourteen and six, from several relationships. On her admission she has no control over any of them and in spite of constant but nevertheless intermittent interventions by various agencies little changes. Her eldest daughter has had a great deal of personal support from education based agencies over a long period, the IWO and YPEC staff particularly, and although she presently lives mainly at home she is now working and spending much of her free time with friends. The elder of S' two sons has been on an ASBO but Youth Justice intervention is now being scaled down although he is associated with an older peer group that is seriously into a drug culture. His placement in the element of the PRU for acting out young people has broken down 'by mutual consent'. New educational provision is being sought. His brother does not go to school, and although his behaviour is 'quiet' he actually spends most of his day asleep on the sofa refusing to move. The IWO has long been of the view that he is a school refuser rather than a truant. There is provision within the portfolio PRU for young people who are carrying such emotional burdens that the added pressure of the demand of a mainstream placement results in total non-attendance. 'S' has arranged for her younger daughter to live with her father over the border in England although she is brought to school every day. This, in anticipation of eviction.

The behaviour of the sons has caused the greatest difficulty in the community. Nuisance Record Sheets report constant noise, music, visitors at all times of night and day, violence, young people on the roof and so on. The family now has a fixed period of time to comply with the tenancy or eviction against which there is no appeal will ensue.

Clearly, from the neighbourhood point of view this is unsatisfactory. They feel that this family is so anti-social that they should be evicted without delay. For 'S' who sees her neighbours as either enemies or friends she feels in a state of 'siege'. In conversation she points out neighbours who were once her 'allies', but now are the 'first to snitch'.

7.14 Discussion

These young people have been chosen from a population at the Unit of as many as fourteen at one time. Apart from two they have all been contemporaries, albeit, in some cases, for a very short time.

This discussion identifies themes that emerge from this sample. The group has been chosen because in spite of the uniqueness of each 'case' and the special relationships that developed between the staff and the young people and their families, their situations are representative of many similar scenarios.

What is also clear, is that from an educational perspective, none of these young people could become inclined to learn in a structured learning framework without the service providers taking into account other aspects of their wellbeing.

The semi structured interviews with the parents were built around two questions, 'how do you think can we help you son/daughter'?, and 'is there anything we can do to support you?' They were posed prior to the first Review of the placement and had no formal purpose except as indicated in the questions themselves. It also gave me the opportunity to discover what other agencies were involved and if possible whether the intervention was ongoing or closed. The documents that follow the referral include school information and the history of events leading to the referral, copies of the educational psychologist's reports and a copy of the Statement if there is one. There is no documentation that indicates the timetable of any other agency involvement.

The interviews gave the parents the opportunity to expand their responses to include descriptions of what they considered were the failings in the system. This was common to all the interviewees. While all the situations were very different the main theme was

dissatisfaction with the interventions. This was sometimes expressed as dislike for the practitioner and sometimes disappointment with the outcomes.

Their dissatisfaction with the education system was primarily concerned with the time that the young person had spent out of school after the mainstream placement had broken down and the little information that had been forthcoming during the referral and decision making process. There were some quite concerning comments about the attitude of some teachers, particularly in primary school, as illustrated in the case of James, for instance, where a child's distress at leaving his mother was treated with flippancy; as a common barrier to be broken down; a rite of passage. Referrals to the mental health services and CAMHS were judged by parents according to the level of rapport that they, or their child had with the practitioner. In the same way satisfaction with social services support was judged according to the relationship that the client had with the social worker. Lack of information about what the social worker was 'doing', when they would visit, how long would the visits go on for, were all common themes in the responses.

What seems to be the repeated outcome is that dissatisfaction with the actions of any agency led to a resistance to further interventions; that it is very easy for a client to be put off from seeking further support. What was also clear was that the dissatisfaction was not because of any real failings of the service providers but a lack of clarity and understanding about the professional limitations of a service and even of the time limits set. This lack of understanding was identified in the Estyn Report of 2003 that outlined several concerns of parents that should be addressed. Parents did not have enough information about how and why decisions were made and how resources were allocated, they were not informed about the members of the moderation panel and they had difficulty in dealing with many different agencies. In its response Presteg recommended giving parents a clearer understanding of how and why the decisions about the allocation of resources are made. It seems to me that such a response and the implementation of it fails to address the core thrust of the Estyn report; that the provision is there but the delivery of it is diverse and communication of it confused and confusing. The situation for parents could be replicated for many practitioners.

In spite of the provision, that will be discussed below, the process and the outcomes have been less than satisfactory not only because the continuum of care and education has not effectively been a continuum, but the wider social mission to include (or integrate?) the broadest possible population of young people has not come about.

7.14.1 Looked After Children

In three cases, Francine, Tammy and Lisa full care orders were in operation. This means that the entire responsibility for the management of their lives lay with Children's Services.

Central government policy has reduced the number of residential care homes for young people and in this authority there is one that has a capacity for about six young people, soon to be closed. It is located in a very sensitive location where complaints to the local council are frequent, articulate and persuasive. It has therefore becoming increasingly the task of Children's Services to find suitable foster placements. It is quite surprising that the Green Paper, Every Child Matters (2003), did not make a closer link between education and the care provision for Looked After Children. This authority employs a LAC Officer who is both trained teacher and a qualified social worker who oversees educational provision and makes available some funding for the child concerned. What is not always clear for a school or educational professional is, who should be approached for what financial provision above that which is generally provided.

Very often a child is well settled in school, especially where there has been a one to one support commitment. A suitable foster placement may not be available near the school, or the priorities for care may necessarily take precedence while disrupting what may have been a thread of stability in a young person's life. Foster caring may indeed be a labour of love with few material rewards and it is also debatable whether the training for foster carers in any way matches that of those who care for challenging young people in a more formal environment. It also seems to be the case that co-operation between the foster carers, who may be recruited from an agency and the education service, is through the goodwill of the individuals involved and on occasion the good offices of the social worker who ultimately has the responsibility for discharging the duty of care. Difficulties may increase during holiday times where support for the family may be less than the situation actually demands. While there are voluntary arrangements for young people to join play schemes and youth service activities, it may be that in some circumstances more than availability may be needed.

In the case of Tammy, her residential placements changed four times in as many months and she was placed three times in a different out of county provision resulting in no formal education provision at all. Her situation was further complicated by changes in social worker. It seems an unhappy irony, that where lack of constancy is a key issue within the

family and long term intervention by social services should be anticipated, the change in personnel seems most active.

For Francine, the commitment to allow such easy access to her mother, while right in that it recognised family attachments, also allowed the cultivation of a damaging peripheral life style, including some illegal events that for the moment at least, seem to undermine the investment both personal and financial that has been made by at least four professional agencies.

Lisa's exclusion from so many schools seems to indicate, at best, wishful thinking and at worst, a lack of co-ordinated analysis of her long term needs, matched to the available provision. That can only have become a contribution to her lack of emotional and social stability.

The number of children being looked after in this authority has risen in the last four years by twenty to about one hundred and seventy five. Most are comfortably placed and attend mainstream schools. For the young people being corporately parented in this study, there are some issues that remain unresolved: In education; the lack of information about current schooling and outcomes; documents are not always transferred. In the care programme; information about areas of particular concern, *as of right* invitations to educational professionals to planning meetings and information regarding changes that happen apart from regular reviews.

7.14.2 Mental Health Matters

In at least two of these examples there are significant adults with mental health needs. Julia's mother has long been in receipt of both residential and community mental health care. Lisa's mother has suffered from long term depression and her partner also has continuous support from a community psychiatric nurse. The evidence from mental health practitioners in the field is that they hold no brief to assess any need for family support or make a referral to another agency for support for other members of the family. The notable effect on the attitude and behaviours of a young person, especially if it is a mother or main carer who has mental health needs, may be the long term behavioural if not emotional difficulties in a school situation with no accurate attribution.

7.14.3 Sexual Orientation

This is a particularly delicate matter. There is no ‘assessment’ or ‘diagnosis’ that can be made definitively except in very exceptional circumstances. Even if concerned adults have their ‘suspicions’, even if the broadest sex education programme is followed with every opportunity to encourage awareness, foster acceptance of diversity and encourage opportunities to seek confidential help, it must be the self discovery of the individual that leads to some kind of resolution. This may be a long process and may not necessarily be defined by excessive distress or behavioural difficulty. It may be manifested in lots of behaviours for which explanations are sought but offer no satisfaction to the individual, carers or educators. In the case of James, his unusually close and dependent relationship with his mother, was given endless explanations from a very early age by family and many professionals, all of which seem to have added to the unease rather than alleviate it.

7.14.4 Confidentiality

The matter of confidentiality has long been agonised over by practitioners. There are two aspects of confidentiality; that between the professional and the client/patient and that between professionals. That between professionals can create practical difficulties. In the case of a referral to CAMHS, unless it is initiated by someone in the Education Service, that service may remain completely unaware of the intervention and may inadvertently make matters worse. Clearly the content of consultations and discussions between professional and patient remain confidential but that a referral has been made may alert an education professional to step gently.

In a conversation with a consultant child psychiatrist, he agreed that information about a consultation could be valuable in the interest of joint working, that he had in the past shared that information with other professionals but had received so many complaints from parents that he had had to change his practice.

The matter of confidentiality between professional and client/patient can be even more challenging. There are those working in the field who may have the gained the confidence of a vulnerable young person, often because they have provided a continuum of stability in an otherwise uncertain world. Although legal responsibility to disclose to another agency certain matters seems clear, it is sometimes a matter of personal judgement who decides the time, if at all, to make such a report. In the case of Julia, her confidences were never betrayed, skilled advice was given to the person to whom she disclosed her most

distressing secrets and the outcome for Julia was at the very least a consistency of a long term, listening ear.

7.14.5 Assessments, diagnoses and the consequences

Lisa and Mark were both diagnosed with ADHD. Best practice indicates multifaceted assessment. This means, according to the information given on INSET courses run by child and adolescent psychiatrists, that assessment should include not only interviews with the child, parents, family and teachers but also include observations of behaviour at school as well as the dynamic of the domestic environment. Only then can a management programme be developed that may or may not necessitate medication.

Drug therapies for young people may have the greatest impact of behaviour in the formal leaning situation. For this reason, a general knowledge of the effects from INSET courses may not be enough to ensure the maximum benefit. In the experience of this Unit, it is not always the case that it is disclosed that a young person is taking medicines prescribed by a psychiatrist, especially where the young person has been having treatment for some time. Effects such as loss of appetite, lethargy and so on have not always been anticipated and it has been left to the staff to link behaviour to medication. Within this authority protocols about confidentiality have been established on a need to know basis. The inclusion of the medical services on a case by case basis would certainly improve the overall care for the increasing number of children and young people who are being treated by the mental health services in the community.

A further factor where long term mental health issues are part of the agenda, must be the matter of benefits. While it is right that all young people diagnosed with a medical need get the support that they need, there must surely be a balance between long term therapeutic oversight to ensure an optimum outcome of both therapeutic and drug treatments and a review of the financial benefits payable to parents. These payments, it seems, may not always be directed to the welfare of the child or young person.

7.14.6 Support for Parents

A specific learning difficulty is usually diagnosed early, the assessment of surrounding circumstances however may never be done. A major contribution to Joe's disaffection has been his inability to benefit from formal learning. His home circumstances have

contributed to a lack of benefit from any language programme set up for him in school. The need for extra parenting support is often recognised and offered but certainly in this sample, until the Youth Justice System became involved, there was little take up of the service.

Arguably in the lives of all these families, there is room for parenting support. In some cases there are overriding needs for other services such as mental health and even very skilled foster care. That said, support for those delivering the parenting role and the need for sustained vigilance over the needs of the child is at the very least desirable and in the case of a LAC, statutory. Many of the placements for Tammy broke down because the foster carers could 'no longer cope'. There is anecdotal evidence that further involvement with the foster carers after the initial placement was generally spasmodic or as crisis intervention when the placement broke down.

Where a referral for a Child in Need (automatically given to Looked After Children), has been made from the educators, as in the cases of Colin, Fran and Joe it serves as a trigger for Children's Services involvement. In fact, it is a request for *their* assessment of the situation according to *their* criteria. What may seem like an invitation from education to do some preventative work with a family, especially regarding responsible parenting may be noted but not necessarily acted upon except to issue invitations to other, often voluntary agencies. It is only when there is a real will by the client to take up services offered that there may be a notable outcome. Alcohol problems within the families of both Fran and Joe, and the impact that it was having on both home life and their ability to take advantage of a learning environment, the reason for the referral in the first place, was noted. Undoubtedly advice and the offer of further referrals were given but until other events compounded the problem and they became a legal matter, it appeared to the educators that a Child in Need referral was no more than a bureaucratic exercise. The outcome of flawed parenting in the case of Martin, that had been documented since his birth, still did not trigger more than a report.

Poor parenting does not have to mean *bad parenting*. Parenting that is inappropriate in certain circumstances may have an undesirable outcome. It cannot and should not be confused with neglectful parenting or inadequate parenting. In the case of James, for instance it would be inaccurate to suggest that the parenting by his mother was lacking in devotion and concern. Indeed their relationship was (and remains) very close. At the time when both James and his mother were most emotionally vulnerable, when he was still in primary school, a referral for parental guidance on how to manage an emotionally charged

situation rather than a referral to CAMHS might have reduced the worst effects that persisted throughout James' school career. At the time of its publication, 2003, 'Every Child Matters' (p44), reported that fifty one out of sixty seven CAMHS provided parenting support in certain circumstances.

7.15 Discussion

The first immediate reflection upon these case histories is that although they may have *vignettes* features, I think that these scenarios are more frequently repeated throughout the school population with more or less intensity than is currently acknowledged. Conversations within the teaching fraternity suggest this. They are also the most challenging to the outworking of local policies and practices. It is a matter of how the *symptoms* are expressed and how they are received that may determine the outcome. One of the comments in the Estyn Report (2011) was that service delivery was 'demand driven' rather than 'evidence-based strategic need' (p8); in fact, crisis management, clearly compounded by the frail multi-agency assessment of need and provision.

What emerges from these histories is that although there is evidence of good practice by individual agencies, the outcome for the client group is usually dependent upon following the trail of assessments and diagnoses, marrying those with the criteria for action of other services and evaluating the proper and effective use of resources. Running alongside that there is anecdotal evidence that suggests that partner agencies are not always fully aware of what 'learning behaviour' is. It is a crude assumption that a child who turns up to school on time and is reasonably well presented is ready to learn, especially when the outcomes of 'learning' do not correspond with the potential. This is pertinent in the case of mental health issues within the adult members of a family, the social context of the child.

There is a lack of understanding of procedure within discrete services and in the light of that knowledge a series of protocols to underpin joint working. More importantly there seems to be a gap, if not a chasm, between the recognition of need and a process of preparing an individual or a family to become in willing or to be *educated* to take advantage of the very great number of services available.

These case histories illustrate the trail of provision matched against declarations of policy.

For the purpose of this research they must be considered 'cases', but it should be remembered that in the everyday running of the unit they and we, the adults, using our professional skills as lightly as possible, were a group of people passing our time together as productively and pleasurably as possible.

From the evidence of these histories, that are substantiated by records and unit file records, but not by the confidential reports of other agencies, the clearest and most consistent trail of involvement was for Looked After Children. The inevitable conclusion is that where there is a long term legal bond between the client and the managing provider, a routine of evaluation and assessment is set up. Even this, however does not guarantee effective joint working. Case histories suggest that where the criteria of one service conflicts with the criteria of another, there may not be a consensual outcome leading to at least, a lack of commitment to a joint provision and even dissention at joint meetings. Where the most puzzling uncertainties emerge is when there is need of provision, often long term need, but no crisis intervention necessary. What seems to happen is, that a referral is made, often by the school and there is a filter through which the evidence is passed, resulting in a decision to offer one or some of the very many provisions available. It is then up to the client to either take up the offer or not, and engage with the service, or not. All agencies keep a record of referral so their backs are covered if questions are asked. The onus is therefore on the client, whose need for support may indicate a temporary or even permanent flawed reasoning to determine the process, unless there is a legal imperative.

This is seems to me, is where the system becomes not a system. There are two ways of approaching delivering services that are outside the *norm*. Either they become the *norm* and are as much an expectation as, for example, going to school every day with an expectation of an ongoing core curriculum with predictable add-ons, as of right, or they become discrete extras, delivered by 'new' people with a variety of remits answerable only to their professional codes of practice. To an extent there is evidence for the former approach in medical screening programmes. Essentially, however it is the second approach that is in place; additional support when deemed necessary. Who decides? How does the criteria for that decision match the criteria of service deliverers? How are the outcomes of the interventions evaluated in the wider contexts?

Chapter 8 – Concluding Discussion

This chapter draws together the findings in this research, considers the responses to the research questions and outlines further questions that have emerged from it.

8.1 Introduction

This research sought to find out how the provision of multi-agency service is played out in one authority. The service that manages and directs provision for pupils not in school is called the 'Inclusion Service'. The outcomes of the research questions in this study suggest a challenge to the declared intentions of that service. The research took into account the views of the stakeholders and the providers. This, in order to identify accord between policies and their outworkings, areas of practice that satisfied or did not satisfy all the players and indications of what, if any adjustments or changes could be put in place to get more satisfactory outcomes for the essential client group; the children and young people.

The Review of Literature indicated that the inclusion agenda was at various stages of refinement in the six countries that were looked at, although it is a general aspiration for all of them. In some countries the matter of disadvantage, whatever the cause, was so huge that creating an inclusive society will remain an item on the statute books with a long way to go before it is realised in practice. Key factors were consultation both between professionals and with the client communities. Finland boasted an undisturbed continuum of education with no break between phases; the advantage of having a small, mainly homogenous population. Nevertheless the importance of community, which itself needs interpretation, was a constant in all countries.

Inclusion within education can easily be subsumed into the wider debate about social justice. Does education seek to provide equal opportunity, where every pupil is offered the same educational opportunity or does it subscribe to Curren's (2003) view that every individual must reach a certain level of attainment, to prevent sinking into the possibility of a personal situation that is morally unacceptable. What makes the education debate so important is that both opportunity and attainment depend largely on the means and pace of the delivery of educational services. That debate and the agenda that emerges from it crosses policy, discipline and service delivery boundaries. It must take a large portion of both central government and local budgets. If there is to be any recognisable outcome at all, provision must be both flexible, to accommodate individual needs, and at the same time remain structured.

8.2 The first research question

What is the nature of current educational thinking and policy about the most appropriate form of provision for pupils demonstrating behavioural, emotional and social difficulties? How has this emerged in an historical and political context?

There is a history of educational provision on these islands that is very distinctive. It has been influenced by religious conviction, charitable institutions and free thinking that give it an enviable tradition that has on occasion been used to make or score political points. State education has been affected, guided, divided by individuals, governments' ideologies and policies and by reports commissioned to address a particular area of concern. One of the problems for educators is that their practice, while remaining neutral, is nevertheless subject to the political will. Let it suffice to comment that how young people are viewed within the education system and the identification of extra need, who delivers it and how it is funded is consequent upon local interpretation of government policy.

Within Wales there is a strong political commitment to inclusive comprehensive education. Possibly, the influence of the private sector is less than in England, and the impact of the Methodist Revival helped create a tradition of non-segregated education for all. The cultural traditions within Wales underpinned by recent interest and educational commitment to the language have served to add a distinctive flavour to Welsh education.

There are some challenges to the simple idea of universal, non-segregated education. According to the Minister for Education in Wales (Andrews 2011). 'Performance has fallen back' (p2), he suggested. He took evidence from a University of Bristol study. 'Wales was the nation most confused by choice', (p7). The Minister suggested that 'learner choice...has been bought, to my mind at the cost of quality and vigour'. (p6). He went further. He indicated that civil servants had been effective on policy and design but less good at implementing them and entrenching them in practice. How does that view have an impact, or not, on the provision for young people who do not fit in to the conventions of the mainstream school environment? There is an argument to be considered that makes the case for a return to an extended, core curriculum, suitably differentiated but excluding alternatives. Would that have an impact on educational inclusion? Conscious that the population of young people not in mainstream school have the same range of 'raw potential' as their peers, does the inevitability of lack of choice within a small unit actually have a beneficial effect? Certainly, the freedom to offer an individual 'tailor made'

National Curriculum, taking account of the learning stamina and style of the pupil with few choices seems to have positive outcomes. This leads to the second research question,

8.3 The second research question

In what ways do current provisions in one Welsh Authority match, or fail to match current recommended practice, with particular reference to the issue of inclusion?

The 2003 Estyn Report on this authority recognised that in spite of a low local school budget the provision for special educational needs within the schools was generally good. This was re affirmed in the 2009 Report that also recognised an improvement in attendance acknowledging that ‘IWOs provide well-targeted intervention and a good range of support to address behaviour’ (p12) Beyond that, the 2009 Report was critical of the lack of understanding by schools of behaviour strategy and of the Inclusion Service to analyse the performance of their pupils. There was further criticism; few pupils returned to mainstream school.

How does Presteg manage its provision for pupils who are excluded or do not cope with the rigours of the mainstream school environment? From a direct referral link between Education and the School Psychology Service and all the provisions within the education service, other referrals were made to what can be described as the ‘umbrella services’. Children’s Services, that have statutory responsibilities and can act as provider of sessional workers, advocates and more. GPs, may refer directly to a psychiatrist, or other specialist consultant or nursing service. Interventions from the Police and the Courts may create direct involvement of other services. Already the referral network was diverse and could, through further referrals, become even more diffuse. Throughout this research there was no evidence of a case holder who was directly responsible for, or to the client, for the co-ordination of services. ‘Cases’ were held by social workers, whose professional parameters and confidentiality did not allow the easy flow of information to other professionals. Some social workers indicated that they were unaware of the involvement of other services within the education framework. Time and again the responses to questions and conversations suggested that information and effectively, ‘case management’ was done through the personal relationships between practitioners from all disciplines.

There were a great many services available to support young people. They ranged from the statutory provision of education and educational psychology until school leaving age in a

variety of possible locations and beyond, in certain circumstances. Other services included health screening services, school nurses, mental health, Childrens' Services, the Youth and Community Services, Youth Justice, Leisure Services, Play provision, the Careers Service and numerous voluntary agencies. One psychology trainee found nearly twenty voluntary agencies that could be called upon. These provisions were underpinned by numerous Welsh Assembly and local authority guidelines, directives, reports, circulars, discussion papers and more, that were distributed to and by local authorities, presumably read by the relevant officers and then cascaded to the practitioners as either handouts or as changes in policy. What was not clear was how and by whom the coordination of services and their collective outcome was evaluated, except informally 'in conversation' and only between those agencies where person to person contact was possible, inevitably resulting in some confusion for the client group and the frustration of other professionals. Delivery of education was the easiest to understand. However, unless there was a clear understanding of all the circumstances of the young person, or where there was a statutory responsibility to intervene, the immediate response to a difficulty in school was to provide support from education professionals thus limiting the primary understanding of any difficulty to be essentially 'within child' and allowing a deficiency model to prevail.

8.4 The third research question

Semi- structured interviews invited the response to the third research question;

*How is the stated policy of the Authority interpreted by those who administer it?
Do they see any anomalies between policy and practice? If so why does this occur?*

Inclusion in mainstream school is the expectation of children and young people, parents and teachers. There is also the expectation that academic attainments will rise. In Wales, in particular, where the findings of the 2009 PISA report were considered by government to be damning, the expectation was that the rise in attainments should happen with alacrity, wherever possible, with the additional expectation that learning outcomes would match potential. It was also expected that pupils' profiles would pass on some information about learning styles and even family circumstances, thus catering for most eventualities. However, there are acknowledged sensitive points in the school career; adjusting to the framework of the school day, sharing the attention of the adults, changing the level of familiarity and attachments in the secondary school and learning to work largely independently. For some children, these changes are handled satisfactorily. For others this is not the case. The point where the difficulties become too challenging for the school to manage without the support of beyond school agencies is the point at which the Inclusion

Service is alerted. How those services and those beyond educational provision see their roles was the subject of this part of the research.

The interviewees included the managers within the education service and Children's Services, PRU (Pupil Referral Unit) managers, educational psychologists, social workers and IWOs. (Inclusion Welfare Officers).

It was clear, that the matter of communication was the main hindrance to a co-ordinated response to a referral. There was also the matter of professional parameters and role protection. All those interviewed had quite a powerful sense of their own domain. Research by educational psychologists into their practice within a multi-agency setting is referred to in my research.

Confidentiality was also a factor in communication. Sensitive information rightly remained privy to the interested parties. What was not clear was why the outline of involvement by other agencies could not be made more easily available.

Communication was affected by differences in the administrative arrangements and accountability. There seemed to be no binding protocols for the exchange of information, again, the general view was that collective outcomes were mainly determined by the rapport between professionals.

Geography also affected the way services were delivered. Many decisions were made in department offices and unless a meeting was part of, or consequent upon, a decision there may have been no transport of information, except by word of mouth. Meetings were held in various locations, an education site often considered both convenient and appropriate. From the IWOs point of view and that of the PRU managers, a meeting on an education site was perhaps the only location where they felt their views carried any weight.

The overriding impression from all the interviews with this quite wide group of professionals was that they were all working for the benefit of the client, that there was a good rapport between them but that that they were working with isolated remits and there were no structures that kept them informed of the timetable of each other's involvement or how their practice could be integrated.

8.5 The fourth research question

If the working environment of those who administer the policies is diverse and lacks co-ordination,

What are the views of the headteachers of schools across the Authority with regard to the inclusion of all pupils, with particular reference to those demonstrating BESD? What are the main factors influencing their views?

The outcomes of these semi-structured interviews underlined the strengths of the large degree of self sufficiency enjoyed by schools. The surprising outcome of these interviews was the frankness and breadth of the conversations that emerged from a series of questions related to the management of pupils who are failing in the mainstream environment. There were quite distinctive differences between the management styles of secondary and primary heads. Secondary heads clearly saw themselves as managers whether they had an NPQH (National Professional Qualification for Headship) or not. This was not surprising with increasing autonomy, accountability, primarily to their governing bodies, that mainly comprised lay people, a responsibility for a large teaching staff (perhaps more than one hundred) as well as other employees, a huge budget and always with an eye on examination outcomes, whether they are translated into league tables or any proxy for them, arguably, a business model.

The primary heads were more disposed to maintain their independence and had a far closer connection with both their school communities and the learning styles of their pupils, and they were strong advocates of their methods and practice. The consequence of the differences in style and practice was manifest in the discussions about transition. Both sectors put in a great deal of effort in making a smooth transition to a high school, but what became very clear was that the structural differences had, for some pupils a more lasting effect. In the primary sector, children are taught in the same classroom and move around less; there are more adults in attendance; classroom assistants, domestic staff (dinner ladies) parent volunteers, and so on. The interviews with the primary heads suggested that pupils had a familiarity with their teachers that could not be replicated in a high school and introducing the difference between the two sectors was particularly difficult for some children. Behaviour management within the primary schools was less formal and emerged from elements of the curriculum and a necessarily more homogeneous staff. 'Necessarily' because, the opportunities for team teaching, co-operation between staff and parents, the generally smaller size of the school all contribute to creating a harmonised environment. While the primary heads accepted that a change in style of teaching was inevitable, they were also very aware that some of their pupils had not yet reached a social and emotional maturity to cope with that change. In this study the Nurture Groups during the primary phase were considered successful, anecdotally. In a very large high school, a level of preparedness is usually assumed or that the high school experience will 'do the job'. Referring to levels of maturity in his pupils, one primary head recalled the Middle School experiment that delayed transition for one year.

There was a unanimous dissatisfaction with the support network. The primary schools were more self reliant in matters of behaviour management and were less likely to call upon the services of outside agencies, relying mainly on their own skills and strong relationships with families. Without exception, all the school heads were keen to maintain all students within the school domain but seemed confused by the centrally employed support staff structure and emphatically frustrated by the lack of speed, the confusion and complexity of the responses to their requests for support. There was no consensus regarding the management of young people who were not coping within a mainstream structure, the way extra help should be delivered, who should deliver it, where it should be delivered (exclusions, on site special classes, the PRU) or who should pay for it. Only one head felt that the school could afford to pay for extra provision from its own resources. All the secondary heads were aware that the Director had raised the possibility of delegating the funds for centrally employed staff to the mainstream schools.

There was complete agreement that the school buildings, school environs and the internal structure of the school were both important and had a major effect on effective learning and teaching and maintaining good order. In fact every interviewee, adults, school pupils, staff, managers, visiting professionals, all mentioned the school environment and the importance it had on the sense of purpose and wellbeing. While this is acknowledged by both local and central governments, financial restraints usually mean that capital investment in schools is not often able to be considered a priority. For professionals, the expectations for and of their pupils and the impression and value that parents put on schools may well be adjusted according to the school environment; this question was not asked of parents, but the outcomes of the student group interviews (see appendix) indicated that a sense of pride and ownership of the school buildings and classrooms did matter to them. The outcome of semi structured interviews, guided by two questions are the response to the fifth research question.

8.6 The fifth research question

What are the views of the recipients of the Authority's policy. i.e. the parents of excluded children? Are they satisfied with its implementation? What do they see as the strengths and weaknesses and the reasons for these? What would their preferences be for any form of provision?

These case histories were chosen because they illustrated the diversity within the ‘referred’ population of young people and the diversity of provision. Uniquely, at the time of this research this group did not fit in to any category for whom the authority had already made provision. They were considered from three perspectives; an overview provided by the referral documents or conversations with a professional already involved with the young person, conversations with the parents or guardians, and the collective view of those working with the young person in the PRU Unit.

School rejection by young people was quite widespread but the responses to it were very largely determined by how disruptive the behaviour was in the mainstream. The cases in this research included a young person coming out of the care system, young people whose families had been supported by social services for some time or whose parents had themselves been considered vulnerable. There was a child from a refuge, children from a drug dependency culture, a young person who chronically self-harmed, several who were ‘out of control’ and Youth Justice was involved and one or two who had gender issues. None of these young people were ‘uneducable’. Certainly, the *conventional* classroom situation would have been untenable, certainly some of the young people had lost a year in learning progress, some were depressed, disappointed and dislocated from their peers. However, not one resisted the opportunity to learn and most of them would have benefited from the facilities of the mainstream.

Referring back to one aspect of Underwood’s (1955) definition ‘...an individual’s relationship at a particular time to the people and circumstances which make up his environment....’ and one of Farrell’s (1995) definitions, ‘...a response to recent stresses and strains in a child’s life...’ and putting that in the context of Dyson’s ‘mediation’ model, understood as education negotiating between the resources that a child brings and the rigours of the academic agenda, the need for family support seems a key preventative element for where the expected ‘family responsibility’ is not there. At the time of this study, the client group was left within no easily understood structure of support and professionals had no network of binding protocols to consult or inform on the progress and time span of their individual efforts and to discuss what should be an acceptable outcome.

The case histories provided illustrations of challenges to service provision. Foster placements, mental health issues of either the young person and, or a significant adult, sexual orientation, the consequences of a diagnosis or assessment, the consistency of support for a family, housing. For all these examples of need, there were a number of supporting agencies. Evidence from the documentations suggested a poor paper trail of

information, and misunderstandings about referrals, except in the case of Looked After Children where accountability was much more structured.

There was a resistance to providing low level but long term support for families that were 'in need', but not 'in crisis'. What emerged from a review of the non-confidential information from social services relating to the cases in this study was that a great deal depends on the willingness of the client to co-operate. Where a 'difference of opinion' with a social worker was reported, there was often a note saying that the case was 'closed'. When a patient did not turn up for a meeting with mental health services (after several letters), the case was 'closed'. It seemed that the request for support, unless it was backed up by a statutory responsibility, child protection, for example, was treated more as a 'sounding board', a 'market place' or a gateway to some material benefit and evaluated by the client as such, rather than a bridge between a critical situation and its resolution. Changing a culture of dependency to a culture of well understood, negotiated support, is a major task and not helped by the intricacy of the referral networks prior to an alternative education placement and that which may occur subsequently that contribute to the frustrations of practitioners and the bewilderment, disappointment and even anger of the parents.

8.7 Summary

Taking these five questions together, what are the major recurring elements in the findings of the research? One universal outcome was, that almost all practitioners in whatever discipline had 'good working relationships', although there were some tensions when professional boundaries were met, leading to misunderstandings and therefore lack of satisfaction for the client group. Other recurring elements were as follows: -

- There are a great number of agencies that are set up to support children and young people, most of which are funded and managed discretely. This leads to a confusion about which agencies to involve and how to engage them.
- There is not enough collating of information to inform the underlying causes of exclusion and school refusal and therefore facilitating, or not, the appropriate interventions and support.
- There is no effective 'case management' of pupils accessing other agencies and provision.
- The role of the Inclusion Welfare Officer is too dependent upon qualification and interpretation, therefore responsibilities change from school to school

- The contact between the mainstream schools and other agencies is mainly reactive, not pre-emptive.
- Extra and alternative provision is predicated on a ‘deficiency model’.
- There is insufficient dialogue between mainstream schools and other education service providers, once an alternative placement is established, even though a student will be dual registered.
- There remain distinct differences in primary and secondary schools in both the delivery of the curriculum and approaches to ‘pastoral awareness’
- There is evidence of the characteristics in some learners –
 1. That levels of maturity may not be sufficiently developed in some transition age pupils to cope with the rigours of the secondary routine
 2. That the learning strategies and learning perseverance of some pupils is not fully acknowledged.
 3. That the importance of the school environment and timetable to some learners is not recognised

This may have an effect on the marginalisation and exclusion of some pupils.

- The circumstances of parents and families are not widely considered when extra or alternative provision is put in place.
- There is little expert support for families where there are adults with mental health issues within the nuclear family.
- The part that parents/ carers should play in the extra provision for their children is not fully understood by them and therefore they are not productively engaged in getting the best long term outcomes.

8.8 Final reflections

The effectiveness of the present arrangements for extra provision revealed that there are structural difficulties in the way the services are delivered. This finding is not new but what also became evident is the lack of imaginative use of existing expertise and seemingly no aspiration to develop a combined accountable workforce to make the most of what could be on offer.

Some things have changed since I began this research. There has been a change of structure at senior management level with financial restraint and cross county co-operation being high on the agenda. Pressure to reduce the number of young people out of

mainstream remains. A part time counselling service has now been embedded in mainstream schools. Information sharing about the progress of a referral has improved for this element of the portfolio PPRU. Social Services now inform the Unit if they have rejected a referral with advice on what service to contact. CAMHS also inform when they are closing a case or when a referral has been re-routed to another service. In the light of these changes there are a number of ways in which this research could have been strengthened. For example: -,

- I would like to have had a conversation with the heads, IWOs and educational psychologists of the referring schools for the young people who attended this Unit to investigate on a 'case by case' basis, the causes rather than the symptoms of the challenging or worrying behaviours, thereby refining the support outcomes.
- I would like to have compared the outcomes for young people who remained in onsite alternative provision with those who were removed from school
- I would like to have interviewed school governors to investigate their understanding of BESD, their expectations of behaviour, and what, where and how challenges should be met.
- I would like to have had retrospective interviews with the young people who attended this Unit to explore what differences, if any, to their aspirations and the outcomes, whether beneficial or not, having alternative educational provision made.
- I would like to have explored further the views of mainstream students about their preferred learning styles and preferred learning environment.
- I would like to have investigated the views of the housing officers regarding the impact that housing and location may make to well being.
- I would like to have interviewed play workers and youth workers with particular regard to their training and how it could be part of mainstream provision.

More generally, it would be interesting to investigate whether the potential learning ability of pupils within PRUs, or who have educational 'packages', follow the same pattern of those who do attend mainstream school. Do they get as good an *educational* deal as they are entitled to, or is it watered down? Indeed should the curriculum be concerned, not so much with diversity, as with appropriate differentiation to allow all students to have a firm grasp of the essentials of traditional disciplines and IT, driving motivated choices for work or further or higher education?

The declared aspiration to an inclusive education provision remains an aspiration. With regard to young people excluded or refusing to go to school, the policy is not to change or modify the mainstream environment, but one of re-integration or partial re-integration or offsite provision. In the current climate, both educational and financial, can there be the will and the capacity to do more to make the learning environment and the timetables for learning within the mainstream more in tune with the aptitudes, learning styles and the lives of all learners?

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaires

The questionnaires were designed mainly to 'keep me on track'. My preference was to seek face to face interviews to pick up, and record the 'non-verbal' components of the interactions; the tone of voice, the enthusiasm, or lack of it, the concerns, the 'diplomacy' and 'correctness'. According to Gorden referred to by Fontana and Frey (HQR p371) this technique can be divided into four: *proxemic* use of interpersonal space, *chronemics*, pace of speech, *kinesics*, body movement and *paralinguistic*, variation in pitch and volume of voice. Face to face interviews were not always possible; educational psychologists and social work managers were sent questionnaires.

School pupils in mainstream

- What do you like about school?
- What don't you like about school?
- How could it be better for you?

Headteachers

- When did you last review your behaviour and discipline and policies?
- What happens top excluded children?
- Do you prefer behaviour management interventions in school or would you rather a troubled pupils had time out at an off site provision?
- Do you value a counselling service?
- Do you know what a behaviour curriculum is?

IWOs

- What is your job specification?
- How has your work changed in the last few years?
- Do you see your work as linked with agencies other than education?
- How do you evaluate your working practices?
- To whom are you accountable?
- How 'influential' is your work in planning provision for young people?

Centre Managers

- How well informed are you about the involvement of other agencies?
- How do you make a referral to other agencies that you feel should be involved with young people?
- To which agency do you make the most referrals?
- How do you monitor the outcomes of the referrals?
- Do you consider the PRU as part of a multidisciplinary provision? If so Why? If not Why?
- How do you review the appropriateness of a placement?
- How do you manage transition to another provision?

- What access do you have to the support offered by the Young People's Partnership?
- How do you evaluate the outcomes?
- Do you know what the Integrated Children's System is? Do you access it?
- Does confidentiality have an impact on multi-agency working/co-operation?
- What would make multi agency working more effective?

Education Psychology Service

- What is your official 'remit'?
- Where does the greatest emphasis of your work lie, eg advisory (if so to whom), statutory, therapeutic?
- How does your work link in with the work of CAMHS NCH?
- Are referrals to you exclusively from education?
- To which agency do you make the most referrals?
- Do you consider your work to be part of a multiagency team?
- Do you use the ICS??
- How effective is inter agency communication
- How could service delivery to young people be made more effective?
- How do you assess the outcomes (or influence) of your work?

LAC Officer

- Who takes on the overall management of a LAC?
- Are you responsible for any decisions that are made?
- How do you review them?
- To whom are you responsible?
- Do you have access to the ICS?
- How is funding for education (e.g. ALN) paid for?
- Does that need to be negotiated? With whom?
- How often does the managing team for a LAC meet?
- How could the service for LAC be improved?

Social Services (fieldwork)

The questionnaire is essentially concerned with families with children and young people. It includes pre-school children, as some interventions may have an impact upon older siblings

- From which agency do Children's Services get most referrals?
- Who decides what 'category' the referral falls into? Are there 'universal criteria'? (e.g. a problem may seem to arise where a referring agency makes a judgement that does not seem in tune with Children's Services)
- How is your response conveyed/explained to the referrer? Is there the opportunity for discussion with the referrer?
- How do Children's Services keep colleagues, who are not social workers, informed of the nature/time span/progress of the intervention, particularly in a case of Child Protection where the referring agency may not be invited to the Core Group?

- What is the protocol for keeping a Headteacher informed of Children's Service intervention in a family even when a school is not the referring agency?
- How far do financial considerations affect preventative work closing cases?
- From a Children's Services perspective, what is the role of the IWOs?
- In rank order, with which other agencies do you work most closely?
- How effective is the Integrated Children's System in supporting multi-agency working/co-operation?
- How do you evaluate the success of process and outcomes of interventions ?
- Does confidentiality have an impact on multi-agency working/co-operation?
- Within the Directorate, what would make multi-agency working more effective?
(bullet points)

Inclusion Manager with Inclusion Welfare Manager

- What is your remit?
- Do you support the policy of inclusion?
- What funding is available for supporting vulnerable or excluded pupils?
- What are the protocols for inter-agency working?
- How do you track excluded pupils?
- What support structures are in place for supporting excluded pupils?
- How do you evaluate the outcomes?

Behaviour Support Service Manager

- What is your remit?
- What happens to excluded pupils?
- How do you work with other agencies?
- How are Statements serviced?
- What is a Behaviour Curriculum?
- How do you provide your service to the schools?

Second Interview with Inclusion Manager

In a previous interview (jointly with Manager IWS) you said you were happy with the notion of 'inclusion' because there had been consultation:

- Q1 How successful are the schools at using 'in-house strategies' to maintain 'inclusion'? Are there any statistics to monitor this?
- Q2 How far have 'phase change' strategies to maintain inclusion been successful? Are there any statistics to monitor progress?
- Q3a Is it still the case that acting out behaviour is the main reason for 'attention'?
- Q3b How are other behaviours that cause concern dealt with? (Basically, are absence or a dramatic drop in performance the main triggers for 'attention')
- Q4 Are there any changes to the workings (protocols) of multi-agency responses?
- Q5 How does the Authority 'interpret' 'full time education' for those not in mainstream school?

To what do you attribute any changes (Qs 1-5)?

- Q6 The Integrated Children's System:
'It is essential...that an Interagency Local Implementation Group is established to lead on implementation and to establish the Integrated Children's System as an 'interagency initiative' (WAG).
How has this worked, is working within Presteg?
- Q7 "There is no formal, discrete way of tracking the whereabouts of children who are 'falling out of the system' other than attendance records, that may trigger a referral to the IWO or exclusions that must be reported and placed on a central data base' (EC).
Whose judgement is it to start the process of multi/inter agency intervention?
- Q8 How do BMG and the Prevent and Deter Panel (I'm guessing that these are the only two regular meetings of professionals dealing with young people causing concern) interact?
- Q9 In the previous interview the IWO Manager felt that integration after long term exclusion was 'low', you felt that managed packages (meaning Youth Access/ Work Ex.) had 'mixed success'. Do you still agree with your statement? If not, why not?
- Q10 How has the YPP affected the provision for young people experiencing difficulties in mainstream? How are you monitoring progress? (Or, how is the money being spent? how are the additional personal being deployed?)

APPENDIX II

Coding

In this initial, thematic coding, I include two methods of data collection; the verbatim transcripts of interviews and written responses to questionnaires and the notes I took during the interviews. The data transcriptions reflect the subject matter that was of most interest, mentioned by at least 50% of interviewees.

I have included in this part of my enquiry the outcome of the group interviews with secondary age pupils (15) and a smaller group (8) of pupils already excluded and in another provision.

Student Group Interviews

'School's O.K. you can be with your friends. '...don't like school. Always being nagged'	Mixed response to going to school
'It's O.K if the teachers are in a good mood' '...it's O.K if the teacher likes you.	Lesson success (therefore the reputation of the teacher are much determined by personal perceived relationship with the teacher
"I'd like school to be more comfortable...'you always have to carry your stuff around'. I don't see my classroom as being a base....you have to take everything with you'	Schools are not places that give a sense of belonging and safety (different to primary schools)
'Lessons should be about 40 minutes' '...half an hour is enough'....'I couldn't do with an hour's lesson' 'I'd like to work on my own for real work' '..there are too many distractions in the class' 'I'm never awake in the mornings ...yes I would like it if I could come to school at lunchtime and stay on later...' 'Shifts would be good'	Differences in levels of concentration and interest (teaching/learning styles)
'Teachers are O.K if they like you' Teachers are good if you can have a laugh and they make the lesson fun'. 'It's OK If the teacher explains everything...otherwise you get bored.'	What matters is the personality of the teacher

Headteachers

One Primary Headteacher refused to use the questionnaire as a basis for discussion. The transcript of my conversation with her is marked with an *

Transcript	Coded for
'The school environment does matter but there's no money for maintenance	School environment is the least of my worries (funding)
'there's no interventions for years 8/9 and when it gets to year 11 the only possible sanction is exclusion'	Want more help for years 8/9
The behaviour support teacher is here for one afternoon a week'	What's the point of behaviour support teachers for such a short time (mismatch of remit and expectation, communication)
'They must know about behaviour concerns in primary, but no information gets through'	No useful information about new intake. (pupil management
'If you give a year 10/11 a package you've more or less lost them in school'	Allowing year 10/11 out of school is the gateway to truancy. (management of pupils not in school)
'I place a lot of importance on the school environment....'	I know school environment is important but the school budget doesn't allow me to do anything.
'....a team to come into school immediately on request to sort additional support'	I want a quicker response to referrals
I want to arrange alternatives for years 10/11 on a shared basis with other providers with a teacher/mentor to manage the programme	I want to stay in control of what happens to years 10/11 I've costed the programme, I can't do it within my own budget, I need to sell the idea to the Authority
I am always looking for ways to improve the environment for pupils	I've just received a £1000000 grant for a new block (we have a specialist argument for capital spend)
'We are a very close community. Difficulties are usually resolved by direct contact with parents.	All my staff, the core of which has been here a long time know families well so we need little outside help
I would like a centrally employed specialist teacher to help with difficult	Another pair of hands is good, if I don't have to pay for it.(funding)

children'	
We have a very active Parents' Association that is very supportive	If we need to raise money for 'extras' we go to the parents.(we have many affluent and well informed parents who will make time to support the school)
Our senior teacher is a P.E/ specialist.... we host many multidisciplinary meetings and have a high profile IWO'	We do as much as we can to manage our own affairs. (control)
'This authority does not have enough staff to deliver the services it has, nobody knows how it works'	The authority doesn't know what it's doing with difficult children
'Heads' Fed is the place where all the Heads discuss things	Head's Fed is a talking shop with the Authority
'I usually leave matters of discipline to the 'hands on' senior management.	I don't want to get involved in everyday discipline matters.
' would like everything that is on offer, specialist teachers, EPs, classroom assistants' but I am very conscious of cost benefit'.	Is the service cost effective and effective? Maybe I'd rather save my money (funding/ school reserves)
*'My attitude to the curriculum is the same as that of my predecessors: cross curricular. We always get excellent inspections	The inspectorate like it, so why change
*'We use Catchup to help identify learning styles. Where this fails we have discussions with the SENCO and make referrals to outside agencies where necessary'	We do everything we can to maintain a child in school and we have a system in place that works.
*'Transition is the most difficult time for us. There is a choice of three secondary schools and they all do it differently	I would like more say in how transition is managed. I am reluctant to release our children from the primary regime
'We use Circle Time every morning to reinforce class rules. The older pupils have a say in the discipline policy...we believe in positive discipline.	Discipline and ownership of it is part of our curriculum
'I want to know what is available and how it is managed....it should be multi-disciplinary and school based	I am not quite sure what is on offer. I know what I would like

<p>'I think that multi-discipline teams won't work. It would take too long. I'd prefer a permanent member of staff who knows about behaviour management. I don't want any of my children taken out of school. If they are it must be a permanent exclusion and I will not have them back'</p>	<p>I would like a specialist member of staff(centrally funded?)Pupils that can't be managed in school must go elsewhere.</p>
<p>I use the PATHS Curriculum with the high school to ease the transition</p>	<p>We work closely with the high school towards easy transition</p>
<p>Most of the difficulties at transition are because of immaturity. Some Children need longer in the primary sector. Return to Middle Schools might work</p>	<p>We can prepare children for learning in a high school. Accelerating maturity is another matter. There are some things we can do nothing about</p>
<p>I think that a primary PRU might work for a short period when all other interventions have been exhausted</p>	<p>Alternative provision for a primary age child had not occurred to me</p>
<p>'not very well informed..it depends on the family and agencies involved' 'Not well informed at all. Other agencies seldom contact us regarding their involvement or what they actually do...frequently the details are to say the least brief...' 'Usually very well informed.....all known agencies working with a young person will be invited to a half termly review'</p>	<p>There is no multi-agency protocol for sharing or communicating information</p>
<p>'We have to wait for an agency to contact us' (after a referral) '...just hope that people feel we should be given feedback'</p>	<p>There is no multi-agency protocol for communicating or sharing information</p>
<p>'..provision should be coherent and cohesive the "Team round the Child approach' ' we have to integrate learning and emotional support' '...nowe feel isolated and definitely not part of team' ' I would love to make referrals to CAMHS but know little about the referral process. I would like to work more closely with this organisation.' 'we have had good working relationships with the Youth Justice Team , but this has</p>	<p>Generally aspirational but consensus, no overarching framework for multi-disciplinary, multi-agency working</p>

<p>been on an individual basis, rather than a multidisciplinary team basis’,</p>	
<p>‘..there is a need for protocols, but at the end of the day, all info must be shared. It breeds resentment if one agency takes all of your information but is not prepared to share theirs. ‘ different people and agencies place their own intepretation on the ethics and practice of information sharing....it is very often a one way street.’</p>	<p>Confidentiality and individual agency codes of practice may have an impact on communicating, sharing information</p>

Educational psychologists

<p>'All children and young people should be included in the education system and in society' (Handbook)</p>	<p>We do not articulate what is meant by 'system'</p>
<p>'65% of service time goes on so called "generic work"</p>	<p>We go into schools on a consultancy basis</p>
<p>'There is a lot of liaison work with CAMHS, NCH Early Intervention Service (EIS). There are strategy level discussions with senior staff and day to day interventions.'</p>	<p>We communicate with mental health services at a strategic level</p>
<p>'We talk to school staff and parents to see whether we need to get directly involved'</p>	<p>We haven't got the time to do casework if another professional can do it.</p>
<p>Most referrals go through SC-MAP to EIS, Tier3 CAMHS ADHD team or NCH</p>	<p>We can get priority referrals</p>
<p>There is a lot of interaction between ourselves and other teams. Some of our time is spent working as part of a team with others, however we are not all working on a daily basis alongside professionals from other backgrounds.</p>	<p>There are a lot of agencies but not many protocols (communication)</p>
<p>Inter- agency communication is probably better with teams where we have worked on a regular basis for some considerable time..'</p>	<p>There is no multi-agency management. (communication)</p>
<p>'there seems to be quite a lot of evidence that the most effective help comes from a multi-agency team working at a number of levels...'</p>	<p>There's a lot available but no co-ordinated management (communication)</p>

The Social Workers

I interviewed two 'layers' of social workers; managers and case holders. I have put the data onto two tables

Managers

' anyone or any agency can make a referral to Social Services'	Referral mechanisms are common knowledge
'All referrals are kept on electronic file indefinitely'	<u>WE</u> hold a record of all referrals
'There is no such thing as an Integrated Childrens' System, in these day of lost data there may never be.. YOT has a system called YOIS, social services has no access to this system despite them doing all sorts of work with children. Similar with health, education etc.'	There is no likelihood of a joint electronic communication system
The response to child protection referrals is decided by social services, there may be no response unless there is further evidence.....checks fall outside the Data Prot.Act.	Child protection is in the (exclusive) domain of Soc Ser.
'since the Clumbie case there has been much greater emphasis on multi-agency responses to Child in Need referrals. There should be a protocol for chasing up lack of action if a referring agency is not content'	There are no protocols for sharing/communicating information.
'During Court proceedings the primary source of information (often education) should be subpoenaed' otherwise the social worker becomes responsible for all the evidence'	We need to share responsibilities with other agencies or individuals(workload/ responsibility/ protocols)
We make judgement about the status of a referral. If the family is not content about closing a case we may refer to other community or voluntary agencies.	We prioritise referrals (do other agencies understand the criteria? communication/ information sharing)
'..we evaluate success of process if no further intervention is necessary.....we should not fall into thinking we are engaging in preventative work because mostly we are not.'	We are mainly involved in crisis management

Social Work Caseholders

<p>'At a guess most referrals come from education, although police must come a close second.'</p>	<p>Education is our nearest link to clients</p>
<p>'The Managers decide what category a referral falls into'</p>	<p>We respond to the criteria driven category of referral</p>
<p>'We let the referrer know what we are going to do either by letter or telephone call' '...get the e-mail address and ask' '....ring up. I certainly do not have a problem with people ringing me and asking me just about anything'</p>	<p>There is no formal arrangement for communication</p>
<p>'Confidentiality prevents a free flow of information, especially if education is not part of the Core Group. There is no requirement to tell other agencies (including schools) about the progress of a case'</p>	<p>There are no protocols for sharing/ communication information. There are limits to multi-agency working.</p>
<p>'The work of the Inclusion Welfare Service is a mystery...' 'The role of the IWO is to address issues of attendance, to act as a link between the school and Childrens' Services' ' I would say there should be a Child in Need social worker in every school'</p>	<p>We don't know what responsibilities the IWS has (communication)</p>
<p>'Financial consideration has a massive effect on how cases are prioritised' 'I don't think that financial considerations have an effect on closing cases but it may have an effect on preventative work' 'Many forms of preventative work now operate outside of social services these days.....closing cases is more about closure protocols than finance, however, opening cases, that's different</p>	<p>Financial considerations have an noticeable impact on social work practice</p>

Behaviour Improvement Manager

There were two interviews with this manager. One with the Inclusion Welfare Manager and, subsequently one on his own. The former is marked ¹, the latter ².

¹ ...my remit is to cover all the PRUs and Youth Access'	I have massive and diverse workload
¹ 'm happy with the notion of inclusion. We were all consulted'	My work is to make inclusion work
² There needs to be a tightening up of in-house strategies for inclusion	Schools are still relying on central interventions to support pupils
² Circular 47/2006 is a good document. Schools don't seem to be fully taking it on board..... Little direct funding for pupils with BESD...they have been so diluted..the impact is important but not significant There is no more integration, a more inclusive education system or more social equity	Somehow the initiatives and the money are not delivering the intended outcomes.
¹ there is a spirit of co-operation among professionals (about confidentiality) but I emphatically exclude Childrens' Services'	Confidentiality can reduce the sharing of important information.
¹ 'The most effective tracking is for KS4 pupils because there are monthly BMG meetings and a database.'	So far we have no protocols for managing excluded KS1,2,3, pupils (more work)
¹ ...we have reduced permanent exclusions fro 28 to 6 ...'packages' seem to be working (KS4) but not so well at KS3. ² 'Mixed packages can be successful if arrangements are tight...consistent monitoring of attendance.....only two placements. No more'	There remains a gap in provision at the transition stage and first year of secondary education Packages have been only partly successful. Labour intensive.
¹ 'Behaviour Support really works at KS1/2'	Early intervention from this service seems to work.
¹ ..Youth Access provides packages that can include part time school, home tuition etc...85% of the students leave with some form of qualification'	From a qualification point of view Youth Access works.
² YPP has effectively contributed 40k to education but indirectly has provided youth workers and Careers Wales personnel	Not much cash but more people with specific jobs.
¹ There is not enough support for young people on 'packages' or moving from	Some young people fall through the net. The provision is not matched by

provision to provision'	funding.
' ¹ "Statements" are for educational need and should reflect what is available...'	Some people (colleagues, parents) think that Statements can determine where a student is placed. This creates more work and admin.
¹ 'The service could be improved with clearer strategic thinking and prioritising, more money and more time'	We muddle through

The Behaviour Support Service Manager

'...all pupils likely to be excluded should be referred to the behaviour support service'	We should be doing more preventative work
'...the authority does not need to be told when the exclusion is for less than 5 days'	There is no protocol for referral
'...some schools are resistant to re-integration of excluded pupils unless they are 'cured''	Personalities can determine the integration process and work against the 'evidence'.
'Most Statemented children can be managed but there are not enough staff to deliver an effective service'	We need more staff within the inclusion service (especially speech and language therapists)
'...a behaviour curriculum could help teachers differentiate their teaching styles...'	Not all teachers 'read' their pupils accurately
'..management of interagency interventions is developing....'	We muddle through

The Inclusion Welfare Manager

<p>' Most children are excluded because they're not interested in school, because they or someone in the family is involved in crime or has mental health issues'.</p>	<p>Some schools do not (cannot) structure themselves to accommodate the kind of experiences that some children have.</p>
<p>'..the most effective support is a LONG-TERM inclusion plan'</p>	<p>There is not the money to have long term plans that might keep more pupils in mainstream school</p>
<p>' keen on YPP(Keeping in Touch Strategy)...'to work in partnership to establish systems at local level (for which there should be).....an agreed Information Sharing Protocol'.</p>	<p>There are no protocols for inter-agency working</p>
<p>Quoted from NFER 'Good Practice in the Provision of Full-time Provision for Excluded pupils''Is there a need for further clarity on what constitutes the components of full-time provision....'</p>	<p>No one seems to know what full-time provision for excluded pupils is</p>
<p>'I've had the experience with working closely with vulnerable children in lots of settings . The success of my service depends on the commitment of my service to their clients</p>	<p>Not all IWOs have the same view of their jobs.</p>

Inclusion Welfare Officers

‘I come from the community, I have worked in the community and I have got good paper qualifications (a degree)’	I am very well qualified for the job that I do
‘We all have different qualifications and experiences.’	We all approach our work in different ways. There is no homogeneity in the service
‘My work load has increased. There is more social welfare work and child protection issues.’	I am doing more of a social worker’s work
‘ I am invited to meetings but my view is never requested when it comes to deciding about alternative provision’	I know my clients, I know their circumstances but I’m not consulted when it comes to decision making.
‘I feel like a social worker but I belong to education’	What I do is mainly social work (but I don’t have the pay or the status)
‘How a referral is responded to is how the form is filled in... a referral may be passed on to NCH’	If the referral form does not attract social service involvement the case may be passed on to NCH who do not have the same powers of engagement.
‘ ‘In one school a high level TA acts as a liaison officer for statemented children...the manager doesn’t know this.’	Management does not know of all inclusion strategies in the high school
‘I’m only part time. XXX has a full time IWO and lots of extra facilities for ‘disadvantaged children. I recommend that such children go to XXX	This school does not have the inclination (spend resources on) children who have difficulties beyond the ‘usual’ provision.