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Special school teachers in Coventry primary schools: an exploratory study of the special needs outreach project

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ALISON CROFT: SPECIAL SCHOOL TEACHERS IN COVENTRY PRIMARY SCHOOLS -
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE SPECIAL NEEDS OUTREACH PROJECT.

The study looks at a project run by Coventry LEA in which teachers from
special schools visit nearby ordinary schools to advise them on teaching
methods and resources for pupils with special needs. Learning materials
are provided for the schools from the LEA's Special Needs Support Centre.
The "Outreach" teachers work with individual teachers or with the whole
staff. Some teaching of individuals and small groups of pupils is under-
taken as part of the Outreach project, although the long term aim is
to "leave the schools better able to cope". Much of the work supported
the development of the LEA's Special Needs Action Programme, better
known as SNAP.

Several teachers were involved from each of the LEA's three schools for
children with moderate learning difficulties. Most schools visited were
primary schools, but a few secondary schools were also included.

The main method used to collect information was the unstructured inter-
viewing of forty-eight people involved in the project. These were the
advisers who had designed the project, the area support teachers (form-
erly called remedial teachers) with whom the Outreach teachers worked,
the Outreach teachers themselves, teachers in ordinary schools and the
headteachers of the special schools.

The introductory chapter discusses the arguments for and against inte-
grated provision for children with special educational needs. The
findings are presented in two chapters. The first, Chapter three,
considers the explanations given for the development of the project.
Chapter four describes the project by looking at the roles of those in-
volved.

The conclusion is that although the Outreach project seems to be devel-
oping a useful role, too much is expected of some Outreach teachers who
feel the pressures of having "two jobs". A comparison is made to
similar projects, and possible changes discussed.

Special school teachers in Coventry primary schools - an exploratory
study of the Special Needs Outreach Project.

Alison Mary Croft

Submitted for the degree of Master of Arts to the University of Durham,
School of Education, 1987.

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A List of Tables and Illustrations

None of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this, or any other university.

I would like to thank my tutors, Frank Coffield and Jack Gilliland for their encouragement and many thought-provoking comments on my work. I am grateful to all the people in Coventry who took the time to give me their views on the Outreach project. Many thanks to Carol Watkinson for typing out the interviews and the final report. Finally, I acknowledge all the support I have received from my parents.

CHAPTER ONE

BASIC ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST INTEGRATION

For the past two decades there has been increasing scepticism about the
value of placing certain groups of children in special schools. In
this country segregated educational provision for pupils with the lowest
attainment in school work began to develop after 1870, when the elemen-
tary schools encountered difficulties in teaching a significant number
of the children newly entered on their rolls. Paying teachers by results
probably encouraged them to ask for the removal from their care of the
children who seemed unable to benefit from the education which suited
the majority; not simply because their poor results affected the teacher's
salary, but because the system implied that with adequate teaching normal
children would progress through absolute standards. If some children did
not progress as the others did, there had to be some fault with the child;
disability was seen as defect.

The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1899
allowed School Boards to provide instruction in special classes or schools
for those who were "defective", not "merely backward or dull". These
children were "incapable of receiving benefit from the instruction in
ordinary schools" but "not being imbecile" they were thought able to
benefit from the special provision made for them. Despite a financial
incentive only just over a third of local education authorities were
making such provision ten years later, (Warnock, 1978: p.14). The Elem-
entary Education (Defective and Epileptic) Act 1914 changed this situ-
ation by making it an education authority's duty to provide special
education for defective children.

This policy was not the only one considered; the Royal Commission on the
Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, reporting in 1908, favoured "Inst-
itutional provision for mentally defective children on occupational

lines ... to provision in special schools" (quoted in Warnock 1978: p.14).

The title of the Commission expresses more ̶i̶m̶plicitly than is now usual society's dual concerns with its dullest members - "Care and Control". The care is tempered to a greater or lesser extent with our own need to control the threat that they pose to ourselves and our orderly society. Fear of what we do not understand, what seems less than human, and the confusion in the popular imagination between the simpleton and the lunatic all contribute to our wariness of the mentally handicapped as individuals. Furneaux (1969: p.88) reports the instance "when the mother of a handicapped boy was told by a neighbour who was in many ways kind and friendly, not to let her defective boy touch her son's toys". "As if", said the mother "my little boy of six could taint them with his touch."

Dexter (in Becker, 1964) considers that this attitude was most descriptive of the way the "stupid" were regarded in Britain and the United States in the first two decades of the twentieth century when,'"moron" became a synonym for "rapist"' (p.41). Now, most people are willing for public money to be spent on "teaching the stupid not to be stupid" (ibid), but we are less willing to tolerate the stupid remaining so, and do not alleviate their handicap by making survival in our society as easy as we can for them e.g. as independent of secondary symbols as possible.

The mentally handicapped have sometimes been excluded from society. The Victorian Institutions built for them were usually located away from towns. Current moves to accommodate the mentally handicapped in ordinary houses in ordinary streets often meet with opposition from neighbours, (Elliot and Bayes, 1972: p.24). Perhaps because of the natural wariness that most people have of a group in society that they perceive as being different from themselves.

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A more radical solution to the "problem" of the mentally handicapped
was put forward by the eugenics movement, founded by Francis Galton at
the turn of the century. Propagating the belief that low mental capacity,
as well as many other undesirable traits, was almost solely inherited,
eugenicists persuaded more than 30 American states to pass laws in the
early part of this century which allowed compulsory sterilization of
people with these traits. Many peoples' lives must have been traumat-
ically affected by those laws. Kamin notes that those sterilised were
the poor and powerless. Enforcement however was fortunately, not
widespread, (Eysenck and Kamin 1981: p.93).

The desire to keep the mentally handicapped out of sight is not the only
motivation for providing special schools for the children who achieve
least academically. There is a genuine desire to care for them. Pro-
fessionals and voluntary workers aim to have a sympathetic understanding
of the difficulties these pupils face and want to help them enjoy life
as fully and independently as they can. But in trying to determine how
the most effective education can be provided for them, it is necessary
to understand how society affects their lives, and the effect that they
have on others. It is necessary to identify the people you are trying to
help, this inevitably leads to a defined and labelled group. With the
mentally handicapped the label has often become a stigma which sometimes
adversely affects their relationships with others. Following the work
of the interactionist school (e.g. Erikson 1966, Lemert 1967 and Becker
1961) who developed some of Durkheim's ideas published in 1895, problems
with children labelled handicapped are now not so often located solely
within the child, but attention is drawn to the process whereby children
are so labelled, and the role of those who do the labelling.

The Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped
Children and Young People entitled "Special Educational Needs" (more

commonly known as the Warnock Report) and the subsequent 1981 <u>Education</u> <u>Act</u> are both concerned that children with special education$_\wedge^{al}$ needs should be identified and appropriately provided for. But both have been criticised for failing to take account of the deviance perspective. Sewell, (1982: p.113) writes that:

> "It has been argued that the Warnock Committee placed too much emphasis on the learner and the special provision and not enough on the ordinary day to day interactions of teachers and pupils."

Bookbinder (1983: p.6), goes further and states that referral to special education:

> "is a way of alleviating the problems of the school rather than those of the child, but this reality is usually camouflaged by benevolent reference to the supposed needs of the child. The 1981 Act, like the Warnock Report on which it is based, shows no awareness of this reality and completely misses the opportunity, therefore, to come to grips with it."

Both the Warnock Report and the 1981 Act favour the integration of children who have been identified as having "special needs", with children in ordinary schools wherever possible. The idea that children who have some sort of handicap to normal educational progress should learn together with those who do not is not new. Today it is the dominant ideology, and "integration" has even become something of a catchword. When people talk or write about integration it does not always sound as if they all mean the same thing. This is perhaps best explained by allowing for different types or degrees of integration. At one end of the 'scale' pupils with and without special needs might share a playground while at the other end a pupil with special needs might be a full member of a mainstream class, sharing all lessons and other activities with the class. Drawing attention to the attitude that views integration as a self-evident goal, Hegarty et al (1981) write, "Like motherhood and democracy, integration is a good thing and no right thinking person who

cares for children could be against it", (p.14). As efforts have been made to allow adults with various handicaps to take their places in society, so it has been realised that segregated schooling may make it more difficult to adapt to unsegregated society. In Scandanavia integration is more generally recognised as part of normalisation. (Britton, 1977).

For those with little intellectual ability the degree to which this has affected their assimilation into normal society has changed with the attitudes and values of that society. Furneaux (1969) describes these varying attitudes. The village idiot used to be generally tolerated as a normal part of the local community. Beginning in the reign of Edward II an continuing to the Reformation the "born fools" were distinguished from the insane and were given legal status as wards of the monarch. After the Reformation however the prevailing philosophy changed to one that tended to blame the victim and both the idiots and the mentally ill were thought to be responsible for their own state with the result that both groups were often cruelly treated. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more humane attitudes towards those who had little opportunity of helping themselves developed, as witnessed by the beginnings of social legislation. At first the main concern was with the custodial care of the mentally deficient but there were some moves on a small scale in the early decades of the twentieth century to make some provision for those "incapable of receiving benefit from the instruction in ordinary schools" (1899 Elementary Education Act).

The 1914 Elementary Education Act made it a duty for the education authorities to provide special schools for the feeble-minded. The Wood Committee reporting in 1929 suggested that mentally deficient children should be more closely associated with the mainstream of education:

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"We do not however contemplate that these "special" schools
would exist with a different legal sanction, under a different
system of nomenclature and under different administrative
provision. If the majority of children for whom these schools
.... are intended are, ex hypothesi, to lead the lives of
ordinary citizens, with no shadow of a 'certificate' and all
that implies to handicap their careers, the schools must be
brought into closer relation with the Public Elementary School
System and presented to parents not as something both distinct
and humiliating, but as a helpful variation of the ordinary
school."

This view was echoed in 1944 during the Debate of the Education Bill by

the Parliamentary Secretary who stated that he did not want:

"to insert in the Bill any words which make it appear that
the normal way to deal with a child who suffers from any of
these disabilities is to be put into a special school where
he will be segregated. Whilst we desire to see adequate
provision of special schools we also desire to see as many
children as possible retained in the normal stream of school
life."

(Quoted in Warnock, 1978)

Warnock explains the continuing segregation of special education with

social arguments, such as the inhibiting effect of the statutory frame-

work, and by the certain after effects of the war. There was a rising

school population and a shortage of teachers so classes in ordinary

schools were large. Many teachers were 'dilutees' who had received a

two year emergency training and probably did not feel able to cope with

the extra demands that a wider range of ability would make on them.

There was an opportunity for local authorities to buy large country

houses for conversion to special schools fairly cheaply. In this way the

authorities could circumvent the building restrictions caused by the

scarcity of the materials, and the special schools became increasingly

isolated. In 1954 a D.E.S. circular again advocated education in an

ordinary school for all where possible:

"No handicapped pupil should be sent to a special school who
can satisfactorily be educated in an ordinary school."

The circular also said that the minister would organise conferences to:

> "consider current problems and devise regional arrangements to
> keep questions of special school provision and special
> educational treatment under periodic review, including any
> recent experiments and developments."

With the reorganisation of secondary schooling beginning in the 1960's,
the "integration movement" gathered momentum; calling for education
which was truly comprehensive; education which did not place children
in labelled boxes and start them on their way to different destinies
before they were even into their teens.

Jones et al (1977) identify three broad concerns behind the move to-
wards the integration of all children in education:

> "....to reduce the presumed stigma of labelling, to reduce the
> presumed social isolation, and, it is hoped, to increase the
> effectiveness of educational programming for handicapped
> children."
>
> (p.589)

These aims may be contradictory, that is, satisfying the first two may
be detrimental to the achievement of the third. The following evaluation
of the case for integrated educational provision for the children with
moderate learning difficulties will be organised around these three
points.

The majority of pupils in special schools are there because, in the
terminology of the Warnock Report, they have "moderate learning diffic-
ulties". (Other groups educated in special schools include those with
severe learning difficulties and the physically disabled). Formerly,
they were officially known as educationally subnormal moderate, (ESN-M).
This term and its Scottish equivalent of mentally handicapped-moderate
was disliked by the Warnock Committee because it was thought that it
would "unnecessarily stigmatise a child not only in school, but when he
comes to seek employment" (p.43) although the staff of special schools

aim to make up for any possible stigma by an education which is more
suitable to the child than that ˬwhichˬ they would receive in an ordinary school.
The term also gives the impression that the deficiency resides within
the child whereas often it has been in his "social and cultural environ-
ment". (ibid). The Committee acknowledge that they might be accused
of merely replacing one label with another but consider that learning
difficulties "is preferable to the existing label because it gives more
indication of the nature of the child's difficulties and is less likely
to stigmatise the child." (ibid). The educationally subnormal were de-
fined by the Minister of Education following the Education Act of 1944:

> "Educationally subnormal pupils, that is to say, pupils who,
> by reason of limited ability or other conditions resulting
> in educational retradation, require some specialised form of
> education wholly or partly in substitution for the education
> normally given in ordinary schools."
>
> (Category 2: Handicapped Pupils and
> School Health regulations 1945, quoted
> in Furneaux 1969, p.89).

In the 1959 Mental Health Act 'subnormal' and severely subnormal were
substituted for "feeble-minded" and "imbecile" or "idiot" respectively.
The latter terminology was defined in the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act.

Many doubt whether the use of the term 'child with moderate learning
difficulties' will really effect any change in the stigma which attaches
to special schooling, although it is less offensive to modern ears than
feeble-minded, and does not have the social and ethical assumptions con-
tained in a term which refers to a norm. However, tactful descriptions
do not make education in a special school seem less different; to many
people the lack of reference to a norm does not deny that these pupils
and their schools are in some way deviant. And again the problem is
located in the child. It is the child who has the learning difficulties,
who has or is the problem.

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The head teacher of a special school involved in the National Foundation
for Educational Research, research project - Education of Handicapped
Pupils in Ordinary Schools - explained one effect of even temporary
attendance at a special school; "Once they have been labelled.....
teachers say, 'I don't know anything about this child.....I don't know
how to treat him.'...they become special (simply) because you diagnosed
a temporary condition." (Hegarty et all 1982: p. 289).   The stigma
attached to the label ESN-M and its colloquial equivalents does not go
unnoticed by some special school pupils.   Some realise that they are
attending a "handicapped school", others are perhaps aware only that
they are thought to be different in some way.   One implication of this
for the more perceptive pupils is that in order to defend their sense
of self-worth they must devalue the education which devalues them.

Kaplan (1980) identifies three 'adaptive' or 'coping mechanisms' which
might be used:

1) The pupil could give higher priority to, or adopt "values
    that permit him to evaluate his existing attributes and
    behaviours positively."

2) he could come to value more positively than previously groups
    or individuals who are perceived by the subject as positively
    evaluating him.

3) he could come to "more negatively value than previously,
    groups or individuals who are perceived negatively evaluating
    him" (pp 12-13).

The formation of an anti-school clique is facilitated by placing together
in a special school pupils who might have to resort to these coping
mechanisms.   This also happens however in ordinary schools which stream
their pupils by achievement and attitude.   However, one strength of
special schools is that their small size enables individual pupils to be
known and valued by the staff, hopefully to prevent the pupil's feeling
the need to resort to Kaplan's 'coping mechanisms'.   A further possibility
is that the label "child with moderate learning difficulties" will be a

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self-fulfilling prophecy. The label might also itself be the fulfill-
ment of teachers' low expectations for a pupil based on irrelevant
aspects of a person, e.g. skin colour or smartness of dress. Rosenthal
and Jacobson (1968) define self-fulfilling prophecy as follows:

> "how one person's expectations for another person's behaviour
> can quite unwittingly become a more accurate prediction
> simply for its having been made."
>
> (p vii)

They carried out one of the earliest and best known studies aiming to
test the hypothesis that self-fulfilling prophecies operated in
teachers' relationships with their pupils, and were the first to report
teacher expectation having a significant effect on pupil performance.
Their study called "Pygmalion in the Classroom" differed from previous
studies in two ways which seemed to emerge as important; firstly it
looked at younger children and secondly the teachers did not teach the
children prior to being given the experimentally controlled information
designed to influence their expectations of individual pupil perform-
ance. This information aimed at making the teachers in the study school
believe that some children in their new classes had been identified by
a group test as very likely to "spurt" or "bloom" in their intellectual
growth within the coming year. In fact the 20 per cent of children of
whom these expectations were created were chosen randomly.

When an intelligence test was administered to the whole school eight
months into the academic year each child's score was related to his
score in a test taken a year previously. (The test which had ostensibly
been the one to identify the "bloomers"). Taking the school as a whole
the undesignated control-group children gained a mean of over eight IQ
points, while the experimental group, the bloomers, gained over twelve.
This was sufficient to sustain Rosenthal and Jacobson's belief that
self-fulfilling prophecies operated in schools. However subsequent

research, and discussion of its findings, although voluminous, has shown only that the evidence for the existence of self-fulfilling prophecies in schools is far from as good as the authors of "Pygmalion" led themselves and a great many other people to believe. Criticisms of Pygmalion rest partly on the methodology, (Thorndike, 1968). For example it is hard to believe that the intelligence tests were properly administered when the average IQ of the first grade pupils was reported without comment as 58. Mainly however, critics condemn the statistical processing of the data, and the unjustified interpretations put on the results. If the mean results for each class are looked at there is considerable deviation from the 4 IQ point mean difference between "bloomers" and the rest for the whole school. In only one first and one second grade class out of the total of eighteen classes were significant gains in IQ shown by the "bloomers". In many classes there was on average very little or no difference between the "bloomers" and their classmates, and in one third grade class the "bloomers" work deteriorated compared to the rest of the class.

"Pygmalion" is at best regarded as a pioneer study which has stimulated much further research. At worst it is regarded as primarily responsible for the educational myth that it has been proved that white middle-class teachers cause the school failure of large number of lower socio-economic class and ethnic minority pupils by expecting very little of them. The causal chain is too long and could break down at any point. The possibility of self-fulfilling prophecies operating in schools is often considered to be of importance in debates on streaming pupils by ability. The streams can give teachers' expectations formal recognition. Even when some apparently more objective measure is used to determine a child's placement in an ability group, such as the eleven plus or an IQ test, self-fulfilling prophecies are suspected of working to keep the individual functioning at the level expected. Both these points

are relevant to the issue of stigma associated with special education for children of low academic attainment, and also to other issues in the integration debate, such as accurate assessment. In Britain part of the force behind the integration movement has come from a recognition that the numbers of working class and West Indian children in the former ESN-M schools were proportionately far larger than in the general school population, (Coard, 1971). Are many of these pupils here because little is expected of them? Do they continue to achieve relatively little because relatively little is now expected of them? The concern over the over-representation of West Indians in special schools will be examined in detail later when more consideration will be given to the social contexts within which the integration movement developed. Owen and Stoneman (1972, 2nd Ed.) write that Rosenthal and Jacobson's work lends "dramatic support" to their own anecdotal evidence from a Sheffield Secondary Modern School that pupils could improve "their (examination) performance beyond recognition" (p79) when "a majority of the staff, began under the guidance of the headmaster, to believe in the capacity of children to develop open-endedly" (p.80). As this study only involves one school there is a limit to how far it can be generalised.

In considering the effect of different types of special education for the low-achieving pupil it would be helpful to know if teachers' expectations depress pupil performance and if so, to what extent self-fulfilling prophecies operate. Or whether a teacher's expectations are frequently fulfilled not simply for "having been made" (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968), but because they are a more or less accurate assessment of a pupil's academic capabilities and attitude to school. Naturalistic studies are difficult to interpret because there are frequently many factors in a situation working together which could have caused achievement to agree with a teacher's expectations. With studies which attempt to control some variables by using induced expectation as in "Pygmalion",

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there is the danger that the information fed to the teachers will be
discarded consciously or unconsciously, if it is found to bear little
relation to the teachers' experience of the pupils. However, having
reviewed many studies in this area, Rogers (1982) states that "there
is certainly now available sufficient evidence to demonstrate that
teacher expectancy effects will sometimes take place." (p.38), although
other than this there is very little to be certain about, with respect
to special education of the mildly retarded.   Dunn (1968) has written
that:

> "We must expect that labelling a child 'handicapped' reduces
> the teacher's expectancy for him to succeed."
>
> (p. 9.)

For Foster et al (1975):

> "Some of the strongest arguments against the process (of labelling
> a child special so that special educational services can be
> provided) have been based on the viewpoint that labelling pro-
> duces a condition of self-fulfilling prophecy and has an adverse
> effect on teacher expectations of pupil performance."
>
> (p. 469)

Their research entitled "I wouldn't have seen it, if I hadn't believed
it" showed that even when student teachers were aware of the expectancy
bias effect they were still susceptible to it as shown in their rating
of the behaviour of a normal child, purportedly emotionally disturbed,
as pathological. However, perhaps it is the internal labels that a
child has that are most significant in determining whether or not they
experience difficulties at school. Some children seem to have a low self-
esteem for no apparent reason while others apparently fail to internalise
public labels.

In a study concerned with how some lower class children come to be
labelled mentally retarded, despite seeming to be able to adapt to life
outside school - "the six-hour retarded child" - Smith and Grunberg (1975)

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produced nine hypothetical but realistic profiles of pupils. Each pro-
file had the same school, IQ (borderline educable mentally retarded)
and performance data. The profiles varied in the home background des-
cribed, (three different descriptions were used, each of which suggested
a different class) and in the out-of-school activities which the pupil
was described as engaging in. These showed the child to be either a
competent non deviant, a competent deviant or an incompetent deviant.
For example a competent deviant led a gang involved in petty crime.
Teachers were asked how appropriate the label "mentally retarded" was for
a profile. Smith and Grunberg's disturbing conclusion was that regard-
less of whether teachers thought pupil's out-of-school behaviour to be
adaptive (this varied with the implied class of the pupil) "the decision
concerning the appropriateness of the mental retardation label is a
function of the social class of the profile - the lower the class, the
more appropriate the mental retardation label is judged by the teachers"
(p.324). Perhaps this effect was the unintended consequence of Sociology
lectures.

For some children the label "child with moderate learning difficulties"
might be applied partly because a low-achieving child had superficial
characteristics which fitted a teachers "ideal-type" mentally handi-
capped child. Once labelled in this way less would be expected of a
child and an inappropriate label might become a self-fulfilling prophecy.
However special education does give special help to its pupils, and
despite the dangers involved in the necessary identification of some
problem, however described, for some pupils the gains of special school-
ing outweigh the losses.

Bookbinder (1983), introduces the concept of "least disadvantage". This
acknowledges that "there are considerable disadvantages for most children
with special needs in both ordinary and special schools" and that these

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"will vary enormously with the circumstances of the child and the particular school he attends" (p.6.). The effect of the stigma, which might attach to any sort of special educational provision must be considered in relation to the benefit of the special provision. For example remedial help in reading, which if successful could reduce the stigmatising effects of learning difficulty in the long term.

Speaking to the National Union of Teachers' conference on special education, 1984, Ann Hodgson "urged teachers to beware of labelling special departments and children in their schools." (Times Educational Supplement 26.10.84). If education in ordinary schools is to reduce the "presumed stigma of labelling" for children with moderate learning difficulties, whatever the label is and however it is perceived by the pupils themselves, their teachers, and society outside the school, then attention must be paid to the many ways in which education can stigmatise a child. One of the aims of this study is to look at the type of labels teachers use, and to see how this relates to the identification of, and provision for, children with special educational needs.

Hegarty et al (1982) describe in a case study from their NFER research project the way in which one ordinary school hoped to foster an informed attitude among all its pupils to the special department for pupils with learning difficulties, and to therefore remove the stigma of receiving remedial help. Initially, there was no formal introduction to the special department for new pupils. However after a couple of years main school staff asked the head of department to explain its work to the first year intake. There was concern that pupils, particularly those from a junior school, with a segregated special unit, needed "more reassurance" (p.7).

The head of department agreed. He outlined what he and his staff sought to achieve, relating pupils' specific difficulties to more general handicaps. "People have all sorts of difficulties - some can't ride a

bicycle very well... Our job is to help those who need it." This approach was subsequently modified. Now each first year group visit the department along with their form tutor. The workings of the department are explained and they can look around, talking perhaps with pupils who are receiving assistance. The visit conclues with the offer of support and attention for any of them should they experience difficulty with their schoolwork. It is emphasised that it is their decision to come across and ask for guidance or help (pp 7 - 8).

It is not clear from Hegarty et al's account how much pupils really are free to accept or reject help from the special department. They note that all first year pupils are screened with a standardised reading comprehension test and a spelling test to "identify those pupils of average intelligence who are nevertheless underachieving". (p.10). As a result of the screening :

> "up to 30 pupils from each new intake may be withdrawn from main school to take English in the department. After one term those who have made most progress may well return to main school lessons if staff feel they are now able to cope."

(p.10. my emphasis).

There is more dignity and less anxiety in seeking psychiatric help for oneself than in being forcibly committed to a mental hospital. Allowing pupils to seek out remedial help for themselves where possible might reduce some of the stigma that often attaches to this sort of provision, and help the pupils preserve or build up a favourable self-image.

Whether or not this is the situation in the above school, Hegarty et al found evidence that "no great stigma" was involved in being based in the special department, (p.22). Even the pupils who spent the majority of their time in it were well accepted throughout the school and sometimes formed close friendships with those outside the department. So this case study seems to show that the stigma and social isolation said to arise

from special educational provision need not always occur.

Stigma can attach to a school as well as to individuals. The level of esteem in which a school or type of school, is generally held often reflects on the individuals educated in it for many years after they have left. This has been one of the concerns of the West Indian community in their protest over the greater proportion of children of West Indian origin to be found in special schools than there are in the general school population. Bernard Coard discussed this issue in "How the West Indian child is made educationally sub-normal in the British School system" (1971). In Anne Fleeman's study of children with moderate learning difficulties transferred from day special schools to comprehensive schools the transfer was in several cases considered beneficial because the child "left from a normal school, avoiding the stigma of a special school" (1983, p.26). The family of one partially-hearing Asian pupil in the study "was unwilling to acknowledge her handicap and need for special schooling, as it would affect her marriage-ability..." (p.28). Commenting on Leach and Raybould's (1977) observation that a family's expectations of what education will do for their children are often affected by the parents' achievements in school, Fleeman suggests that special schools can break the supposed cycle of parental failure leading to low educational expectations in the children. Special schools have a different emphasis from ordinary schools, one perhaps perceived as more relevant to life after school by parents. One special school headteacher in Fleeman's study recalled:

> "two fathers boasting to each other in his presence about the
> large numbers of their offspring who succeeded in gaining
> special school places. They were special to these parents, who
> had no cause for grateful remembrance of their own ordinary
> schools, but had found they could identify with and support
> the more tolerant aims of their children's special schools."

(p.9).

As well as the benefit of the loss of stigma both inside and outside school for the individual with "special needs" who attends an ordinary school there are also possible benefits for the "normal" pupil in a school. Hegarty et al (1981) write that:

> "In theory integration should mean a process whereby an ordinary school and a special group interact to form a new eucational whole."
>
> (p.15).

The ordinary school should not remain unchanged. Sir Edward Britton, a member of the Warnock Committee, wrote of one change which would appear in the new whole;

> "the long term advantage that public attitudes to handicap will improve if most people have been educated alongside handi- capped children in their ordinary schools."
>
> (p.iii, 1977)

Radford (1984) studied the impact that a Down's Syndrome child can have on its siblings. "Increased patience towards, and understanding of other people" and "a greater tolerance of the faults of others", were some of the benefits that the siblings thought they had gained through the experience. A similar finding was that of Graliker, Fishler and Koch:

> "where the parents have dealt with the situation constructively such young people have developed greater maturity, tolerance, patience and responsibility than is common among children of their age".
>
> (Quoted in Radford).

Hegarty et al (1982) found some evidence that this effect can be gener- alised to other children who have close contact with children with special needs at school. Attitudes at one school in their study have already been described. In another school some instances of intolerance were found; references to the "Mong Wing"; mainstream pupils physically attacking pupils with severe learning difficulties and inciting them to fight amongst themselves. Also some older pupils disliked being seen

entering the department for remedial help. However it seemed to be

pupils new to the school who teased the slow learner department pupils,

and these "soon got the message that this kind of behaviour was not

acceptable and they quickly acquired the prevailing tolerance." (p.62).

This school was almost unique in England and Wales at the time of the

study in accepting pupils with the full range of learning difficulties.

Perhaps it should be expected therefore that it will have some problems

of this sort. In this light it is encouraging that one teacher could

comment as follows:

> "There is no proof – but one feels that their presence ... helps
> to develop and sustain the generally caring attitude found in
> this school – the attitude of the majority of pupils towards any
> pupils found to be in a minority situation."
>
> (p.62).

Bookbinder (1983) considers the disadvantages of special schools to be

largely social and emotional, for example a child is "classified as

different and may develop a low self-image" (p.6). Social isolation

can result from the stigma of being classified as different by

attending a special school, while a pupil is at the school and after he

has left. A low self-image formed when a pupil is aware of the stigma

of special schooling could intensify this isolation by making a pupil

underconfident in his social relations. However, special schools are

often thought to be socially beneficial for some pupils failing in

ordinary schools where they can stand out as different as individuals

or as members of the remedial class. Galloway and Goodwin (1979)

suggest that:

> "the ESN-M are often thought to need removal as much because
> of their unhappiness and embarrassment at their lack of
> progress, as because of their lack of progress on its own."
>
> (p.60).

Many American studies have sought to compare the social adjustment of

children receiving special educational treatment in special classes to those slow-learners in ordinary classes. These seem to suggest that there is better social adjustment among special class pupils, (e.g. Jordan (1959), Cassidy and Stanton (1959 and 1961), Wrightstone et al (1959)). Because special schools are found very infrequently for children with moderate learning difficulties in the United States, research findings cannot be taken as necessarily applicable to the British education system.

Few relevant studies have been conducted in Britain (Galloway and Goodwin, 1979). A study by Ascher (1970) compared children aged eleven to thirteen in ESN-M schools and in the remedial departments of ordinary schools. There was some evidence to suggest greater social maturity in the ordinary school children and Ascher concluded that the special school children "possibly suffered some segregation from children in ordinary schools." Although the groups were matched for age and IQ Galloway and Goodwin point out that the children who reach special schools might well be those with additional problems, perhaps some maladjustment or family trouble, in which case differences between the two groups could be expected. Osterling (1967) was able to carry out a controlled study of the effects of special education in Swedish primary schools. He found that slow-learners in both ordinary and special classes experienced considerable frustration. However with the pupils in ordinary classes this was mainly confined to their attitude to school, whereas with the special class pupils frustration was experienced outside school rather than in the classroom. Osterling suggests that "since the regular class may be more analogous to post-school life than the artificial environment of the special class, it is conceivable that optimal accommodation for mentally retarded children in school could result in post-school problems of adjustment." (Quoted in Galloway & Goodwin, 1979 p.46).

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This seems to suggest that special school pupils will be more vulnerable to social isolation when they leave school than while still at school.

A further disadvantage of special schools mentioned by Bookbinder (1983) is that their pupils become segregated from their neighbourhood peers. Special schools to be an efficient size, need to draw pupils from a far larger catchment area than ordinary schools. In rural areas the distance between home and school may be so great that pupils have to be weekly boarders at their schools or in associated hostels. Consequently special school pupils attend a different school from the majority of their neighbours, and there may be considerable distances between each special school pupil. There do tend to be clusters of pupils from certain neighbourhoods attending a special school, notably from the most run down, stigmatised streets in council housing estates. But because of the relatively small size of the schools and the wide age range that they generally cover, it is unlikely that many pupils will have a friend from school living close enough for them to have social contact outside school hours. Whether children can overcome their differences and find friends amongst their neighbourhood peers depends very much upon the individual and his circumstances. Some children seem to find friends among neighbours several years younger than themselves. However, as they enter adolescense children with moderate to severe learning difficulties probably find themselves less readily accepted as the gap widens between them and ordinary school children, even those a few years younger.

The lack of stimulation from ordinary children in the school is another disadvantage of special schools mentioned by Bookbinder (1983). The same studies which report an advantage of social adjustment, at least within the classroom, also suggest that educational achievement is better when slow-learners are educated in ordinary classes. This might be partly the result of the stimulation of ordinary children as models. Even

children with severe learning difficulties are thought to benefit from having some contact with ordinary children as models of "normal behaviour." This was mentioned by one of the teachers at the second school discussed above from Hegarty et al's (1982) research project.

Lastly, social isolation in special schools can affect the school staff. Teaching in a special school, staff can forget what "normal" children can do at a particular age, and therefore unconsciously lower their expectations as time goes by. Although, as discussed earlier, the significance of teacher expectations on pupil learning is not clear, low teacher expectations are sometimes offered as an explanation for the lower level of academic attainment of pupils in special schools compared to remedial classes, although this can also be explained by the special school's greater emphasis on social skills. Nevertheless a teacher in a special school studied by Hegarty and Pocklington (1982) found taking a lesson in an ordinary school a sobering experience, it showed her "how far behind ours are" (p. 292). It is also possible for teachers in special schools, where because of their small size there is only likely to be one or possibly two members of staff specialising in each subject, to get out of touch with curriculum developments in their subject, a problem mentioned in the DES paper. "Organisation and content of the curriculum: special schools." (1984).

The general effectiveness of educational programming is the third major concern identified by Jones et al (1977) as being behind the main-streaming movement. The Warnock Committee considered that:

> "The criterion by which to judge the quality of educational
> provision is the extent to which it leads a pupil towards
> the twin goals which we have described, towards understanding,
> awareness of moral values and enjoyment, and towards the
> possibility of independence."
>
> (p.5: 1978).

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Mainstream schools are now accepted as being the best placement for most children providing certain conditions are satisfied, i.e. that the schools can make adequate provision for the child, that this provision would not be prohibitively expensive, and that the child's presence is not to the detriment of the other children in the class. (1981 Education Act.) Although there are "a variety of aids, provision and expertise in the special school that can be provided in few ordinary schools," (Bookbinder 1983: p.6), these are more relevant to children with some types of disability than others, for example the deaf. With the move towards normalisation in the life of the disabled noted above, ordinary schools are thought to be better at educating them for independence in later life. Hodgson et al (1984) warn that children with moderate learning difficulties were removed from ordinary schools when this provision was found to be inadequate for them;

> "it makes little sense to return them without close exam-
> ination of what the ordinary school has to offer and if
> necessary making changes .... integration require educational
> reform..."

(pp 2-3).

As mentioned above, taking the word integration literally, should mean the creation of a "new educational whole". Keogh (1975) draws attention to the benefit that both normal and handicapped children can receive when research is directed towards answering the question "To what extent, and under what circumstances, can a wider range of individual differences be accommodated in the regular class?" (p.10). How great a mix of ability can a particular teacher usefully work with in a class, for a particular subject, and with pupils of a certain age, before the disadvantages outweigh the advantages? The central issues of the integration debate are those of the debate on comprehensive education, because it is part of the same debate.

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"Ordinary schools have to 'stretch' themselves, to become
more comprehensive, so that they are able to cope with a
wider range of educational needs than before and to ensure
that pupils with special needs gain the benefits of being
in a mainstream environment."

(Hodgson et al 1984: p.3).

These writers have studied the practice of integration in British

schools in the last couple of years, of one school they were encourag-

ingly able to comment as follows:

"Teachers' efforts to rethink their mode of presentation for
the sake of pupils with special needs benefited many other
pupils as well; their learning and grasp of topics were en-
hanced by a presentation style that was pedagogically better
structured and was more sensitive to pupil feedback."

(p. 177, ibid).

To summarise, here are the outlines of the issues involved in the int-

egration/segregation debate. Firstly the arguments for segregation and

against integration. Segregation is advocated for pupils who need

special help to adapt to a complex society, their education will be

more relevant to their lives after school. Segregation also benefits

pupils socially because their education concentrates more on this aspect,

aiming to build up their confidence. Also, special schools and units

have more physical aids, resources and expertise. The arguments against

integration are that some children are failing in ordinary schools and

so an alternative is necessary. The presence of pupils with special

needs might be detrimental to other pupils. And it is sometimes too

expensive to disperse specialised resources; the effect of economies of

scale.

Secondly the arguments for integration and against segregation. Segre-

gated special education can lead to social isolation, particularly after

school when it is hard to adapt to 'normal' society. There is the problem

of the selection of 'borderline' pupils for special education; the process

of labelling, and also the effects of labelling, stigma and self-fulfilling

prophecies. Even temporary segregation can make a child 'special' so
that some ordinary teachers see them as out of their 'line of business'.
Teachers in special schools can become out of touch with developments
in their area of the curriculum.

Integration is thought to provide good models of behaviour for children
with special needs, and to give them experience in adapting to normal
society. Pupils in ordinary schools could become more tolerant to
minorities. And if comprehensive schools are to live up to their name
and ideology, then pupils with special needs have a right to attend,
a right to take part in normal society as much as possible. The argu-
ments for integration are not exactly the same as those against segre-
gation. It is sometimes thought that integration will automatically
solve the problems of segregation but this is not necessarily so. Although
the solution to the problems of segregation might lie in integration,
some of these problems could also occur in the mainstream class for the
child with special needs, for example the stigma of any sort of special
support.

Experience of integration will begin to show if adequate provision can
be made for children with special needs in ordinary schools, and under
what circumstances it is most successful in the British education
system. Some recent studies of integration in Britain have already
been referred to (Hegarty and Pocklington, 1982, Hodgson et al, 1984).
This study looks at SNAP (the Special Needs Action Programme) in Coventry.
SNAP is an LEA-backed iniative which aims to educate as many children as
possible in ordinary schools, and to integrate ordinary and special
education. Integration is a process, and so this study looks at how
change in schools can be brought about, and maintained. As ordinary
and special education move closer together the roles of the special
schools for children with moderate learning difficulties are changing.

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In particular I have examined the role of the special school teachers
as they go into ordinary schools to support SNAP.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVELOPING A METHOD

In the synopsis I prepared as part of my application to read for an

M.A. I first considered the methods that I would need to use to investigate

the progress of slow learning children formerly placed in special schools

who had been transferred back to ordinary schools. I planned to obtain

factual information and an indication of the attitudes of head teachers,

special school teachers and class teachers in ordinary schools using a

scheduled interview or questionnaire. By observing in classrooms I

hoped to report further on teachers' attitudes, expectations, and the

special educational provision made for a pupil, and also to see if the

pupil was isolated or accepted by other pupils. Peer ratings were also

to be used to look at this. With controls matched for age and I.Q. I

planned to compare the subjects with former classmates who remained in

the special school, and present classmates who had always attended an

ordinary school. To this end I began by preparing an interview schedule

for the head teachers of special schools. This covered the effect of

the 1987 Education Act and the Warnock Report and the interviewees'

opinions on them, the advantages and disadvantages of integration, the

constraints on special education, the future role of special schools, the

aims of special education. I also wanted to look at the number of pupils

transferred back to ordinary schools in recent years, the criteria used

to select them for special school education and those used to later re-

admit them to ordinary schools. The choice of these topics resulted from

the reading and writing I was doing for the introduction to my study.

I visited two special schools for children with moderate learning diffic-

ulties where I already had some contacts. One school, was in County

Durham, the other in Coventry. These preliminary visits were to see if

my ideas had any relevance to what was actually going on in MLD schools at the time, and if they would make a worthwhile study.

In the first school I was told that the '81 Act had had no effect, although they were attempting to make links with other schools, and the proposed closure of a nearby ESN(s) school was bringing more severely handicapped children to the school. The school's first pupil with Down's Syndrome had recently been admitted, while pupils with less severe learning difficulties were remaining in ordinary schools. In the last twenty years only five or six pupils had been returned to ordinary schools. Two of these transfers had taken place in the past six years, one girl had truanted in the ordinary school and so was returned to the special school. The other pupil had transferred permanently, and was thought to have probably left school by that time. The headteacher agreed to participate further in the study and also offered to put me in contact with teachers he knew in special schools in the North East.

In Coventry I went to a school which I had visited regularly as a sixth-former a few years previously. Again the story was similar; very few pupils had been transferred to ordinary schools. However the school was developing a role supporting children with learning difficulties in ordinary schools, as part of Coventry LEA's Special Needs Action Programme (SNAP). They were also "firming up" on the pupils they admitted, amongst the younger children there were a growing number with multiple handicaps. In the light of these developments the headteacher suggested that if possible I change my study. Instead of looking at transfers back to ordinary schools, which he said was no longer relevant, I could report on SNAP, the LEA's response to the 1981 Education Act. He explained something of the pyramid structure of SNAP, and told me that whichever study I chose to do, I would need the permission of the Director of Education.

After considering the implications of changing my study and the reasons for doing this, I decided to take the headteacher's advice. As transfers from special to ordinary schooling seemed never to have been common, it would have been difficult to find subjects for the original study. At this stage I intended to look at two or three LEA's (Coventry, Durham and possibly Cleveland) responses to the 1981 Education Act. As well as the personal contacts I had in Coventry and Durham, these two authorities were considered suitable for the study as they would hopefully provide an interesting comparison. One authority was urban, with a high percentage of children from ethnic minorities and a reputation for educational innovation. The other was mostly rural and more traditional. A LEA was thought to be a significant and useful unit to study because it is at this level that policy and finance in education are decided in detail in Britain. The investigation was not as 'neat' as it had been but I still planned to use similar methods. The change was not as great as it might first have appeared and the literature I had reviewed was still relevant. Eventually I decided to study SNAP and Coventry's experience in detail, rather than looking at two or three LEA's more sketchily.

After reading more about the pyramid structure of SNAP (Ainscow and Muncey, 1983, the adviser for special educational needs and a senior educational psychologist), I planned to interview one or more people at each level, more at the 'bottom' (i.e. class teachers) than at the 'top' (the advisers). In an American study, Barngrover (1971) interviewed 50 educators and found that the class teachers more often favoured special classes for children with learning difficulties, whereas the educators who had the least day-to-day responsibility for the pupils in the classroom, were most strongly in favour of an end to special classes. In looking at SNAP it will be interesting to see if a similar effect is found - if the people who have to implement the LEA's policies on special

needs will have a different attitude to these policies than the attitude of the policy-makers.   From the reading I had done I identified eleven topics which I wanted to cover in the interview schedules I began to prepare for the different groups of people I was to interview.   These eleven topics are as follows:-

1.   The number of pupils with special needs (statemented or otherwise identified)

2.   the relationship between special and remedial education

3.   the identification and statementing of children with special needs

4.   The effect of the 1981 Education Act

5.   The financing of the project

6.   effects on the curriculum

7.   the perceived aims of SNAP and opinions on it

8.   attitude to working in multi-disciplinary teams.

9.   the involvement of parents.

10. the perceived limits to integration

11. future developments expected or desired.

In order to gain a better understanding of the roles of those involved

in SNAP, so that I could ask relevant questions, I began to refer to recent accounts of projects in other places (Hodgson et al 1984, Brennan 1982, Booth and Potts 1983, Booth and Statham 1982) and articles in Special Education/Forward Trends (Bond and Sharrock 1984, Gipps and Goldstein 1984, Lowden 1984, Stevens 1984). One of the people I inter-viewed brought this point up when she commented, "It depends how much knowledge you've got as to which questions you can ask."

As I experimented with different ways of writing a question, I began to refer to the literature on attitude assessment, for example Cohen (1976) and Thomas (undated). I looked at Barker-Lunn's questionnaires used with primary school teachers, which partly aimed to assess a class teacher's attitude to slow learners. But these were of limited use as they had begun to sound dated. As I developed the content of the questionnaires I carried out pilot tests on a colleague and then on the headteacher of an MLD school in the North East. I wanted to know if the questions were clear, if they were open-ended enough to require more than a yes/no answer, and about how long an interview would take. The main finding of the first interview was that answering the questions took far longer than I had anticipated (well over an hour). I also found that it would be necessary to avoid all jargon and abbreviations other than those introduced by the respondent. One of my questions referred to "children with MLD" something I assumed would be understood because of the respondent's experience. However for some reason she could not remember what it meant at that moment and had to ask. Neither asking the meaning of something which someone assumes you should know, nor covering ignorance by answering what you think the question might mean, make for good communication. Borg & Gall identify "using language which is not understood by the respondents" (p. 120) as one of the mistakes often made in interview studies. The interview with the special school head had to omit questions referring directly to SNAP as he did not have

any cognisence of it, but setting up the tape recorder and "really"

c (above "cognisence")

^ (below, caret mark)

interviewing were useful practice (for example I found that the school

still had round pin electric sockets and so an adaptor had to be found,

which made me decide to use batteries in future). It was useful because it

built up my confidence, and again I found I had to alter some of the

language. For example I found that referring to "provision for children

with learning difficulties" was meaningless when I did not specify a

context. As the respondents sometimes wandered off the question I decided

to give them a copy of the questionnaire in future.

I had decided to tape the interviews because the open-ended questions

led to answers which were too full to be noted down during the inter-

view and because when only one interviewer is involved a lot of the talk

is lost if it is recorded even a short while afterwards. A study

reported in Hyman (1954) found that although material noted down after

an interview was mostly correct, usually around 70% of the interview

was omitted.

The first person I spoke to in Coventry LEA was from the Education

office. The questions I had prepared were not all relevant because I

found that despite the reading I had done that I did not know enough

about the respondent's job. However, this interview was useful because

the relationship between SNAP and the Outreach project was explained to

me. It is under the Outreach project that the special school teachers

visit ordinary schools. My request to do case-studies on individual

pupils seemed unnecessary as I realised that SNAP was more about educat-

ing teachers than individual children. Even the outreach teachers did

not only work with individual pupils (who were rarely statemented).

I modified my plans in two significant ways as a result of this inter-

view: I decided to cut out the case studies of individual pupils and

also to abandon the use of interview schedules.

The first decision resulted from several considerations. Both my tutors

had questioned the relevance of looking at a few individuals when the

overall plan of the study was considered, along with the time I had

available. The studies were something of a hangover from the title I

had started working under on the transfer of pupils from special to

ordinary schools, and I had continued to plan on looking at the social

adjustment of children with special needs. As I understood more about

SNAP and the Outreach project I realised that it was more for children

who were and always had been in mainstream education - not the $1\frac{1}{2}$ - 2%

with the most severe needs, and SNAP focussed on changing teachers

rather than individual pupils.

I abandoned interview schedules because of problems I had experienced

in developing a concise, clear, schedule which didn't take too long to

answer and was relevant to the respondent. Also, through reading books

on interviewing I was becoming less convinced of the suitability of

the structured interview for my study. Developing the schedules, which

had involved considering suitable topics for inclusion and then reading

further on them, and also with different ways of asking the same question,

had been a very useful exercise as it had developed my thinking. However

reading the work of Woods, Simon, Adelman and Todd in Adelman (Ed)(1981)

and Harre in Brenner, Marsh & Brenner (1978) I considered that non-

directive interviewing would allow me to gather more valid and reliable

data. It seemed that in order to construct useful schedules I would

have to know in advance much of what I was wanting to find out. In

line with a suggestion in Nisbet and Watt (undated) I produced short

checklists for myself which were a memory aid to the areas I wanted the

interview to cover - such as the respondent's views, the aims of SNAP

and the Outreach project, his/her role in it and any problems associated

with it. I tried to probe with non-leading questions when these areas

didn't come up. It is more valid if someone raises an issue as a problem

themselves than if I ask them if it is one. Some respondents are

naturally more inclined to agree than disagree, or they might recognise

something as a minor problem only when asked about it. Piaget, in

criticising the questionnaire as a means of obtaining access to a person's

mental processes, put this point neatly when he wrote:

> "But the real problem is to know how he (the subject) frames
> the question to himself, or <u>if he frames it at all</u>. The skill
> of the practitioner consists not in making him answer questions
> but in making him talk freely and thus encouraging the flow of
> his spontaneous tendencies instead of diverting it into the
> artificial channels of set question and answer. It consists of
> placing every symptom in its mental context rather than abstract-
> ing it from its context."
>
>   (1973 Paladin. Edition p.16).

From this reading I was also introduced to the concept of triangulation.

Although different writers seem to mean different things by this, in

practice, the basic idea of having a check on information and eliciting

a fuller picture by asking for several peoples' views on the same event

makes good sense and made me consider strengthening this aspect of my

method, which already existed in my plan of asking different people in

the hierarchy for their views on, for example, the aims of SNAP.

Defining triangulation Adelman (1981) writes:

> "...it provides details on how various interpretations of
> 'what happened' are assembled from different physical, temporal
> and biographically provided perspectives of a situation."

After conducting the interviews this makes greater sense to me as these

three factors all emerged as recurrent themes in what people were saying

to me. The importance of this approach to a study looking at the effect

of an innovation in a social system is explained by Harré's theory of

social change:

> "It is of the utmost importance for the theory of social change
> that we take account of the imperfections in individual represent-
> ations of the properties of collectives and consequently of im-
> perfect reproduction of social collectives through time."
>
>   (p.45 in Brenner, Marsh & Brunner (eds), 1978).

"...the imperfection is the degree to which a plan can
be realised co-ordinatively in the social world."
(op. cit. p.46).

This leads on to the analysis and processing of the data I collected.

Not being "in" the situation does have advantages; I am not an interested

party, although, presumably from my experience as a class teacher, my

sympathies tend to lie with the class teacher in the ordinary school.

If I am liable to bias my report in any way I think it most likely that

it will favour this group's representation of events. Being aware of

this I will try to avoid it, but it will probably be helpful to bear this

in mind when reading the report. The open, fairly unstructured interview

technique is an attempt to impose myself as little as possible on the

data (although I cannot help influencing it, by selecting the people to

interview and by editing their responses). Because of this Wood's

methodology, developed when he spent a year interviewing staff and

pupils at a secondary modern school, appeals to me and seems suitable

to my situation:

"I use extensive quotation – the subjects do a great deal of
speaking for themselves. The themes are theirs, the categories
are theirs. The sociologist acts just as a roving microphone
then as a book-keeper and filing clerk. By presenting a sample
from his files, he can give a tidy, descriptive account organ-
ised round certain features which will have a value in its own
right."
(Woods, P.24, Adelman (ed), 1981).

"I had been impressed by the grounded theory approach of Glaser
and Strauss (1968) and looked to develop my theory from the
research as it unfolded. After a term in the school, I listened
to all my tapes and read through my notes. There were certain
regularities in the pupils' conversations with me which pro-
vided certain themes."
(Woods in Adelman (ed) 1981, p.13).

There are two stands here; aiming to include a sufficient quotation, the

raw data, for a reader to check an interpretation and to form an altern-

ative view, although the reader cannot know of other quotations which

might contradict the conclusion. The writer will never achieve the "whole truth" either - we consciously and subconsciously select from all that we might perceive. The second strand is to let the themes and issues which will organise the selection and presentation of the data, emerge from the material. This is particularly appropriate for an exploratory study of a project, when not enough is known at the outset to limit investigation to certain significant issues. How one comes to recognise certain themes as significant is not easily subjected to analysis. It is possible to quantify the number of respondents who mention an issue and so to construct some typical perspective. Examining cases which do not conform to the general trend can also add to the understanding of the more typical view. However the process of choosing the themes for development is not one which can be completely explained. From all the themes and issues that occur to the researcher a more or less reasoned and defensible selection can be made, with some points being considered more important than others, and the themes being organised round certain higher order categories.

There is a danger of creating order where there is none as Matza (1969) notes;

> "The aim of writing is to create coherence. The risk is that coherence will be imposed on an actual disorder and a forgery thus produced. No way of avoiding that risk exists since to write is to take on the task of bringing together or organizing materials. Thus the only legitimate question about a work is the <u>measure</u> of imposition, or the amount of forgery, the only off-setting compensation the possibility of entertainment or illumination."
>
> (Preface p.1.)

As I wish to know how various individuals view SNAP and the Outreach Project the following point made by Simons on the selection of material will also be relevant:

"In the context I am working in at present the difficulty
of processing is eased somewhat because the intention is
to reflect issues of concern to the interviewees .   This
does not solve the whole problem because there are other
decisions to be made. But it may help to reduce bias in
the interviewers selection."

(Simons in Adelman (ed) 1981, p.46).

But some themes which might leap out from a series of interviewees

to one person might never occur to another. The danger of missing

something important is most likely in a study like this one in which

only one person is analysing the data (Cohen & Manion, 1980, p.213).

To try and overcome this I will attempt to be open for new themes to

occur to me and for others to change in their relative significance.

For example, I thought that the involvement of parents might be ment-

ioned far more than it was, whereas I was not expecting people to refer

to resources and materials time after time. Experimenting with differ-

ent higher order categories such as "Support for classroom teachers"

which included many themes developed my thinking. Coming back to the

data after a break enabled me to "stand back" and see the general out-

line better. Also an analysis of the themes identified in reports on

similar projects (e.g. Hegarty & Pocklington, 1982) expanded the way I

thought about the topic. Having identified a list of themes, all

that occurred to me to start with, I read through all the interview

transcripts and made an index of the passages which were relevant to

the themes. I started with around twenty themes, this rose to twenty-

five as I found themes with significant comments which did not seem to

fit into any existing category, for example the effect of the character

of schools on SNAP. The write up was organised around the issues that

emerged and used the quotations noted in this index.

There are two points relating to the context in which the interviewees'

words were spoken which will have an effect on the meaning that is

attributed to them. The context of the interview and the wider context

of the respondent's role in the outreach project. It is recognised that
these can be related; for example, the status of someone "high-up" in
the hierarchy is part of the wider context as well as possibly having
an effect on my relationship with them in the interview.

Todd (in Adelman, 1981) stresses the importance of what he calls the
"hidden context of situation in studies of talk."

Halliday, (1978), writes that not all aspects of a situation are rele-
vant. The immediate physical environment may or may not be relevant in
understanding the meaning of the speech. When a co-ordinator showed me
a series of programmes which had been devised for an individual child,
or where a headteacher showed me records of the distribution of children
identified as having special educational needs, the taped interview would
make little sense without this knowledge. During the interview I often
specified what I was being shown to make the conversation more explic-
itly meaningful as well as to check that I was understanding it correctly
and to encourage the respondent to develop a point. It was quite common
for people to show me records of one form or another. Partly I suppose,
because they saw these as being important to my study, perhaps also
because they were somewhere to start the conversation and also as an aid
to memory. This has something in common with Adelman's practice of
triangulation, although it does not use the tight methodology that he
adhered to; where the record of the events (e.g. tape-recording,tape-
slide or notes) for which the actor's accounts of their behaviour are
required, are provided by the interviewer,as he has witnessed the orig-
inal event. Adelman's methodology was not applicable to my study partly
because I did not have the time to spend observing in schools which
would be necessary in order to produce one's own records of events and
then discuss them with the various participants, and partly because I
was looking for an explanation of actions and attitudes which took place

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and developed over a period of months or years. However, looking at their own records seemed to encourage people to reflect and account for their own actions.

Simons (in Adelman, 1981) identifies other aspects of the context of an interview which may be significant when processing the data and attributing meaning to it:

> "It is important to select themes and data against a background of what happens in the process of interviewing, when the person was interviewed, (early in the morning, or at the end of a tiring day, for instance), whether the interviewee was clear about the purposes of the research and how the interview data was to be used, if the response was volunteered or elicited by questioning which took in understandings gained from previous interviews, and so on."
> (p.46).

Some of the points Simons makes are less directly part of the physical setting of the interview than others. Halliday also considers that the context may be "quite abstract and remote, as in a technical discussion between experts, where the situation would include such things as the particular problem they were trying to solve and their own training and experience." (p.29, 1978). This is similar to Adelman's "physical, temporal and biographically provided perspectives of a situation" mentioned above. Part of the context of my conversations with people on SNAP and the Outreach project is their role in the project, their training, both as part of SNAP and more generally, in education, and the length of time for which they have been involved in SNAP.

In Brenner, Marsh & Brenner (1978) the paradox of the interview as a research instrument is pointed out. The interview is set up with the purpose of gaining information, it is "a structured social framework within which meanings may be systematically revealed" but it also needs to be taken into account as a possible biasing influence on the information revealed, it is "a structure which gate-keeps and filters meanings."

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(p.133). This leads the writers to the conclusion that the "context

of interaction in which they (answers) constituted performative

actions" (op. cit.) is important, and that the answers "must be inter-

preted at the level of the sense which those utterances have to the

participants during the interview interaction."

How to decide on what are relevant aspects of a situation is considered

to some extent by H. Menzel in his chapter in Brenner, Marsh and

Brenner - "Meaning - Who Needs It?" He writes that "...today most

sociologists once again recognise that one must respect the meanings

which actions have to their actors, if one is to formulate worthwhile

explanations of social phenomena." (p.140). However he identifies

three obstacles to defining the meaning of an actor's account of his

actions:

> " 1. Actions, more often than not, have multiple meanings.
> The same behaviour is likely to have various meanings to the
> several interaction partners involved and quite frequently
> even to one and the same actor.
>
> 2. It is not always the most fruitful strategy to focus the
> explanation of the occurrence of an action around the meaning
> it has to its actors. Such an invariant course would in fact
> deflect our attention from certain kinds of explanation which
> most of us find vital, at least in some important instances.
>
> 3. Certain research problems would be precluded if one always
> insisted on adhering to actor's definitions of their own acts."

(pp. 140-141).

These are quoted in full because they are relevant to the difficult but

important task of interpreting and processing interview-data. Menzel

gives an example of the danger of concentrating on the wrong actors -

of asking the U.S. Soldiers in Vietnam why they were there during the

Vietnam war when they were "mere pawns in the undertaking" and the

significant actors to interview if one wanted to understand why U.S.

soldiers were in Vietnam would be the president and his advisers.

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Although I do not wish to liken Coventry schoolchildren to U.S. soldiers smoking dope in Saigon, this point partly explains why I did not ask the primary school pupils for their views on the Outreach project. In some ways they are the pawns, although in this case the pawns are the pieces around which the whole game revolves.

I have considered the theoretical justification for the methods I have used in this study. A design which uses some triangulation and non-directive interviewing, interpreting and presenting the data in such a way that peoples' accounts of their own actions are given high status, (while allowing for other explanations if these seem necessary) and where the themes and issues which organise the presentation are those which seem to emerge as important to the people involved in the projects. I will now describe how the theory developed in practice.

After visiting the Education office I arranged to see a contact teacher at one of the special schools. (An explanation of the role of contact teachers will be given in the report on the data). I made a note of all the primary schools in special school's catchment area which staff from the school had visited as part of the Outreach project. The contact teacher also agreed to be interviewed again at a later date.

I then submitted the list of these 12 schools to the L.E.A. as part of the outline of my study. I also included two schools from the area (the south of Coventry) which had not been involved in the Outreach project, to see why this was, and to see if their experience of SNAP differed from that of schools involved in the Outreach project. (All the primary schools in the city have participated in SNAP, but not all in the Outreach project). However, when I visited one of these two schools, I found that they had recently become involved in the Outreach project, and so I contacted the Education office and had a further

school added to the list. The first two schools were chosen to provide

a contrast in that they served different types of catchment areas, one

serving a council housing estate and the other serving an area of mixed

private and council housing. When I chose a replacement, I decided on

a school, which provided a similar contrast.

I put down every school the special school teachers had worked at in

my outline, to allow for some schools not wishing to be involved. I

did not want to select in any other way which schools to visit, avoiding

possible bias, and aimed to work through the list contacting schools

in alphabetical order and visiting as many as I had time for. At the

outset I was unsure how long the visits would take, and how my appoint-

ments would fit together. Only one school was unable to see me, so

I visited 14 ordinary primary schools, 12 who had participated in the

Outreach project and 2 who had not. Although this is mainly a study

of the Outreach project working from one school in the south of Coventry

I thought that it would also be useful to see how the project works in

the other two non-residential schools for children with moderate learn-

ing difficulties in the city. This would hopefully put the more

detailed study of the one school in perspective. Perhaps showing where

successes or difficulties result from the individual attributes of the

special school and where they arise from failures of the organisation

of the project which are common to all 3 schools. Where there is a

consensus of opinion between, for example, the three headteachers, this

would be an indication of the significance of a particular issue. Where

there are differences in the way the Outreach project is operated this

might help to account for different effects of the project and give a

fuller picture of the work. Also the schools are not physically far

apart and some of the staff meet in the course of their work and so a

description of the role of one school in the Outreach project would be

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lacking without considering the effect of the other special schools. It would also be a check on how much could be safely generalised from the study of one school.

The Special Needs Support Team (formerly known as the Remedial Teaching Service) are based at the Elm Bank Teachers' Centre. At the outset I knew from talking to one of the contact teachers that this team were involved in the Outreach project, although I was not clear what their role was. Finding out how the whole project functioned was one of the aims of the study. I therefore wished to include them in the interviewing. Initially I intended to speak only to the area support teacher who had responsibility for most of the schools I was visiting. The contact teacher had said that she was vital to the Outreach project. However, while telephoning to arrange to visit her, I spoke to Jean Garnett, the Special Needs Support Team leader/adviser who offered to talk to me about the project. I was also able to speak to two more of the team who I met during a visit to one of the other two special schools. One of these had responsibility for some of the ordinary schools which I visited. I was also able to speak to the adviser for Special Educational Needs, Mel Ainscow who had devised SNAP jointly with a Senior Educational Psychologist, Jim Muncey.

I promised the participants in the study that their comments would be confidential and that my report would not include information which would identify a speaker. Most people I interviewed said that this was not something which worried them, either because they did not think that their views were controversial, or because they had made their views public anyway. Only a few co-ordinators and ordinary school class teachers expressed concern over confidentiality, when they were criticising SNAP, one said "You're not going to let Mel Ainscow listen to this are you?" She was reassured when I said that the only identification

that I would put to her comments was her role as SNAP co-ordinator in a primary school, and that I was interviewing about thirteen other co-ordinators.

Wherever possible I eliminated information which would identify a speaker. Where a negative comment was made about another person, I protected the identity of both parties. On only a handful of occasions could a comment be attributed to the person who made it, for example when a headteacher mentions a particular kind of provision for children with special needs which was not found in any of the other primary schools in the study. In this instance, and in the similar instances, the people concerned are not expressing controversial views, but describing aspects of their work; well-known "facts". I think I am in no way breaking their confidence by reporting what is already well-known to many people.

It was not possible to apply these same conditions to the two advisers I talked to; Mel Ainscow, the adviser for Special Educational Needs and Jean Garnett, the leader of the Special Needs Support Team. Giving their views without noting their role would have greatly diminished the significance of their comments. As they held unique positions, noting their positions is equivalent to identifying them. As they have both published their views (e.g. Ainscow 1983, Garnett in Booth and Potts 1983) it seemed unnecessary for me to try to "protect their identity" and so I have referred to them by name.

Before arranging the visits I had received permission from the Director of Education to conduct the study, and I had started to contact the ordinary schools I wanted to visit. My method of contacting them was one I had used successfully in my undergraduate dissertation. I wrote a letter explaining who I was, what my study was about, and specifying a day (usually the day after the letter would have been received) when I would telephone to hear if and when it would be possible for me to

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to talk to the headteacher (to whom the letter was addressed) and to the SNAP co-ordinator at the school. This way of contacting schools and arranging visits is quick and resulted in a larger number of schools contacted agreeing to take part. Only one out of fourteen ordinary schools and three special schools did not agree to be involved because of heavy school commitments at the time and the effects of the teachers' pay dispute. Other schools at first thought that they could be of little help to me because they had not been operating SNAP for very long or to any great extent however those agreed to take part when I said that that was all part of the picture that I wanted to look at. I was therefore able to include almost every school in the Outreach project in the south of Coventry.

The amount of time I spent at each school varied from approximately twenty minutes to a couple of hours. This depended on how many staff I saw and how much time they had to talk, how much they had to say, and when my next appointment was (I allowed at least two hours between appointments and did not feel on any occasion that my visit had been too short, although on a couple of occasions I did feel that I could profitably have spent longer at a school). On each visit I hoped to talk to two people for a reasonable length of time. Sometimes I was only able to talk to one person at a school, while at other schools I spoke to three.

What amounted to a "reasonable" period of time varied depending on who I was talking to. Some people talk faster and more concisely than others. When the points on my checklist had been covered I drew the interview to a close after asking if there was anything else that the respondent thought it would be useful for me to know. During the visits I also tried to a lesser extent to obtain other kinds of information, such as a copy of the school policy on S.E.N.

My interview technique developed as I practised it, although I did not

find any radical changes occurring, perhaps because having chosen non-

directive interviewing, my role was in some ways minimal, I tried not

to colour the data by suggesting ideas or by agreeing too much or dis-

agreeing with what was said. The stance I took was to accept what was

said, to agree "slightly", and not to judge, although if something

struck me as interesting I sometimes noted it down to bring up later.

I became more fluent at introducing myself in the unthreatening role of

student teacher (often mentioning that I was looking for a primary school

teaching post) and stating what I hoped the interview would achieve.

I also explained the procedure for the interview, i.e. that I did not

have set questions because I did not know enough about how SNAP ran in

each school to devise a useful schedule. But that I had a checklist

(see Appendix 1) with a few points on it that I hoped would be covered

in the interview, such as the aims and effects of SNAP. This was

usually enough to get the respondent talking, often they started before

I had an opportunity to ask for permission to tape the interview.

Only four people did not agree to our conversation being taped for various

reasons. At one school the only suitable place to talk was the staffroom

where another teacher was talking to a visiting parent. The SNAP co-

ordinator understandably did not want me to record their conversation

in the background. At another school I was able to talk with a teacher

for just a few minutes while her class was present. Here taping was un-

suitable because of the frequent interruptions and background noise.

When I could not tape I made written notes and where possible checked

over these with the respondent. On one occasion I did not do this because

the interview had already gone on for over an hour after school and I

felt that all sides did not wish to prolong it further. My notes dis-

tinguish between my summaries and interpretations of comments made in

this interview and phrases taken down verbatim.

While conducting the interviews and listening to the first few tapes played back I was aware of two main problems in my interview techniques which I tried to remedy. Firstly I had asked a few leading questions. For example I asked an outreach teacher, "Do you get many occasions where you have to say, (to the ordinary school staff) well, I don't think that is appropriate to the role I'm in?" And secondly that I had not always managed to keep the respondent to the point of the interview. All I could do to counteract the first problem was to think carefully before I spoke in the interview, and if using a comment in my report to note if it had been a response to a leading question. Although this was not a major problem; looking back over the transcripts it was difficult to find any examples. Taping the interviews preserved my questions as well as the responses. These two problems are related as they both arise from the unstructured nature of the interview, where exact question form is not worked out beforehand and there is only the checklist to offer "enough shape to prevent aimless rambling" (Wragg, 1978, p.10). However the exercise of attempting to work out an interview schedule and piloting it had made me aware of the pitfalls of introducing bias through leading questions and considering the relatively few times that I asked leading questions (as far as I am aware) I think that the advantages of using very loosely structured interviewing are not destroyed by this. Sometimes it was necessary to suggest in my questions the sort of information I required in order to get beyond superficial responses. An unstructured interview allows the interviewer to respond to different situations, but it takes a lot of concentration to listen well.

I was wary of interrupting a respondent too soon if they seemed to me

to be getting away from the point of the interview. I was aware that what at first seemed to me to be irrelevant, might be clearly relevant when the respondent had finished making a point. There is quite a lot of what still seems to be irrelevant information on the tapes, but there are also examples of new perspectives which came through from what at first seemed irrelevant because it did not fit into my preconceptions. For example, a special school head told me the details of the career of one of his craft teachers. This illustrated the point that not all special school teachers had relevant experience for Outreach work, and also that these teachers were having to change their role in the special school while the teachers of the "basics" were out. Information which is not strictly relevant was often interesting background on SNAP and how it works in schools, which puts the Outreach project in context and will inform my report more or less consciously. However I did decide to make sure that I clearly explained the nature of my study and the kind of information I was after, partly to counteract "aimless rambling". When I did consider it necessary to bring someone back to the point, I waited for a suitable pause and repeated one of their earlier more relevant points - for example "So you think there are children who aren't stretched?"

Overall I was pleased with the quality of the interviews and was surprised that it was not harder to get people talking on the subject (see Appendix 2 for an example of an interview). Perhaps this reflects the teachers' concern to provide for children with special educational need, or at least that SNAP is having an impact one way or another in Coventry primary schools. After my introduction which included mention of the "sorts of things I wanted to know", the points I had on my checklist were frequently all covered without my having to make further reference to them. Hopefully this indicated that they reflected the

points that teachers considered important to cover when commenting on SNAP and the Outreach project, and that I had successfully explained what I wanted the interview to achieve.

Having visited 17 schools, the Special Needs Support Team, the Education Office, and the advisers I had around 10 hours of taped interviews (and some written notes) with 41 people. The distribution of these people among the various groups seemed unbalanced at first; I had only spoken to three Outreach teachers and four ordinary school teachers who were not also co-ordinators. So I went back to some of the schools, those which had suggested I visit them again if necessary, and talked to more ordinary school class teachers and Outreach teachers.

TABLE 1:   NUMBER OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED IN EACH CATEGORY

Adviser for Special Educational Needs	1
Special Needs Support Team Leader/Adviser	1
Education Officer	1
Special Needs Support Team/Area Support Teachers	3
Headteachers of special schools	3
Contact teachers (at special schools)	2
Outreach teachers (at special schools)	5
Ordinary school headteachers	10
SNAP Co-ordinators at ordinary schools	13
Other ordinary school teachers	9
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TABLE 2:   POSITIONS OF THE PEOPLE INTERVIEWED AT EACH ORDINARY SCHOOL

School

1	Head, co-ordinator and two teachers
2	Head
3	Head,co-ordinator and teacher
4	Head and co-ordinator
5	Head, co-ordinator and teacher
6	Head, co-ordinator and teacher
7	Co-ordinator
8	Head, co-ordinator and teacher
9	Head / co-ordinator and teacher
10	Co-ordinator and one teacher
11	Co-ordinator and teacher
12	Head and co-ordinator

TABLE 2 (continued)

School

13   Head and co-ordinator
14   Head and co-ordinator

(Teacher refers to teachers other than the headteachers
and SNAP co-ordinators).

I spoke to the co-ordinator in all but one school where she was away

on an in-service training course. At ten out of the fourteen ordinary

schools I was also able to speak to the head. The main reasons why I

did not speak to the other heads was that they thought that talking

to the co-ordinator and other staff would be the most profitable use

of the time I had to spend in their school.

There is a further aspect in the design of the study which I might have

changed with hindsight. Interviewing the three special school head-

teachers who all operate the Outreach project slightly differently, it

occurred to me that it might have been better to visit four or five

primary schools from each of the three MLD school catchment areas in

the city rather than only visiting schools in one area. This might have

shown what effect if any the differences between the special schools

have on the working of the Outreach project. There is a point at which

increasing the sample size is subject to diminishing returns. There

would be even more justification for the stratified sampling described

above if I felt that this point had been passed in the study. However,

this was not the case, because although I attempted to study the total

population (of primary schools involved in the Outreach project in the

south of Coventry) I found a variety of views and it did not seem as

if I was merely hearing the same views 12 times.

The two schools I visited which had not been involved in the Outreach

project had different opinions on SNAP and different experiences of liaison

with the Special Needs Support Team. It would probably have been in-
formative to include more schools in this group to see if further per-
spectives existed and if there was any tendency for schools to follow
one opinion more than the other. However, time did not allow for more
visits to "uninvolved" schools. It might have been more useful to have
randomly excluded a couple of the schools involved in the Outreach
project and to have visited two or three more which were not involved,
instead. Again, if I had been aware that my sample of the first group
of schools was too large because I was finding very similar opinions
everywhere, then the small number of schools in the second group would
be less justified. As the study stands I have looked in detail at
how the Outreach project operates in detail in one area of the city,
and have some information on the other two areas.

Organising the data I collected from this study around themes helped
me to plan the following three chapters in which I present and discuss
the results. (During the write-up I also frequently referred back to
the interview transcripts.) However, these themes were not exactly
defined, nor were they mutually exclusive (see Appendix 3 for details
of the themes). The relationships between them form a mesh, which
cannot be unravelled into some neat, linear account. The themes that
I saw in the data and the form that I organised them into, hopefully
do not distort too much what people were trying to say to me. Rather
I hope that my selection and organisation will be an efficient and
economical vehicle for conveying some of the points that came out of
my conversations with these fifty or so people. When quoting from
these conversations I have tried to edit out most of the superfluous
expressions people use (e.g. "sort of", "in some senses"), while
leaving enough to give the feel of "real speech".

A particular strength of my study is that the methods developed as a response to the situation that I found. I considered a variety of methods and chose those which were most appropriate to the study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE OUTREACH PROJECT IN CONTEXT

In these next three chapters I will simultaneously present some of the

material that I collected in the interviews and discuss its possible

interpretation. I aim to give sufficiently extensive quotations for

the reader to be able to judge whether or not my interpretations are

justified. Also where possible I will give the people interviewed the

chance to speak first. (Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986 p.12).

Bearing in mind the risk that "coherence will be imposed on an actual

disorder and a forgery thus produced" (Matza, 1969, Preface p.1.)

This third chapter will explain the context of the SNAP programme by

showing how Coventry's initiative is connected to the issues already

discussed. I will discuss how its aims and development relate to the

calls for greater integration such as the 1981 Education Act considered

in an earlier chapter. I will also show how SNAP is related to the Out-

reach project, the major concern of this study. Some background inform-

ation on the LEA will complete the picture of the context in which

the Outreach project is developed.

The fourth chapter will describe the Outreach project in detail

through the roles of those involved. This seems to reflect the nature

of the project best; as its major aim is to change the roles of some

of those working involved. The generally hierarchical organisation of

the LEA provides a simple and familiar structure which I will follow.

In conclusion the fifth chapter will attempt to answer these questions.

To what extent can the Outreach project be said to be a success? Has

it helped the process of change; of implementing the letter and the spirit

of the 1981 Education Act in schools? To what extent has the organis-

ation of special education, and also the attitudes of those involved, altered? Speeches made in many different quarters on education seem to be a series of urgent demands for change. The process by which change occurs is therefore of relevance to education in general, and so the model for the diffusion of change used in SNAP and the Outreach project will be discussed. Perhaps there are aspects of their design which have encouraged people to change their beliefs and practices.

THE OUTREACH PROJECT IN CONTEXT

The relationship between SNAP and the Outreach project was something that I found hard to determine at first. I think this was because some of the first people I talked to about Outreach seemed to use this term interchangeably with SNAP. As I now understand it, the relationship between the two is this; the Outreach project is used to support the development of SNAP in schools, and is therefore sometimes considered to be a part of SNAP.

> "The Outreach project runs alongside SNAP because that's what we had.... The materials (SNAP publications) are on their own not that important, the important things are the processes and support that are built around it... We build into our model a lot of support, psychologists, Special Needs Support Team, special school teachers, teachers for hearing impaired, vision impaired, anybody who we feel has a role to play in supporting schools, we spend time helping them to understand the principle of the project and their role in it..."
>
> (M. Ainscow. Adviser for S.E.N.)

The name "Outreach" therefore refers to the role of the special schools in reaching out to the other schools around them. It involves the special school teachers with members of the Special Needs Support Team (formerly the Remedial Teaching Team), working in ordinary schools to develop SNAP.

The relationship of Outreach to SNAP was also commented on by the

head of Special Needs Support Team (S.N.S.T.), Jean Garnett. The

special school teachers in the Outreach project:

> "...initially had to spend quite a lot of time getting to
> know what the job was about..., gradually they took on tasks,
> sometimes it was to support SNAP or help to develop SNAP in
> a given school, sometimes it was to do with dealing with a
> particular child, or a particular task to do with a particular
> teacher, you could say that all of that was part of the SNAP
> initiative, that everything that a special needs teacher does
> within a mainstream school is part of the SNAP iniative, and
> you'd be absolutely right to say that..."

One example of this relationship was given by a headteacher at one of

the ordinary primary schools. I asked how the Outreach teacher had

become involved with the school, if the school had asked for help.

> "No, it was offered to me and I jumped at it. I think it
> was because this was our second start at SNAP, we started
> three years ago (but) ... the person that was trained as
> co-ordinator ... left."

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF SNAP

As the Outreach project has developed to support SNAP it is necessary

to be aware of the aims of SNAP in order to understand the work of the

project. These are given by Ainscow and Muncey in the SNAP in-service

training, materials, (for example 1984a)

> "It (SNAP) has grown out of a desire to mobilise the available
> resources to support teachers in ordinary schools in their
> task of meeting the educational needs of their pupils. Specif-
> ically, the aims are:
>
> 1. To encourage Headteachers of all schools to develop pro-
> cedures for the identification of pupils with special needs;
>
> 2. To assist teachers in ordinary schools to provide an approp-
> riate curriculum for such pupils; and

3. To co-ordinate the work of the various special education services and facilities in supporting teachers in ordinary schools.

In order to meet these aims a comprehensive in-service training package has been developed. It can be used by local authorities, individual schools and higher educational establishments to provide training for teachers in how to meet childrens' special educational needs."

The interpretations and responses to these aims given by the various people involved in the project will be discussed in the next chapter when considering their roles, and also in the final chapter in an evaluation of the project, which will include its success at getting the SNAP message across.

As the aims of the Outreach project are tied up with the aims of SNAP, so the factors affecting the development of SNAP also account, to some extent, for the development of the Outreach project, although there are some additional factors specific to the Outreach project which led to Coventry using special schoolteachers to support SNAP. Again in order to understand and evaluate the Outreach project, it is important to understand the developments to which SNAP is a response, the situation which it is trying to improve, and the rationale for the direction chosen.

Ainscow and Muncey (1984a, p.1.) refer to recent "changes in thinking about children with special needs" and to the legislation which followed the Warnock Report as influences on the development of SNAP. The calls for a move towards greater integration of children with learning difficulties and the 1981 Education Act have already been discussed in general in the introduction, and so in this section I will concentrate on their influence on SNAP. After considering the factors which are said to account for the development of SNAP I will turn to the factors specifically relevant to the development of Outreach.

As I come to write about the factors affecting the development of SNAP I am faced with the problem of presenting the variety of explanations given to me on this subject by the people interviewed (see fig. 1). There are few 'hard' facts, most are 'soft' facts, which does not diminish their significance. A firmly held belief by a teacher that, for example, SNAP was set up to save money, will have more influence on attitudes to it, than a paragraph in a SNAP Workshop Leaders' Guide referring to the Warnock Report as an impetus to the development of SNAP. I have chosen a method in which the major way of gathering and checking information is the comparison of different accounts, however, this does not imply that the majority is always right. Therefore I will present all the suggestions made to me on this subject, and then comment on their possible significance.

There are therefore two questions here;

1. What are the factors affecting the development of SNAP?
2. What do the various people involved in SNAP believe to be the factors affecting its development and how do their beliefs reflect and determine their attitude to it?

In addressing the second question I will introduce some of the themes which will re-emerge in the next chapter on peoples' roles in the project.

Figure 1 attempts to show diagramatically the influences on the development of SNAP which were suggested to me. In order to draw up this model I read through all the card index of quotations arranged by subject from the interviews and noted down each relevant reference in categories which were chosen as I worked through the interviews.. Each reference was either fitted into an existing category or used to start a new one. The categories seemed to divide into the two groups

Changes in philosophy   The L.E.A.

Ineffectiveness of
withdrawal of remedial
education

Use of existing
special education

Warnock Report

SNAP

Finance

School based in-service
training, developing
teachers' skills, build-
ing up resources and
record keeping, using
existing special education
to take account of recent
changes in philosophy
and to comply with the 1981
Act

1981 Act

Integration

Compact area

Concern over
labelling

Style of in-service
education
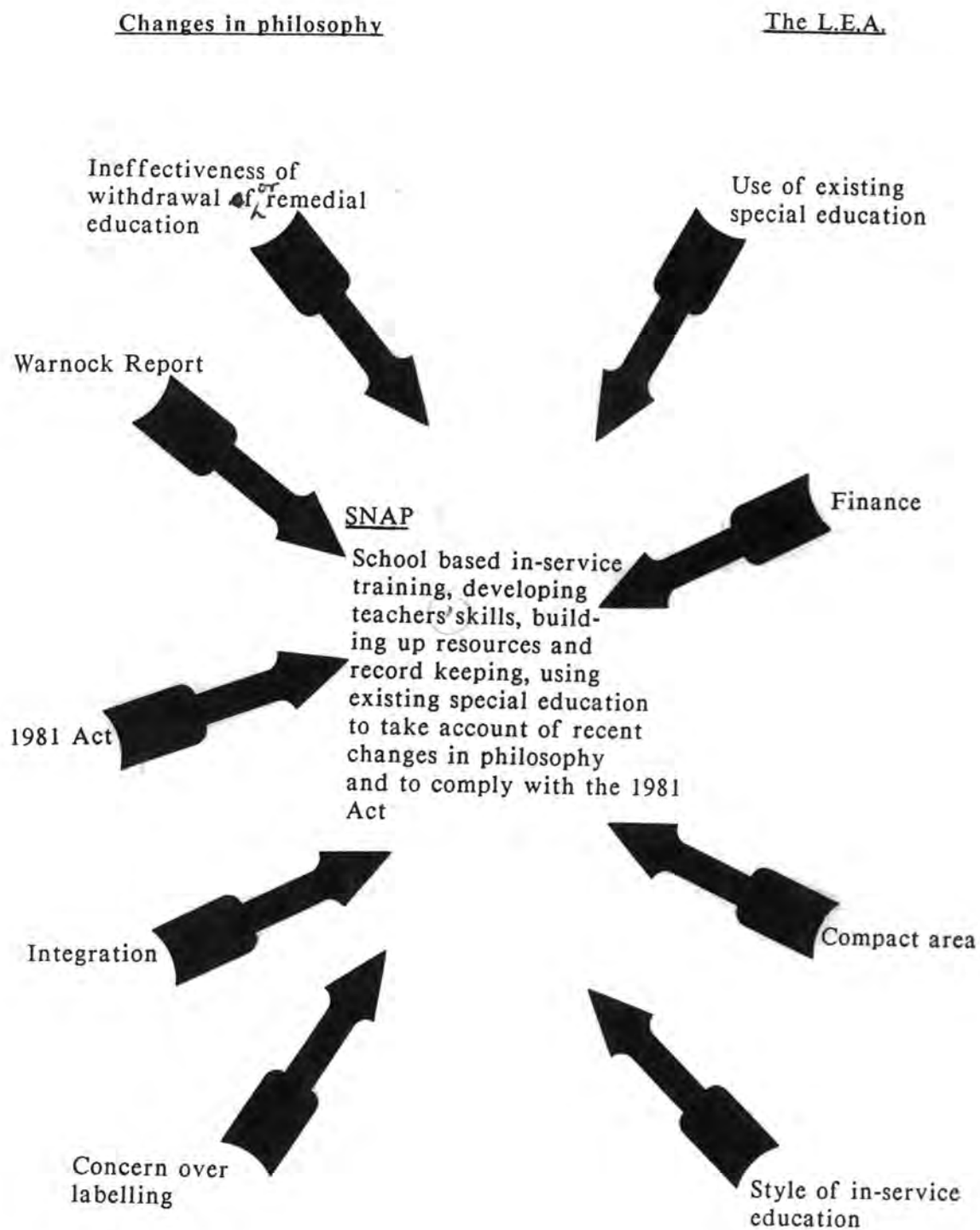
shown in figure 1. The first group contains the factors concerned
with recent changes in the philosophy of special education. These
are the theoretical factors which are thought to have shaped SNAP by
pulling it towards an ideal, giving it a direction. The second group
of factors are concerned with the LEA, the contexts in which SNAP has
developed, these have also shaped the programme, some have constrained
it while others have perhaps made it easier to set up.

This division, like many simple divisions into two, does not give a
perfect fit. An example is the 1981 Education Act, it could be con-
sidered to belong to the second group of factors as it is the law and
practical context shaping SNAP. However, as it is not local to Coventry
and is philosophically related to the Warnock Report I have decided to
consider these two together.

Ainscow and Muncey (1984a) refer to the Warnock Report and the 1981
Education Act as influences on the development of SNAP. In my interview
with him, Mel Ainscow expanded on the relationship between SNAP and the
philosophy of special education after Warnock.

> "...looking at an education service which was responding to one
> set of assumptions and then saying now there are new assumptions
> how can we modify the state of delivery? The old assumption
> was that special education was something offered to a small
> number of kids with very special needs who you put in a separ-
> ate provision, and now all the sort of post-Warnock thinking is
> saying it's a lot more kids, the idea should be not to put them
> in separate provision unless absolutely necessary. But in moving
> to provide special education in the normal field, you've got to
> help people take on board that new thinking and to modify their
> styles of operation, the curriculum, the teaching methods..."

This explains why the recent changes in Special education in Coventry
have largely been to develop in-service training. An officer in the
Education office also referred to the influence of Warnock on local
authority policy. He said that the message they had received from the

1981 Act and particularly from Warnock, was what to do about the 18%

(of children with special needs) who are in ordinary schools and have

always been there and always will be for the foreseeable future.

Views on the importance of the 1981 Act on SNAP vary. Mel Ainscow

commented on this as follows:

> "We would have done what we were doing whether there was
> an Act or not ... the Act has given impetus, one of the
> things we can use, we can quote it... fortuitously the Act
> came along at the same time."

And a co-ordinator in one of the primary schools said that

> "Even without the 1981 Act people were aware that there
> have been problems for the child who is slow learning ...
> a child who is coping well with 70% of his work but then
> has a special need, which, for instance may relate simply
> to spelling."

However, the same person also saw a link between the development of

SNAP and the need for schools to comply with the '81 Act.

> "What I thought ... when I was first introduced to this
> (SNAP) was how very seriously the authority take it...
> it is a legal requirement... and they have actually gone
> as far as they could go in providing this."

Two other co-ordinators also said that SNAP helped them to fulfill the

Act's requirements;

> "it's the 1981 Education Act... by law, if you have a
> child in your care, in your school, who has been state-
> mented, you can at any time be asked to produce evidence
> that you have made a special effort with that child.
> You can be taken to court, and they will ask you "Where
> are your records?' You know it (working with SNAP programmes)
> does cover you..."

And less dramatically;

"I think SNAP is surely about laying the foundations down
to meet the 1981 Education Act, to make sure that they are
actually catered for in school adequately ...(its)vital that
we keep records on these children...that we assess them
every so often (so) that future teachers who take these
children can look back and they'll know what's been done..."

Concern over the practice of labelling children "remedial" or "educ-
ationally subnormal" is also thought to have motivated SNAP. In
explaining its basic aim of in-service training, an officer in the Educ-
ation office said that SNAP was about developing teaching skills not
about labelling children. Although Ainscow admitted that this message
did not always get through, showing a difference between the rhetoric
of a policy and the reality of its implementation.

"....We hear people talking about SNAP children and it's a
new label, now we've stressed like mad that we want to avoid
the use of labels, that's easy to say, but in practice people
need shorthand, but I think it's quite dangerous because it's
re-inventing the notion of a separate group of kids, whereas
what we're talking about is meeting individual needs."

However the message does get through sometimes as the comments of one of
the primary school headteachers show:

"there is always a danger with special needs that you
put a stamp on people, well we try to get away from that,
we try not to call them SNAP children..."

When asked about the aims of SNAP the same headteacher made the follow-
ing comment:

"Obviously there are small steps ... what it comes down to is,
we're looking not to put a label on any child but if we see
an area where a child is having some difficulty... we're look-
ing to give support to that child... for the period of time
that it's necessary."

The desire to escape from the problems associated with the process and
effects of labelling is recognised by the respondent to be part of the

philosophy of SNAP.

As Ainscow pointed out labelling derives from "the notion of a separate group of kids", dealt with separately. Growing disillusionment with segregation and its apparent ineffectiveness leads to the desire for greater integration of children with special needs. This has two strands; firstly within the ordinary school a disillusionment with remedial teaching which withdraws children from the classroom, and secondly a policy of bringing ordinary and special education closer together in a variety of ways.

While relating the history of the Special Needs Support Team (formerly the Remedial Teaching Team) the team leader, Jean Garnett, discussed their change in role from remedial teachers who withdrew children to working more towards in-service training, "leaving the school better able to cope", and eventually being helped in this by the outreach teachers from special schools:

> "...just relieving a teacher of the responsibility of the children did those children a little bit of good for the time that they were helping them. But it didn't actually help them in the classroom when they went back because what they were teaching the children outside the classroom wasn't necessarily related to what was happening inside the classroom. That kind of teaching has been shown in general research to have been pretty ineffective it may bring a child on for a certain amount of time, but unless it's continued the child will drop back, and it still only deals with the basic skills, and usually the literary skills."

One of the outreach teachers brought up the same point when she described her involvement in the project:

> "In the lower forms of secondary schools ... the same worksheet tends to be distributed to all the children in the mixed ability class which means that in every class you get several children who can't read at all and you get some children who can only read with great difficulty and not necessarily under-

standing what they are reading and I wanted to try and
do something about this in the way of making worksheet
materials for them. My objective was to try to make the
general curriculum accessible to the child with special
needs, because I think that too often the fulfillment of
special needs in both primary and secondary schools is
concerned with only giving them very narrow programmes,
based on objectives usually, and this I don't think
works in the curriculum at all."

When I asked Mel Ainscow about how he saw SNAP developing in the future,

the issue of withdrawing children for special help again came up. He wanted an

end to separate groups and to see if "group teaching approaches" could

help teachers educate all pupils.

The issue of integrating special and ordinary education has already

come up in the discussion of the influence of the Warnock Report and of

the 1981 Education Act, when Ainscow was quoted as saying that Coventry

LEA were "moving to provide special education in the normal field."

The setting up of the Outreach project is further evidence of the desire

to break down the barriers between ordinary and special education.

Having considered how recent changes in the philosophy and law of educ-

ation seem to have motivated the creation of SNAP, I will now consider

the effect of local factors on the way that SNAP has developed. These

are local geography, and the LEA's past use of large-scale in-service

training initiatives. Finally, I will consider the effect of financial

considerations.

Several of the factors identified above come from the following comment

made by Mel Ainscow:

"Coventry has its own advantages and disadvantages ... you
could do something like this here which you couldn't necessarily
do in a big county authority. The authority is small, compact
everybody can get here to this teachers' centre within 15 minutes
of finishing school. The authority has a tradition of large
scale in-service initiatives, its a fairly centralised authority,
there is a tendency here recently towards more centralised
policies which are encouraged."

More local factors will be referred to when I consider the specific development of the outreach project.

When considering recent cuts in local authority spending Jean Garnett, said that the resulting reduction in the size of what was then known as the Remedial Teaching Team, had made it imperative that SNAP should involve in-service training. The team was cut from ten to four people, these were "up-graded ... and are really advisory teachers now."

> "In a way the cutback three and a half years ago (1981-82)
> did us the service, although it did us a lot of disservices,
> of making it necessary for them, (the team members) to have
> any impact on schools ... to pursue this overall aim of
> leaving a school better able to cope, ... the thrust has
> gradually become in-service in nature, - usually a couple
> of members of the team are involved in ... tutoring the
> SNAP... ."

The "pyramid-sell" model chosen to diffuse the SNAP innovation emphasises the role of the individual school in coming to its own solutions. Ainscow hoped that it would lead to "group problem-solving". One co-ordinator said that school SNAP meetings led the staff to "pool ideas" more, another said that she saw the aim of SNAP as making schools able to "deal with it internally, if ... by using our own resources we can get that child a little bit on the way then we've succeeded". Jean Garnett described the school-based nature of SNAP in this way;

> "SNAP isn't something that's lopped onto the side of the
> school, it's something we're asking them to generate rather
> like yeast, and make grow like yeast in bread. The whole
> point of SNAP isn't to make teachers better observers and
> so on ... it is to have the school grow in its capacity
> to meet special needs and to meet the needs of individual
> children and take responsibility for meeting those needs."

The discussion of the factors which led specifically to the development of the Outreach project will show in more detail how Coventry developed SNAP out of their existing provision of special education. Garnett's

comment above on the developing role of the Special Needs Support Team
is a further example of this.

Up to this point most of the comments on the aims of SNAP and the factors
affecting its development have come from those involved in setting it up.
This is partly because having set it up they were in a position to give
an account of the reasons for this, and also because I have not wished to
include too many comments from other groups involved in SNAP, because
this ground will be covered in the next chapter when I discuss the roles
and attitudes of those involved. However several people, but significant-
ly perhaps not those who set up SNAP, suggested that the need to save
money was an aim of SNAP, in view of central government curbs on local
authority spending.

After commenting positively on SNAP saying that it had "made us more
aware of the importance of a structured programme, and of keeping records
generally", one of the co-ordinators then went on to say that the aim of
SNAP was "to save money". This opinion was also voiced and explained by
another co-ordinator;

> "I'm very suspicious of it (SNAP) actually, I don't know
> whether you've had this reaction from other teachers. I
> rather feel that, well, no, it sounds very cynical doesn't
> it, I think we're being taken for a ride... we're being told
> in the way that we were years ago that open class teaching
> was the answer because it was cheap to build open class
> schools. These children are being put out of special
> schools into primary schools so that special schools can
> be used for other things or not used as the case may be...
> with no financial backing whatsoever, we have no extra
> money to buy in extra apparatus, extra resources, its just
> 'Accept these children and use what you've got.'"

Levels of staffing are clearly related to finance as a large part of
the education budget goes to teachers' salaries. This point was brought
out by another of the co-ordinators;

"There's not enough staff is there? I think this is why
they brought SNAP in quite honestly, because they haven't
got the big remedial teams that could go to the schools and
do this work, and they have to get the ordinary class teacher
to do the SNAP work. They haven't got the spare staff now-
adays for remedial staff.

...They should pay for supply teachers to come in and cover
the SNAP people (co-ordinators) for a day and a half.
Because otherwise you get the impression they're trying to
do everything on the cheap. They won't supply the remedial
staff. They're not giving the SNAP co-ordinators any time,
so if they really want it to work then they should."
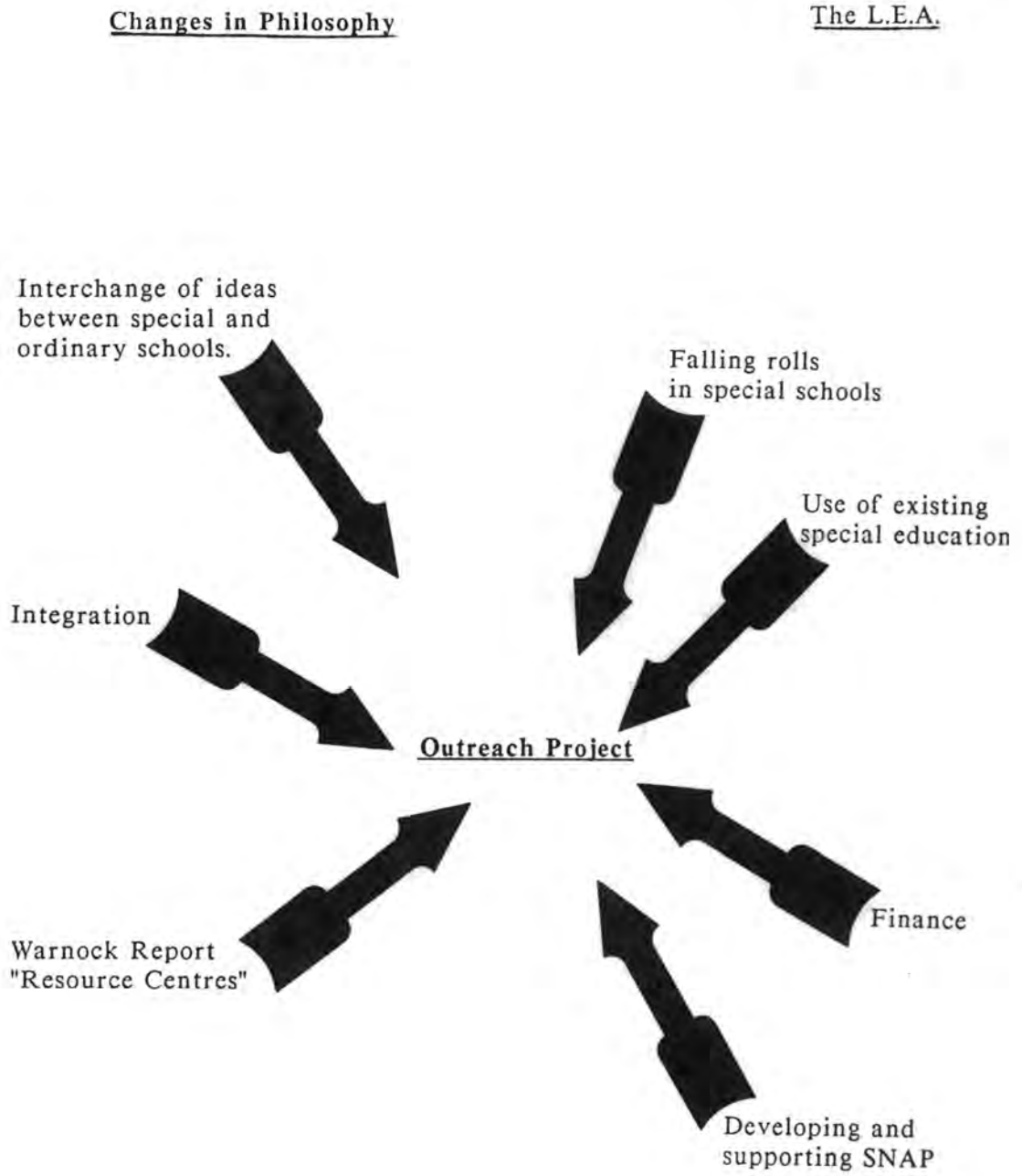
INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUTREACH PROJECT

As discussed above, the aim of the Outreach project is to support and

develop SNAP. Ainscow's comment that the Outreach project "runs along-

side SNAP because that's what we had" seems to be the key to under-

standing why the project has taken the shape described here. Some

mention is made of the Warnock Report's recommendation that special

schools should become resource centres, but most of the explanations I

received of the development of the Outreach project focus on aspects of

the situation in the LEA as the determining factors (see fig. 2).

Jean Garnett said that Mel Ainscow and herself:

"came up with the notion that, looking at the recommendations
of the Warnock Report and the notion of developing special
schools as a resource for schools, looking also at the fact
that locked up in special schools, particularly in this auth-
ority, are some very highly qualified teachers, working with
2% of our population, and here are we and the schools
screaming for help for the rest of them, in these times of
poor resources it seems as if its taking ... a very important
force and applying it only to one area ... so with those
notions in mind, we thought let's work towards developing
these three MLD schools as resource centres. ...It happens
that this authority has been very benevolent in its meeting
of special needs. I don't know any other authority which
has fifteen special schools in an area the diameter of which
is six miles. ...It's been very benevolent in its offering
of secondment for degrees and advanced training.

The need to work from the existing situation was also stated by Mel
Ainsclow:

Figure 2: Factors Influencing the Development of the Outreach Project

Changes in Philosophy   **The L.E.A.**

Interchange of ideas
between special and
ordinary schools.

Falling rolls
in special schools

Use of existing
special education

Integration

Outreach Project

Finance

Warnock Report
"Resource Centres"

Developing and
supporting SNAP

> "... in some authorities where they've never had much
> tradition of special education they can go more quickly
> than us, in some senses,into an integration movement ...
> the outreach work is an attempt to make best use of the
> expertise there, but to take it out of the trap, of the
> building, ...its got to serve more kids."

The Outreach project is therefore part of Coventry's "move to provide

special education in the normal field."

The cuts in the Special Needs Support Team have been mentioned before.

Their need for help in fulfilling their new role of in-service training

seems to have spurred the setting up of the Outreach project.

> "It became obvious that this team of people couldn't do
> all the things that the schools were really wanting to do...
> Outreach helps to fill in some of those gaps ... before
> Outreach was first thought of we were offered this extra
> time from the special schools."
>
> (Jean Garnett)

Falling rolls in the MLD schools have allowed this "extra time" to

become available. An area support teacher said that the Special Needs

Support Team had been promised extra staff,

> "...but then with falling rolls another difficulty arose...
> rather than run down the staffing of special schools, they
> thought that they would try to establish a new role for
> special schools, ...it had been recommended in Warnock."

Although the special school teachers had experience in "the teaching of

objectives...it wouldn't work if (they) were just transferred across to

ordinary schools and asked to extend their specialist knowledge, because

they have to contend with the organisation of ordinary schools."

The head of an MLD school suggested that the current economic climate

in local government rather than new educational philosophy was influential

in changing the roles of some of the special school staff.

"In a way I feel very sorry for say officers and councillors,
elected members, because they really are being forced to
come up with the wrong answers... The rationale is fine, we
have expertise, schools out there need it, we ought to be able
to provide. The problem is that the authority is asking for
this at no extra cost."

This chapter has hopefully explained the situation in which the Outreach

project operates, particularly its role supporting SNAP. The aims of

these projects and some of the factors constraining their development

have been considered. It would be impossible to undertake any worth-

while evaluation without considering the aims of the people who set up

the projects and without understanding the limits under which they were

working. Although I have tried to avoid at this stage, too many comments

which evaluate the project, some impression of the different attitudes I

encountered to SNAP and the Outreach project is probably already coming

across. This theme will be expanded in the next chapter which will

explain the structure of the Outreach project in more detail by looking

at the work and opinions of the various participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE OUTREACH PROJECT THROUGH THE ROLES

OF THOSE INVOLVED

Figures 3 and 4 attempt to show diagrammatically the structure of the

Outreach Project. Figure 3 shows the hierarchical structure, while

figure 4 is a simplified map of Coventry showing the geographical

structure. Figure 3 will be explained in detail as it will be used

to structure this chapter. However, there are two points which come

out of figure 4 which can be dealt with here. The first is the compact,

circular shape of the LEA's area and the central position of the Elm

Bank teachers' centre, as mentioned in the previous chapter. And sec-

ondly, the way the city is split up into areas of responsibility for

the Special Needs Support Team members and for the MLD schools, whose

teachers are helping the SNST work with schools in their area, through

the Outreach project. The city is therefore divided into quarters for

the SNST, and into thirds for the MLD schools, which might make liaison

between these people more complicated than if the systems of division

coincided. Whether or not this is recognised as a significant difficulty

will be discussed in the following sections which consider the roles

and attitudes of those working on the Outreach project.

THE LEA

> "I don't think anybody else in the country has tried any-
> thing as concerted as this ... that has an LEA thrust to
> it..."
>
> (Jean Garnett)

The Outreach Project is very much an LEA initiative rather than some-

thing which has developed in the MLD schools, as is the case with

similar changes in the role of special schools in other places. The

Head of the "Special
Needs Support Team"
(S.N.S.T.)

4 Team members
Each responsible for
about 30 schools.

3 M.L.D. Schools

3 Contact Teachers

Outreach Teachers

Support given to co-
ordinator and/or class
teacher

Support given to a
small group of pupils
or an individual

Support given to whole
school eg. reading policy

Ordinary schools

Class Teachers
and co-ordinator

Pupils

Special schools   S

Boundary of area
covered by each   _____
support teacher

Boundary of area
covered by each   •••••••••••••
special school

Teacher's Centre   O

Schematic map of Coventry

role of the Adviser for Special Educational Needs, Mel Ainscow, in

starting up the Outreach project has already been noted in the previous

chapter, he was also involved in meetings which discussed it's progress.

A Senior

T̶h̶e̶ ̶c̶h̶ief Educational Psychologist, Jim Muncey, has co-written the SNAP

materials and the school Psychological Service work with the SNST and

have some contact with the Outreach project.

THE SPECIAL NEEDS SUPPORT TEAM

Figure 3 shows that there are four members of the SNST on salary scale

4, and one leader they are based at the Elm Bank Teachers' Centre, where

they have a resources centre. The team leader, Jean Garnett worked with

the advisor to devise and implement the Outreach project. Comments made

by the team leader on her role also help explain the role of the educa-

tional psychologists and the contact teacher and highlight the problem

of trying to change established practices and attitudes, particularly

where people from more than one discipline are involved. At the time of

the study she thought that the Outreach project was a "very delicate

plant" because it involved "chiefs" from different sections of the educ-

ation service working together; the area support teachers, the psycho-

logists, the special school headteachers. There was "the power problem"

of deciding who was responsible for what. She wanted Outreach to develop

into something that could be passed on to other people, the "co-operative-

ness and willingness" of the people involved were keeping it going at the

time. The major aim of the project is to develop special schools so that

they support special needs in their area. In the second year of the

project (1984-85) one Outreach teacher in each special school was appointed

contact teacher to keep the outreach teachers, area support teachers and

educational psychologists in contact with each other.

The support teacher and the educational psychologist help the ordinary

school to identify its problems, and then bring in the contact teacher

to decide in what way the special school could help, and to decide how

the Outreach teacher could help.

> "This has meant that there's been a lot of interchange between
> those three services. ...My task is to hold those strings and
> make sure that none of them are actually let go, and yet keep
> them loose enough for everybody to cope."

Where informal links were established between ordinary schools and

special schools these were encouraged as part of the process of

"breaking down fantasies about the role of different sorts of schools",

for example ordinary school teachers believing that special schools can

teach one to one.   "Although we want to be aware of what's going on in

these interchanges so that we prevent people treading on other peoples'

toes."   At the end of the academic year 1984-85, when I spoke to her,

Jean Garnett was also overseeing the beginnings of the Outreach project

at secondary school level.

The other members of the team concentrate on the primary schools, each

responsible for a quarter of the city's infant and junior schools. A

description of their work and its aims will help explain their relation-

ship to the Outreach teachers. The support teachers try to visit each

of the mainstream schools in their area for half a day twice a term.

Since SNAP was set up and each school appointed a co-ordinator for

special needs, the support teacher usually meets with the co-ordinator

who has gathered up all the issues and problems the school wants to

discuss. Working with the educational psychologists,the support teacher

decides whether it would be appropriate for a school to have help from

the Outreach project.

The overall aim of the team is to leave the schools "better able to cope", "actually teaching children is the most uneconomic use of their time", but ... "in order to preserve its credibility it still has to be seen as a grass roots teaching force." (Jean Garnett).

I was able to talk to three of the four team members. One has already explained (in chapter two) how the Outreach project was developed to help them support SNAP in schools. The following comments from another member of the team explain in more detail how they decide which schools should receive help through the Outreach project: The support teacher said that she knew the thirty schools in her area "very well" and so could see if a school needed help to get SNAP started, or if they particularly needed help with individual pupils. In some schools where every teacher has a class and there was "no slack" they do need "extra input...it's really fairly subjective selection." When individual children are selected to have help from an Outreach teacher this is often part of "their long-term assessment... seeing if with a little bit of extra support they could be maintained in the ordinary school ... We're not testing, or saying those children that fall below a line, teachers who are professional ... who are concerned about a child, if they've applied a SNAP programme to a child, and they're still having difficulty, then they need extra help."

Part of the role that the Special Needs Support Service play in the Outreach project is therefore to select the schools or individual children who are to be helped by teachers from special schools. Although the selection process is admittedly subjective this was thought to be preferable to a system where headteachers could contact special schools direct. The same speaker as before said:

"If they know there's something available, some schools
would get a lot of help and other schools would get none,
because of our involvement... it's fairer."

The view that the SNST have of the aim of the Outreach project has

already been mentioned in the previous chapter, where one of the team

members was quoted as saying that they were offered help with their work

from special school teachers instead of having more staff appointed to

their team. The comment just given explains in more detail how the

Outreach teachers help, i.e. helping schools set up SNAP, helping in-

dividual children and helping the class teacher to find appropriate

resources. The role of the Outreach teachers in assessing children was

also brought out by another of the support teachers, who said that it

gave "extra ammunition", when talking to parents about special school

placement, to have the Outreach teacher say "I have children much better

than that in my class." A more long term aim for the project was

mentioned by a third support team member:

"I feel that if out of the Outreach could come in the end,
over a long period of time, that actually they worked in
every school, then that's the important thing, that they
get closer links with ordinary schools."

Links between schools take time to develop. The SNST was helping the

development of these links:

"We're in a way facilitating the special schools to get to
know the ordinary schools better, because we know them very
well and know the kind of needs that they have."

Another member of the support team explained how she introduced the

contact teacher to this new part of his job, and to some of the schools;

"Initially it might be that I would go with the contact
teacher, but usually they do it themselves. Because
generally we feel that if ... two of you go into a school
when a school is finding it very difficult to find time
to help the children ... there's two people who've actually
got time to visit them at once. ...When we started off in
September 1984 (the contact teacher) did ... come round to
quite a number of schools with me, so he had a chance to get
to know people, and a bit as to how we operated as well."

The contact teacher referred to above said that without the support

teacher "none of this would be happening".

As the project developed the support teacher felt it was becoming

easier to work with because the Outreach teachers were becoming more

used to their role;

(The Outreach teachers) "have gained a lot of experience
over the last two years and there'll be more people from
Alice Stevens getting that sort of experience ... they get on
with what they're doing, I don't have to see any programme
for the week or anything, I mean they do it ever so well, I
think they do it better than I would probably."

At first I had the impression that the SNST spent a considerable amount

of their time on work connected with the Outreach project. However

when I asked one of the team how much of her time she spent on things

to do with the Outreach project I was surprised by her answer that she

spent about half an hour once a week on the project, when she talked

to the contact teacher about "things that have cropped up" and resources

available at the Special Needs Support Centre. Also as she visited

primary schools she thought about which might need Outreach teachers

in the following term.

One of the team hoped that the Outreach project would expand to take in

other aspects of their work, such as work with children with specific

learning difficultes; "it's a different kind of problem from the child

who you may be thinking needs special education."

Talking about the help that the Outreach project had given them up to
the time when I spoke to them the three support teachers seemed pleased,
one said "it's helping us quite considerably". Although they acknow-
ledged that there were difficulties in setting up the project. Partic-
ularly in finding time to liaise with the outreach teachers and helping
them to get to know the resources at the support centre.

In the first year of the Outreach project there was only one teacher
involved from each special school. In the second year one of the
teachers in each special school became a contact teacher, the link
between the SNST and the other Outreach teachers at the special school.
This meant that liaison between some of the Outreach teachers and the
SNST was less direct. One of the support teachers said that she tried
to find time to visit the Outreach teachers informally at the special
school, but it was hard to find time to talk because the timetables were
busy. Another support teacher thought that the Outreach teachers should
be allowed time to visit the Special Needs Support Centre.

When I visited one of the MLD schools a support teacher was also there.
She had decided to spend part of every Friday morning with one of the
Outreach teachers in the classroom, and also to stay and have lunch
with the pupils. She wanted to get to know the resources that the
special school were using and to get "a much better feel of what goes
on here ... so that you get, not exactly a dividing line between the
(special school) child and the ordinary child, but a much clearer idea
of how the child in the ordinary school might fit in here, or how the
work that these children are doing might transfer over into the ordinary
schools."

The above comment seems to show that liaison between the special schools

and the SNST can be mutually helpful. The support teachers as well

as the special school teachers have learnt about new resources. The

Outreach teachers need to get to know the resources at the SNST office

because as one headteacher of an MLD school explained "That's always

been their role, we can't afford to give out stuff." Although they do

give out some of their own programmes to be photocopied.

The following comment by an Outreach teacher shows his view of the

importance of getting to know the resources:

> "I was very nervous about it (helping other schools) at the
> beginning. The difficulty was that I didn't feel I was aware
> enough of all the materials that there are to help, because
> that wasn't my special area. I felt, if I'm honest, that the
> people at Elm Bank, the remedial centre, were better equipped
> to deal with those sort of problems because they had, some of
> them for the last twelve years, been involved totally in that
> job. That was their main job, finding out about resources,
> finding out about materials. Studying those that came in, and
> then taking them out to schools. That's something that I
> haven't done, we tended to use at our school the materials
> that we'd made ourselves ... But as it happens a lot of the work
> we've done anyway has been from our own thoughts and designs
> rather than prewritten schemes... Of course I've learnt a lot
> by being down at Elm Bank and finding lots of schemes and
> studying them, and I learnt a lot more about the resources
> that are available."

A further problem that was brought up by one of the support teachers was

that of who was to be responsible for the work of the Outreach teachers;

> "There are certain things that I think it's part of my job to
> do rather than the contact teacher's job, which are difficult
> to name. ...In a way it would be easier if the special schools
> ... were responsible ... for say six schools because they
> could develop closer contacts. Whatever they did would be
> their responsibility."

Finally the views of two co-ordinators and two headteachers who commented

on the Special Needs Support Service. The first, from a co-ordinator,

shows her view of how the SNST and the special schools fit into the
wider system of special education in the LEA.

> "If the child obviously is not succeeding on SNAP, there
> really is a bigger problem than we can manage. That's when
> we start looking at the Special Support teams, we look at
> the special schools, and they bring in people to help us.
> We get the school psychologist in, and all sorts of experts
> to come and help us. It may be just a question of we haven't
> put them on the right programme... if that doesn't succeed
> then the head will be responsible for saying the next step
> is special education."

The second comment, from another co-ordinator, is a reaction to change
in a system which she seemed to be already sufficiently satisfied with.

> "They're excellent. In fact, that's my first line of defence,
> Special Needs Support. I'd rather go to them than to the
> Psychologists Department, they're really practical... It's the
> worst thing in the world .. they're going to be split up ...
> our school is going to be allied to the special school and our
> SNAP lady (support teacher) is based at (the special) school ...
> I don't know why. At the moment they're very easy to get at,
> it's just a trip down to Elm Bank. They've got a load of
> stuff there ... They really put themselves out to be helpful.
> But after September I'm going to have to contact (her) at
> (the special school), which is a heck of a traipse from here...
> I think it's a tragedy really, all part and parcel of this
> reshuffle."

One of the headteachers, whose school had been involved in the Outreach
project, mentioned also the recent changes in the SNST. He said the
role of the support teacher was "more consultative now".

> "The advice is good ..., but we can't always carry out advice,
> you haven't always got the hours in the day and the bodies to
> do it. So in that sense, we are a little sad we don't see her
> so often. But at the same time, appreciating the fact that
> the system has got to change from time to time, and hopefully
> for the better. I'm not so sure at the moment."

A headteacher whose school was not involved in the Outreach project

commented in a similar way on the work of the support teachers. A few years ago he had had advice from a support teacher on developing programmes of work, what he wanted now was "no more advice but elbow grease." At the time of the study the support teacher was visiting a fourth year pupil who had recently transferred from another school. "She's sitting with him and saying now let's do this, and let's do that ... so really with a lot of children it is elbow grease that matters, providing you've got your programmes right."

This comment illustrates the dual role of the SNST. They have worked more as advisory teachers, "leaving a school better able to cope" but the team also, "in order to preserve its credibility.. has to be seen as a grass roots force." (Jean Garnett).

THE SCHOOLS FOR CHILDREN WITH MODERATE LEARNING DIFFICULTIES

The Headteachers

In a sense the headteachers of the MLD schools are not as directly involved in the Outreach project as some other members of their staff, who visit the ordinary schools. However, I interviewed all three of the headteachers of MLD schools in the LEA because they are concerned with the effects that the project has on their schools on their staff who are Outreach teachers as well as those who remain full time at the special school, and also on their pupils.

The headteachers all appreciate the rationale of the project, although their views on it do vary. One headteacher said that in the future special schools would contain only a small nucleus of pupils who "just won't cope with mainstream education" because they will need to be in

a "small unit, with particular care and consideration". The numbers of those children will not be sufficient to fill the existing special schools, so either some of the schools are closed or the schools are kept open with fewer pupils. The staffing levels are maintained because there is a "minimum level of staffing ... about 14 or 15 ... which enables a school to be viable". Below this level the curriculum is too narrow becuase "you can no longer afford to have teachers with the specialisms for Craft, Design and Technology ... for Home Economics", subjects which it is difficult for most teachers to have as "a second string". The staffing then has to be used in a different way. Teachers spend part of their time in the special school, and part as "missionaries out in the mainstream". The need for the work in the mainstream will not diminish:

> "Even if you could visualise a comprehensive school where all
> the teachers were sympathetic to kids with special needs,
> because of the diversity of the problem, you couldn't expect
> them all to have the expertise. You still need outreach
> teachers to go in and provide this link between the special type
> of education and the mainstream special type of education...
> So it will always exist, we see it as a survival situation.
> That's the only way forward for special schools, so we commit
> ourselves to it, warts and all."

Another headteacher was less sure about the project:

> "The basic concept is marvellous, but the difference between
> theory and practice is enormous."

And the third said:

> "The rationale is fine. The problem is that the authority
> is asking for this at no extra cost ... so something's got
> to give."

The Outreach project started off, for the first year (1983-84) with one special school having the equivalent, in teacher time, of one member of staff on Outreach work and the other two schools having .5 of a teacher on Outreach. The heads had to decide how to divide this time amongst their staff. In the first year only one teacher each from the two schools with a .5 commitment was involved in the project. Two teachers from the other school were involved. These four teachers all worked half time on the Outreach project and half time in the special schools. For the second and third years of the project's operation more teacher time was required from all three schools. A member of the SNST commented on this:

"The first year didn't affect the special schools as pro-
foundly as this year's operation (the second year) ...
because its making a demand on the whole school as distinct
from just a demand on one teacher."

The headteachers were involved in selecting staff for the work in ord-
inary schools, and all three of them commented on this. They all said that it was teachers of the basics, "people who know something about reading and numbers" who were needed, and that not all of these teachers, although they were good classroom teachers felt able to teach other teachers. It was a matter of personality, they couldn't "go out and spread the gospel". Two heads mentioned that they wanted to send out only the people who would be the best at Outreach, for the sake of their school's reputation. One headteacher thought that it was best to have ordinary class teachers as Outreach teachers;

"...the credibility comes from the mainstream teacher getting
her advice and help from someone who's still hot from the
classroom ... that's fundamental."

Another headteacher thought that a more senior teacher was   less

likely to be pressed into inappropriate tasks;

> "...to go into a primary school it was felt that it was
> necessary to have someone with a fair amount of clout, or
> status ... a deputy was an obvious person."

These constraints usually meant that in each school there were only a

few teachers working on the Outreach project, although the whole school

was affected. The headteachers were all concerned about the effects

on their schools - the "warts" mentioned by the first headteacher. In

one of the schools where the deputy head was very involved in the pro-

ject, the headteacher said that he therefore had had "a part-time deputy

head, which was obviously a contradiction in terms ... the function of

a deputy ... there is a great need for being on top of things, almost

knowing what's going to happen before it happens, you take someone out

for half the time and that goes." This headteacher and another one

also brought up the stressful effects of being involved in the project

on other Outreach teachers. This will be covered in more detail in

the sections on Contact and Outreach teachers.

Involvement in the Outreach project also had organisational effects

on the schools with which the headteachers were concerned. They tried

to arrange the timetable so that teachers being away from the school

on Outreach disrupted the children as little as possible. The deputy

head explained how this worked in one of the schools;

> "The times that you're prepared to offer schools support,
> you've got perhaps two people in one class working with
> half groups. So that when a member of staff goes out...
> the class if back to one large group... It's worked reason-
> ably well.

"...On paper we've got extra staffing for it, but at some
stage in the term you've got to plan the timetable for
next year. You've got two options really, you have a lot
of flexibility in the timetable so that schools can call
upon you at any time or you make the timetable rigid and
you say to schools, I've got this time that I can offer you and
if it's no good then hard luck. It's not a simple thing
to manage, and I think this year (for 1985-86) we will take
the second option."

The headteacher of another of the MLD schools was unhappy with the idea

of larger classes, "What a thing to do to the children, all of whom

have got acute learning difficulties. How can one truthfully and

adequately help these children... You can cope, keep it quiet, that's

no problem. But that's not why they're here."

The headteacher of the third school said they hoped that team teaching

would release teachers for the Outreach project for 1985-86. They had

had to reorganise the timetable and the curriculum, aware that the

staff have a commitment to Outreach, but also to keeping the school

running. For the next year (1985-86) they planned to have the three

teachers who would be doing most of the school's outreach work, working

as a primary team in the junior section of the school

"Three teachers, two classes and three classroom assistants
working as a team ... so if any of these teachers is out
...there are still two other teachers to work with that
group. That way we can maintain the continuity for the school,
and the stability the kids need... and still have class-
based teachers... on outreach. But it's a major reshuffle."

Although part of the rationale of the Outreach project, as explained

by the first headteacher quoted in this section, is to maintain the

breadth of the curriculum in special schools, another of the head-

teachers was worried about the effect of the project on his school's

curriculum. This was the headteacher who was unhappy about putting

groups of pupils together to form larger classes. Instead the

specialist teachers were taking classes for general subjects, although the headteacher did not think that this arrangement was ideal. It restricted the curriculum because there were fewer occasions when the specialist teachers were available to teach their specialisms. Also the headteacher was not happy about asking specialist teachers who had transferred from secondary schools to take general classes;

> "He came because he wanted to teach pottery ... and to suddenly ask him to take up the basics, especially for children who've got acute reading or number problems or learning difficulties."

The same headteacher was also "horrified at the impact this has had on the curriculum development", particularly for reading and mathematics because the people with the most experience in these areas were out a lot of the time on Outreach.

Through changes to the timetable and curriculum the Outreach project seems therefore to affect the whole of the special school, not just the Outreach teachers. The effect on the pupils was also noted;

> "If the class teacher is not present, this can have a surprising effect on the children ... Last year ... with 13 to 14 year olds we had a pretty hairy time... The class suddenly became very very insecure, they needed that security of their own teacher who was going to be around."

This headteacher did suggest compensating for this effect by pairing teachers, so that each class teacher on outreach worked "in tandem" with a teacher of a practical subject who would not be involved in the Outreach project directly. However if the teachers of practical subjects had to register classes etc, this would cut down on their lesson preparation time, "like in pottery for loading the kiln."

As well as managing the impact of the Outreach project on their schools the headteachers of the MLD schools are involved in meetings which discuss the project, described here by one of the headteachers:

"We have meetings at different levels, the Outreach teachers meet, the co-ordinators meet, and the heads meet. We all meet together sometimes, and the heads and the psychologists and the support team meet."

In conclusion to this section here are the views of the three headteachers on the project in mid 1985 and their suggestions for its future development.

"It's been a transitionary stage (1984-85) from being rather external to the school to being now part of the school set-up and I'm very pleased with it. You accept the warts, the difficulties of administration and the difficulty of time-tabling, because in a way you have to accept it as part of the new role for special schools. And if we don't adapt we're going to be extinct like the dodo.
    ...This year we've also run a Secondary (school) Outreach programme ... we were aware ... that the support departments in secondary schools who weren't in on SNAP, were still facing similar problems to the primary schools. ...(We've) worked with about five schools, but two of them fairly consistently.
    ...I haven't got the figures here, but it was something like fourteen (primary schools) we've been involved with this year. That's just using .5 of a teacher, which is quite good. ...Next year we hope to be looking at something like the 40 schools mark which would mean we could touch on every school in our catchment area significantly, not just pop in and say hello."

The second comment comes from the headteacher who said that the difference between the theory and practice of the Outreach project was enormous.

"I think I'm coming more and more round to the idea, that the Outreach teacher, alright for them to be attached to the school, but they ought to be spending their time doing just that and not trying to cope ... (as a) class teacher within the school. I think we're expecting too much from the teachers. ...I am very, very concerned. ...They are too conscientious and they're trying to do their darndest to help in school... Therefore if they could be just based in the school...

...Let's compromise, minimal input here, so that at least
they're a member of staff... otherwise they wouldn't be
attached."

The third headteacher seemed to concentrate on the financial side of the

project:

"We are busily engaged in cutting our own throats by supporting
this because people might well say that there is no need for
special schools. That does seem...to have... permeated the
thinking of our authority at this time. ...There is a danger
in seeing éducation for kids who are failing in terms of purely
remedial as opposed to special education. As I see it remedial
is (the child) 'can't work out tens and units with a carrying
figure'... you say that's his problem, right we'll work on that.
...But when (the child) comes to us he has frequently failed for
so long that something like perhaps ... 18 months go by before
our kids have got enough confidence to actually have a go at
something. ...When he's done it, ensuring that he gets proper
praise and this ... constant looking at him as a whole person.
That is special and has virtually nothing at all to do with tens
and units and carrying figures.
      ...First thing I would say if I was asked to organise some-
thing like Outreach would be how much money have I got available.
And if I'd been told, as people have been told - none - then I
would say don't bother. ...I sound as if I'm very opposed to it,
but I'm not. I just think that the way its all organised, the
reluctance or total inability to provide money for it, is what
is really at the bottom of this. They really are getting this
for free. We are the people in the schools, who are having to
put up with the inconveniences, the lack of efficiency that is
built in by not having people available right through the week.
We've got over it, but ... maybe ... in the present economic
climate all heads are into the game of organising as best they
can a lowering of standards, which is a rather frightening
thought. ...In a way I feel very sorry for say, offices and
Councillors, elected members, because they really are being
forced to come up with the wrong answers.
      ...It's bitty and piecey and its patchy, but where it's
being done it's good because you've got good people.
      ...You are meeting elephants with headaches and giving
them Junior Aspirins."

Out of the three headteachers of the MLD schools therefore, one seemed

quite positive about the project, and the other two for different

reasons were less convinced that it was the best way of using the

expertise of special school teachers. All three were concerned about

the effects of the project on their school and had tried to find ways

of minimising these.

THE CONTACT TEACHERS

The section on the Special Needs Support Team has already given some information on the function of the contact teachers. As mentioned before this was a new role which started in 1984-85. There was one contact teacher at each special school, and I was able to talk to two out of three. I gained some information on how the contact teacher operated in the third school through talking to the headteacher and other Outreach teachers.

The liaison between the contact teachers and the SNST has already been discussed, this brought out the problem of finding time to liaise effectively. After a support teacher and an educational psychologist have decided that a school should have help from the Outreach project, then the contact teacher takes over and visits the school. One support teacher said the process would be less formal as the special schools got to know the ordinary schools in their area; "at the moment we've had to make it a fairly formalised process so the whole thing didn't just break down."

There are advantages and disadvantages to having a senior member of staff, in two out of three cases, a deputy head, as the contact teacher. A senior member of staff has the status and experience to go into ordinary schools and give "whole school support and staff training as opposed to supporting individual children." (Contact teacher). A senior member of staff also finds it easier to say no to requests from ordinary school headteachers which they think are inappropriate to their role. For example in the first year of the project some ordinary school headteachers asked Outreach teachers to take a class if they happened to be in the school when a teacher was absent.

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The disadvantages are those already noted by the headteachers. The problems of being a "part-time deputy", the effect on curriculum development of having senior staff frequently away from the school, and for one headteacher the loss of "credibility" that comes when you use senior staff as Outreach teachers rather than "someone who's still hot from the classroom." A solution, which at least alleviates the problem of a "part time deputy", is to use a senior member of staff other than a deputy. This was the choice at one of the schools. At another school the contact teacher, a deputy head, co-ordinated the project, setting up new contracts wiht ordinary schools, but not actually working as an Outreach teacher. This had been the original intention in one of the other schools, but as the contact teacher explained, it had not worked out like that;

> "I think it was originally thought that the contact teacher
> would be based at the school most of the time, and would
> simply be the person who would co-ordinate the activities
> of the other teachers in the school going out. But ... it
> was difficult to get teachers who felt that they wanted to
> go out, there were only a few people putting themselves
> forward. ...So the easiest person to ask to go on it (Out-
> reach) was myself. As I was already not timetabled too
> closely, my timetable was flexible, I could change more
> easily than other teachers could. It also meant less dis-
> turbance to the lessons at the school, because I wasn't
> asking a teacher to come out of the classroom and go to
> teach another child in a junior school somewhere else...
>   In a way if you think of it this present situation is
> typical, next door there is a meeting going on with language
> development and if I wasn't a contact teacher I'd be in
> there now... So I do lose touch with what's happening here.
>   ...I suppose I used to be more involved with curriculum
> than anybody else, especially in the lower school, and
> when I'm not doing that then we find difficulty in getting
> it covered adequately."

So although it seemed easier for the contact teacher to do most of the Outreach work, the school was still affected. One Outreach teacher who was going to become a contact teacher for 1985-86 had a few ideas about for example, how to involve more special school staff

in the project:

> "I might be out seven sessions and only in three ... there'll
> be a much heavier commitment. ...I've had quite a few ideas
> about this already ... more in-service work for the staff who
> are here in special schools to get them out into ordinary
> schools to see what's being done supporting the SNAP so that
> perhaps more people will feel inclined to be involved, because
> if they haven't got the visits and the back-up and the in-
> service then they don't really know what's going on. Also ...
> centralising the programmes that have been done by all the
> Outreach teachers ... those people ought to see one another
> regularly to know ... what one another are doing, because we're
> all within the city... I would see that as quite a heavy comm-
> itment of the contact teacher, in addition to co-ordinating
> Outreach teachers like myself, seeing what they're doing and
> sending off the letters of commitment."

As two of the three contact teachers were Outreach teachers many of the

comments in the next section will also apply to them, particularly the

discussion of the pressures of having "two jobs", a phrase used by

many people I spoke to.

THE OUTREACH TEACHERS

About three of four teachers from each of the MLD schools had been in-

volved in the Outreach project at some time. I was able to talk to

seven of the Outreach teachers, some from each school. The selection

of the Outreach teachers, done with the teacher's consent, has already

been covered in the section on the headteacher's role in the project.

The deputy head of one of the special schools said "It's in the interest

of the school and also of the staff that they almost ask for involvement."

The Outreach teachers work to contracts drawn up between the two schools.

The same deputy head as above, who was also an Outreach teacher,

commented on the contracts:

"They're pretty general, but they're also specific, and the
teachers know that because they're general they've got some
scope to move within the confines of the commitment, and also
they know that the commitment is sufficiently specific so that
the school isn't able to turn round one afternoon and say well,
look we've got a teacher off can you fill this space?"

For example, the following five points from a contract show the sort

of work the Outreach teacher was to do.

"The aims of this commitment will be to:-

1. Check that children already identified are working on
    established programmes.

2. Identify, assess and plan programmes for any new children
    (two possible names given).

3. Help with the SNAP course for two new members of staff.

4. Set up resource drawer in library

    a) build up a bank of programmes which have been used

    b) a file for the monitoring and recording of work,
        meetings etc.

5. Extend materials for "Link-Up" reading scheme. "

A later contract between the same parties said that the Outreach teacher

would visit on Wednesday afternoons for six weeks. This time the aim

was to:

"Work in conjunction with (the class teacher) to develop
writing skills with (individual child named). The emphasis
will be on letter formation, spelling and sentence structure."

The role of the SNST in setting up these links between the ordinary and

special schools has already been discussed. The Support team members

also help the Outreach teachers become familiar with the resources at

their office at the Teachers' Centre, and help them become accustomed

to their new role. Commenting on this new role the Advisor for SEN said:

"We've been going reasonably slowly and sensibly, initially to involve those teachers who we think are most able to cope with that change in environment, change in way of working. But it's a tremendous learning experience for them, as well as hopefully passing on their expertise."

One of the support teachers also referred to the new skills which they helped the Outreach teachers to acquire:

"It's a different kind of work from that which they've been doing hitherto... there are new skills to be learnt, particularly to do with relationships with other adults... these are in-service skills which are quite different from just teaching children, from which you only learn as you go and do it, you develop these skills as you work with people who have them."

The Outreach teachers often mentioned feeling nervous at first, about being involved in the project. Another support teacher understood these feelings

"Most of the teachers in the special schools... feel rather diffident about going out first of all... you've got to go into a school being prepared to meet the needs of children over an age range of six to eleven, and ... to offer help to other teachers."

In order to boost their confidence one Outreach teacher reminded herself of what she had to offer, firstly her experience with children where things need to be broken down into small steps "where she had 'a bit more experience'" than the teacher in the ordinary school and secondly in schools where there were a lot of children with difficulties she would "obviously" be useful as extra help.

Although as another Outreach teacher pointed out they are not experienced in helping children with learning difficulties in ordinary schools:

"The schools were not hostile to me, they were very eager
to accept any help I could give, anything that worked they
were really pleased with. But I think there is a limit to
its value because the problem is that there is nobody of
expertise established who knows how to cope with really
severe levels of difficulty, such as we have here, in a mixed
ability class, and we don't have that expertise. We have
a lot of experience in how to deal with them, but experience
in a certain type of situation."

This point perhaps explains the reluctance of many special school

teachers to become involved in Outreach, and the initial nerves of

those who do.

When an Outreach teacher started work in a school they sometimes went

alone and sometimes were introduced by the Area Support Teacher. On

the first visit they would discuss the planned work with the head-

teacher and the co-ordinator, and perhaps with other members of staff.

One Outreach teacher stressed the importance of being able to quickly

build up good relationships in the school, of mutual support.

"Each time you start a new school you really are starting all
over again so it's not much easier ... every school's different
...it's quite a responsibility when you start at a new school
to get things right."

A general impression of the type of work Outreach teachers do in ord-

inary schools will have already been gained. The following examples

have been selected to show the variety of tasks carried out and the

range of time spent in each school.

In one school the Outreach teacher had relieved each class teacher in

turn so that the class teacher could go through the Basic Skills check-

list (a SNAP publication) with one or more pupils. A support teacher

said that this was better than the Outreach teacher doing the checklist

with the children "because it's the class teacher who needs to have

the direct input with the child". Although the outreach teacher

probably began to build up a relationship with the staff through this,

it might have been better to a supply teacher to release the teachers,

considering that the Outreach teacher had left her own class in the

special school.

At another school one of the contact teachers had been working in "more

of an advisory role as opposed to a remedial teacher role "to help a

school with "what they see as quite difficult behaviour problems".

Again this contract involved the whole staff.

Outreach teachers often helped schools to develop their policies on

special needs. In one school this was mainly worked out by the Outreach

teacher and the co-ordinator. They also introduced the schools to new

resources, from the special school or from the Special Needs Support

Centre. Sometimes an Outreach teacher would spend the time allocated

to a particular school at the Support Centre reproducing materials the

school had requested, rather than visiting the school.

The Outreach teachers have been tutors on the SNAP courses for co-

ordinators at the Teachers' Centre. They have then gone into the

schools to help the co-ordinators implement what they had learnt. For

example one school was visited by an Outreach teacher for one morning

each week for a term and then for half a morning a week for another

term. The co-ordinator was pleased with this support;

> "We had a lot of back-up because she was so enthusiastic
> ...she left us standing. But it was marvellous, she got
> us started, organised us all a treat on how to keep record
> sheets going."

In another case the Outreach teacher "assisted the teachers in pro-

ducing work materials".

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The following comments by a co-ordinator shows the variety of ways

that an Outreach teacher can support the development of SNAP.

> "She's been doing special programmes with children with
> special difficulties, and helping the teachers prepare
> the programmes. Occasionally she will take the children
> away and do some work with them... We've got to make the
> best use of her by getting SNAP going as far as possible
> ... She's done an awful lot of work that I can't do, like
> writing sets of workcards and duplicating them ... and
> she's suggesting apparatus, suggesting schemes ... she's
> got lots and lots of experience."

This co-ordinator, and many others, clearly felt that the special school

teachers had a lot to offer.

The behaviourist strategies suggested in the SNAP materials were not

followed by one of the Outreach teachers, who said she was not alone

in this view.   She thought "that too often the fulfillment of special

needs in both primary and secondary schools was concerned with only

giving them very narrow programmes, based on objectives usually" and

that this "didn't work in the curriculum at all." Her objective as

an Outreach teacher had been to produce worksheets which made "the

general curriculum accessible to the child with special needs." When

asked about the behaviourist model used as the philosophical base for

the teaching strategies suggested in the SNAP publications, Mel Ainscow

said that these had been overstressed.

> "The materials are just a vehicle, the important things
> are the services and support built around SNAP... We don't
> want (people) to lose enthusiasm for the whole philosophy
> of the project because they don't like the nuts and bolts
> of it.... There are other ways of operating, the important
> thing is that you have some successful way of operating."

Some LEAs had had problems implementing SNAP because they had not

built up support services, but he hoped that in Coventry the message

had got through that the strategies suggested in the SNAP manuals were to be accepted, modified or rejected. However the Outreach teacher said that the behaviourist model was a "very powerful theory in the county at the moment" and that she was "always much happier giving advice when (she) wasn't actually tied to this model."

One school, which was allocated a lot of time in the Outreach project, had set up a special unit which again wasn't "in vogue at the moment in Coventry" (the headteacher). The unit was started because the intake from the infants' school contained a lot of children with "emotional problems". The Outreach teacher came three mornings a week for the first term which the head said had helped them "a great deal". During the Spring term the Outreach teacher visited for two sessions a week when he worked with the two "mainstream" classes in the first year, assessing them with the Basic Skills checklist and preparing programmes for them. For the Summer term he visited one morning a week.

In contrast another school, perhaps because it was in a more middle class area, had "minimal" back-up from Outreach teachers. The head-teacher said that they had probably had four visits in seventeen months.

> "Any special care that we find, when we're not quite
> sure of our programme is applicable for that particular
> child, then (an Outreach teacher) has come in, made his
> own recommendations on that child ... That's either
> concurred with what we've been doing, or he's suggested
> another approach."

There were other occasions when the Outreach teachers helped small groups or individual pupils. For example "helping with a maths group" described by the Co-ordinator as "very, very useful". Or in another school giving "advice to the individual teachers who have got Down's

Syndrome children in their class." In another instance the Outreach
teacher had been helping one child, and then a group of children, with
phonic work to help their reading. And an Outreach teacher had also
worked with a child whose language was disordered. She described the
"language therapy" as "remarkably successful". Sometimes Outreach
teachers were asked to advise schools on whether children were "suitable
candidates" for their special schools.

The Outreach teachers have therefore been involved in a variety of
tasks in ordinary schools. Working with individual children and also
with teachers, providing and suggesting resources, teaching strategies
and methods of record-keeping. This next section will consider the
rewards and the difficulties for the Outreach teachers of being in-
volved in the project.

Three of the Outreach teachers made comments which suggested that they
found Outreach personally rewarding. One said that she enjoyed the
different type of teaching, another said that she had been in special
education for a long time and that it was "very good to be back with
normal children". This teacher said that her own class, in the special
school, enjoyed having a change for the one afternoon a week that she
was out, and that she thought the change was good for them. The third
teacher commented as follows:

> "I actually enjoy doing the work ... it extends me, because
> when you're working in a school, not just because it's a
> special school ... you tend to be confined within the limits
> of that school. So it gets you out, you meet other people,
> you get new ideas which I'm sure is good ... I love this
> school ... but I also do like going out to other schools.
> Whether I'd like to do one more than the other, I really
> at the moment am very happy doing them both ... I don't like
> to get into a rut, so I like to do different things all the
> time, I think it's a bit of a challenge."

One of the primary school headteachers said that she thought it did the special school teachers good to visit ordinary schools because it "renewed their yardstick".

Enthusiasm for the Outreach project such as that shown by the teacher quoted above was unusual. One in particular seemed weary of it but perhaps this was only because it was the end of a school day, part of "the hidden context of situation". Another, although she enjoyed the work felt strongly thatthe project had not been properly evaluated; "I was for analysing what was done, and what was really worth doing". The Outreach teachers tended to concentrate on the difficulties of "doing two jobs". This phrase cropped up in several interviews. A scale 1 teacher on the Outreach project was described by a colleague as having two jobs to do, "but the two jobs were really more than half time a piece ... she was doing three quarters of a job here (the special school) and another three quarters job outside school". The headteacher said that they had had some "pretty emotional reactions" from some of the Outreach teachers, one of whom was "trying to tear herself into two bits". Part of the difficulty of having "two jobs" was not being sure who her boss was. The Outreach teachers were under pressure from their special schools, from the Special Needs Support Team, from the ordinary schools and from themselves to do a good job. A more senior member of staff found these pressures easier to manage, because he could say "I'm my own boss, I've been able to make management type decisions".

Another Outreach teacher brought up the idea of having two jobs when she was talking about the effect of her absence on her class. She said that her class hated her going, and that the LEA were "getting a remedial job done on thecheap". The teacher who said that she enjoyed the challenge of the Outreach project also acknowledged that there were

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some difficulties;

> "You're drawn in two opposite directions as to where
> your commitment lies... you have to allocate time for the
> different things."

She had not done any Outreach during the previous week because she had
decided that taking her class on a school journey had priority. During
the first year of the project this teacher said that she had spent
three quarters of her weekday evenings and some time on Saturday and
Sunday working at home. Because she resented having to work at weekends
she had asked to do less Outreach in the second year, and had "insisted"
on having some time in the school day, one third of an afternoon, for
preparation for Outreach.

A similar experience was reported by another teacher;

> "I was burning the midnight oil, I added up the hours and
> there were weeks on end when I was working 65 to 70 hours
> per week. I can't keep that up. I enjoyed it very much
> and found it very, very interesting but there were limits,
> and I had the whole of the responsibility for my class."

Two other Outreach teachers said that they had difficulty finding time
to do the preparation necessary for Outreach work, in addition to their
work for the special school.

Other problems mentioned by the Outreach teachers included the strain
of going into a school where they are not well known and consequently
have to "be rather careful about what you say and how you say it".
Although Coventry does not extend over a large area, or have much
problem with road congestion, one of the teachers considered that the
time she spent travelling was an uneconomic use of her time, as it meant
that she was leaving a class of special school children to teach a much

smaller number of pupils in an ordinary school. The bus services in Coventry almost all run into the city centre and out the other side, so it is not easy to travel by bus between adjacent areas around the periphery. None of the Outreach teachers mentioned using public transport although several mentioned using their cars. If an Outreach teacher did not have a car this would restrict the number of schools which she or he could visit.

One teacher said that she was embarrassed to go into an ordinary school to teach just two children, so she had increased the number she worked with to a group of four or five pupils.

One further possible difficulty was brought up by the headteacher of an ordinary school who said that the Outreach teacher might be hampered by not knowing a child well. For example the Outreach teacher might think a child could not do certain work, where in fact it was "just shyness with a stranger" which was stopping it answering.

Perhaps the most serious criticism of the Outreach project's way of expanding the role of the special school teacher came from the head-teacher of one of the special schools. He was particularly concerned about the strain of the project on his staff, who were "too conscient-ious". He said that the spouses of two of his staff, who were "heavily engaged in Outreach and in this school", had telephoned him to say that the teachers "were overdoing it", and that "a breakdown was likely".

When I asked about whether they considered the Outreach project to be successful or not the teachers involved usually thought that the work they had done had been useful to the ordinary schools who were "very grateful for any help". But they often questioned whether the project as it stood was an economic use of their time, given the strain that it put on them and their relationship with their special school class. One

Outreach teacher suggested that pupils of ordinary schools could visit
the special school, perhaps for a day or two a week, or full-time for
a limited period such as a term. This would involve less stress on
the special school teachers although it gets away from the aim of the
project's instigators of "leaving schools better able to cope", rather
than concentrating on the individual pupil.

THE ORDINARY SCHOOLS

The Headteachers

Eleven primary school headteachers were interviewed in the study. The
role of a headteacher enables them to be a link between LEA policies
and classroom practice. Mel Ainscow said that they had learnt through
experience to "stress the critical importance of the headteacher's
active involvement" in SNAP. The programme was started by first in-
viting heads to a meeting at the teachers' centre, where they were asked
to nominate a SNAP co-ordinator on their staff. One headteacher said
that he thought this seemed important at the time but he didn't realise
then how much would be involved. His first thought had been "How are
we going to cope with SNAP on top of everything else?" The Special
Needs support teacher for the area had reassured him by saying that
the work on a reading programme that the school had already done would
fit into SNAP.

Another headteacher started off SNAP in his school by having meetings
of the whole staff, where they went through all the pupils and assessed
their needs. He said that this "subjective discussion ... was valuable
because it focuses your mind on what you're doing anyway. And because
when the whole staff became aware of the needs of a child there was a

greater chance of consistency of approach" to that child. They found
that they considered about sixty per cent of the pupils to have special
needs, but they could only "treat" with individual programmes "the most
acute problems"

This school interpreted special needs as meaning learning, physical and
social needs. In another school the headteacher talked of an "Extra
Care Book" when discussing how SNAP was being implemented. This book
concentrated on special physical needs.

Staff meetings were used by other headteachers to formulate their policy
on Special needs. One headteacher said that he saw special needs as
part of the curriculum and therefore discussed the policy in staff
meetings. At another school I asked the co-ordinator if the policy on
special needs was worked out in staff meetings, she replied as follows;

> "Well, in fact ... our head has decided what his policy
> is going to be and has handed us his ideas which we can
> either agree to or otherwise. If we have very good reasons
> for not wanting to do that we would present these reasons
> at a staff meeting."

All the schools were supposed to produce a policy statement on special
needs. Some involved their staff more than others. Only in one school
did the co-ordinator seem to resent the way the headteacher was handling
the implementation of SNAP. When she commented "He seems to deal with
it, and then tells me what he feels I need to know."

A further considerable part of a school headteacher's job is to decide
how the available staff are to be deployed each year. Again headteachers
vary in their styles of management, some consult with their deputies
and other staff more than others. Several headteachers used part-time
teachers to withdraw children from the mainstream class for remedial

teaching. These were often the first children for whom SNAP "small steps" programmes were written. One headteacher had a small unit for children within one year group with special needs;

> "I opted ... for the little unit which isn't in vogue at
> the moment in Coventry ... but we had an advisory visit
> this term ... they made their report and they had to say
> that it was working."

This unit had the help of an Outreach teacher throughout the year. One of the headteachers sounded very well organised with a computerised time-table, "You could tell who was having what kind of teaching or guidance at what time within the week".

So although SNAP aims to educate as many pupils as possible in the mainstream it also incorporates other ways of working. Several schools withdrew some children for special help, while supporting others, considered to have less acute needs, in the mainstream class with small steps programmes. One headteacher was being forced by falling rolls and the consequent loss of a part-time remedial teacher, to rethink her policy on special needs for the next academic year. The impression I received was that headteachers were gradually altering their organis- ation to take on board the ideas of SNAP, partly through a changing philosophy and partly through necessity.

Headteachers vary greatly in the amount of time they spend teaching. This also has an effect on the school's special needs policy. Two headteachers withdrew children from ordinary classes and gave them extra help, for example with their reading. One headteacher said that where possible he taught for sixty per cent of the school day so that the teaching groups were smaller and his staff could have some non- contact time - useful when a teacher is trying to cater for special

needs. One of the co-ordinators had been able to go on a couple of
special needs in-service education courses run in the daytime because
her headteacher had taught her class.

Headteachers were understandably keen to get what help they could for
their schools. It was for this reason, Jean Garnett said, that the
contracts had been incorporated in the Outreach project;

> "We tie it down fairly carefully ... some are very general
> commitments others are very precise. It depends on the
> school you're dealing with, some heads are more manipulative
> than others. I think it's quite acceptable that heads should
> be manipulative, these days you've got to be if you're going
> to be a good head. It's very easy for a head to say 'Ah,
> another pair of hands ... I can get Mr. so and so to do this
> and this and this, while you're dealing with that situation
> could you just have these children as well'. We're tyring
> to prevent that happening while we're carrying out the role
> of Outreach."

I only heard of one situation where the relationship between an Out-
reach teacher and an ordinary school had not gone well and the Outreach
teacher had withdrawn before the contract was completed. This was
thought to be the result of existing tensions in the ordinary school.
In the other schools the heads all seemed grateful for the help of
the Outreach teachers, most often describing it as "useful". Although
one headteacher said that the attention one pupil had received had
initially made him "forge ahead, but then progress plateaued off, and
he now doesn't work without an adult by his side".

Headteachers mentioned several times that the Outreach teachers had
brought materials in for them to look at, and perhaps use, before they
ordered them for their school. A practice they appreciated.

Some headteachers, although thankful for the help of an Outreach
teacher (if they had been involved in the project) did not think that

SNAP was relevant to their school. Basically their reasons were "We do it anyway", and "there isn't time". Interestingly the two schools not involved in the Outreach project, and a third school which had received only "four visits in ... seventeen months", had heads who held these views. One had developed "step by step" programmes for learning in the school with a support teacher a few years previously and so perhaps was already carrying out many of SNAP's aims. The joint use of Peak and Nuffield mathematics schemes therefore meant that another school used small steps in this area, although the head thought that she needed help to develop the reading programme. Because of the nature of the catchment area a head said that SNAP was not relevant for her school, although it might be useful in the inner city. Also in her school, teaching was matched to the childrens' abilities so there was "no underachievement". In another instance a head considered some children to be unsuitable for SNAP, their problems were too severe. Lastly a headteacher thought that although SNAP had made his staff more aware of materials, they would need more resources for SNAP to work.

The Co-ordinators

Because of their degree of involvement the co-ordinators generally had fairly strong views on SNAP and the Outreach project. The headteachers had responsibility for choosing the co-ordinators. All the primary schools had to appoint a co-ordinator who then went on a six week SNAP in-service education course after school.

"It is the co-ordinator's role:

1. To make colleagues in the school aware of their responsibilities to pupils with special needs.

2. To co-ordinate the development of school-based
    strategies for the identification, support and review
    of these pupils.

3. To assist teachers in the school in the development of
    appropriate programmes for these pupils.

4. To provide information for colleagues about special
    education resources and services available in the
    authority.   "

(Ainscow and Muncey, 1983, p.5)

From the interviews with thirteen co-ordinators I gathered a lot of info-

rmation on their role. Unfortunately there is not space in this study,

which focuses on the Outreach project, to adequately represent this

information. Instead I will concentrate on how the Outreach project can

help the co-ordinator.

The section on Outreach teachers illustrated how they had helped the co-

ordinators, for example, by reviewing the resources or by jointly writing

the school's special needs policy. The examples also showed the fav-

ourable attitudes of many of the co-ordinators. In this section there-

fore I will look at problems associated with the co-ordinator's role,

which the Outreach teacher might be able to help solve. This might give

the impression that the co-ordinators were all rather negative about

SNAP, which is by no means true, they were mostly in favour of it. So

to start I will include a couple of positive comments:

> "It is working and we have built up some sort of a system ...
> it's great that somebody in the school is building up
> resources ... that someone knows what's going on ... when
> the psychologist visits, and knows the problems that the
> children are suffering."
>
> (Co-ordinator)

> "If I need help I can go to the Outreach teacher or to the
> psychologist ... I think they're trying to keep the children
> out of special schools that don't really need to be there."
>
> (Co-ordinator)

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"From my own experience it seems to work. Now whether
it's just another gimmick or not, I don't know."

(Co-ordinator)

The first point in the description of the co-ordinator's role talks

about making teachers aware of their responsibilities to pupils with

special needs, it is taken from a SNAP publication entitled: 'All

teachers are teachers of children with special needs' (Ainscow and

Muncey, 1983). However some co-ordinators, like the headteachers,

made comments which seemed to say "special needs are not my responsi-

bility because ..." Again the reasons they gave often included "We

do it anyway" and "There isn't time."

Several co-ordinators developed an unfavourable attitude to SNAP

during their training course;

"The course itself was very interesting, it got a lot
of teachers together who I wouldn't have met otherwise,
and I found out that my teaching was no different to
anybody elses', so ... it was reassuring. But we all
felt, all of us in my support group, that it was insulting
to be taken out of the classroom for an afternoon to be
told that we have to plan a set of lessons ... as though
we don't ever plan any lessons for anybody."

This teacher said that SNAP provided a good record of what had been

tried with a child, which might be useful when a child was statemented

under the 1981 Act. But when she tutored the SNAP course in her school

it is not surprising that she reports the reaction of the rest of the

staff to be similar to hers, "How dare they imply that we don't do this

already?" This had been the reaction in another school but the staff

had then "come round" when they had realised that it was basically

about record-keeping.

Even when the co-ordinator was enthusiastic there was sometimes poor "take-up" of the materials they had collected together. One teacher, who had worked in several schools as a supply teacher, told me about a school where he said a co-ordinator had a room full of boxes of materials, gathering dust as they were never touched. One of the co-ordinators brought up this point;

>"We've got to convince all the teachers ... they know that
>small steps will work, but it is very difficult to put it
>into practice because one is very busy."

Industrial action as a result of the teachers' pay dispute had meant that many schools were not holding after school staff meetings and this made the co-ordinators job harder, as the staff had to be contacted individually.

Many co-ordinators mentioned the problem of finding time for SNAP development, both for themselves and for the rest of the staff;

>"Perhaps it (SNAP) will lead to better results ... on the
>other hand it's going to involve more work, limited support
>and limited extra resources, it's all down to the class
>teacher and to the co-ordinator."
>
>"I'm not paid for being co-ordinator, ...I don't get any
>time for it."

The position of co-ordinator does not carry any financial reward. Most of the co-ordinators were already scale post holders as suggested to the headteachers. This meant that they had a certain amount of status which would be helpful, but it also meant that they had other responsibilities.

Although the co-ordinator's role is not given a financial value, some co-ordinators did have non-contact time in which to develop SNAP. One

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co-ordinator mentioned having three quarters of an hour a week, another
had a whole afternoon a week, although she did not know how long this
arrangement was to last. Sometimes the headteacher organised the time-
table to give the co-ordinator time, sometimes the Outreach teacher
relieved a co-ordinator of a class and sometimes, as in the second
example given above, the LEA provided a supply teacher. Looking at the
attitudes of the co-ordinators for whom I have details on whether or not
they had some non-contact time, four out of the five who did were gener-
ally favourable to SNAP and their role. One co-ordinator said that it
was difficult to get round eleven classes in one afternoon a week.
Three co-ordinators who didn't have non-contact time for developing
SNAP were generally negative towards it or said that time was a major
constraint on their work. Three quarters of an hour might not sound
as if it would be enough to make any difference, but it facilitates
liaison with other teachers, allows the co-ordinator to relieve other
teachers and as time is money I would suggest that it makes co-ordinators
feel that their role is valued.

One final point relevant to the co-ordinators' role of developing
SNAP in schools is that of the distortion of the message. SNAP uses a
"pyramid-sell" model, "so that information and skills can be disseminated
as rapidly as possible". (Ainscow an Muncey, 1983, p.5). A disadvantage
of this is that the message can be diluted and distorted as it is passed
from person to person from the SNAP course tutors to the co-ordinators
to the ordinary school down the pyramid. An example of this was the
use of SNAP as a new label for children with special needs, although a
"basic philosophy behind the programme has been to look at children in
terms of need, rather than to perpetuate the use of categories..."
(Ainscow and Muncey, 1983, p.3). Several people I talked to made fre-
quent reference to "SNAP children". Such as the co-ordinator who said
"A SNAP child is somebody with a handicap" and another co-ordinator

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who said that she had in her class "three children I actually treat as SNAP children and another three who are borderline". (I wish I had asked what the difference in their treatment was). The first co-ordinator elaborated her concept of who was and was not a "SNAP child".

"I know of one school where they're putting children with just the occasional reading difficulty or writing difficulty on to a SNAP course and calling these SNAP children, they're not SNAP children at all ... not the ones who are having difficulties with number 1 to 100 ... they're not special needs, they just need more time spent on them, they need a different approach."

Which begs the question, what is the difference between different and special?

Mel Ainscow said that he was aware of this problem and had tried to counteract it; "We've stressed like mad that we want to avoid the use of labels". This message had been received by some of the respondents. For example, "We try not to call them SNAP children", "...It's difficult selecting a SNAP child, ... that's terrible isn't it, 'a SNAP child', a child with special needs..."

From the accounts given of the varied tasks undertaken by the Outreach teachers, and the positive reception that the Outreach teachers received in ordinary schools, it would seem that the Outreach teachers were helping the co-ordinators to solve the problems detailed above.

The Class Teachers

This section considers the role in the Outreach project of those teachers in ordinary schools who are neither heads or co-ordinators. The class teachers were generally pleased to have help from the Outreach project, but in some cases their comments suggest that this was more because a

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child was off their hands for a while, than because they felt they were learning how better to provide for the child's special needs.

One teacher did not know very much about the Outreach teacher's work with a girl in her class because the child went "to a remedial teacher for maths, anyway". However the teacher thought the child had gained confidence, tried harder and was less nervous with strangers. In another instance the class teacher and the Outreach teacher had not had much opportunity to talk about what the Outreach teacher was doing. The class teacher was pleased that the child was "not disrupting".

> "I know that for half an hour, once a week he's at least
> sitting still doing something, that's the main advantage...
> I think he's rather pleased to see her, a special teacher
> that nobody else has ... she plays little games with him,
> I don't think even she's got time to work out a special
> programme for him ... I think it's of more interest to her,
> rather than to me."

Perhaps this was just the initial stages of a contract, when the Outreach teacher was getting to know the child, but it does sound as if more communication between the two teachers would have made the Outreach teacher's time in the school more effective, "leaving the school better able to cope".

In some schools the teachers saw children with special needs as their responsibility. One school had at first been against the idea of a co-ordinator, because they thought this would take away their responsibility for all the pupils in their classes. Another said that "in-class training" from the Outreach teacher was the ideal situation for teachers. A different teacher said that teachers now felt able to ask for help if they needed it, it didn't "mean admitting you were a bad teacher, just that someone has more expertise in a particular area". Again some class teachers talked about 'SNAP children' while others seemed to have

received the message about labelling.

In conclusion, there are quite a number of different people whose work involves them in the Outreach project to a greater or lesser extent. I spoke to over forty of them, most seemed in favour of the project. The strongest opposition to it came from two of the special school head-teachers, who objected to the project in the form it then had, because of its effects on their schools, and the stress on the Outreach teachers, (see Appendix 4).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION: SUPPORTING CHANGE

This study has looked at special school teachers who are working in
ordinary schools supporting the development of the LEA's programme for
special needs; SNAP. This is all part of the process of integrating
special and mainstream education. What successes and difficulties did
the Outreach project have in its first two years? How have problems
been tackled? How could the project be improved? Considering all these
points, is it a useful model for using the expertise locked up in special
schools? This final chapter will address these questions.

Firstly, a few comments, with the benefit of hindsight, on the methods
used in the study. If I had my time again, what would I change? It
might have been interesting to look equally at the three special schools
involved in the Outreach project, to have interviewed all those who were
or had been Outreach teachers (I missed about five or six), and a
selection of teachers in ordinary schools. This was because at all three
MLD schools people talked about how their model differed from that of
the other two schools, for example in the status of the teachers on the
project, and the ways the special school adapted.

I spent several months considering different methods for the study and I
think the unstructured interview was the most appropriate for the subject
matter and the exploratory nature of the study. During these interviews,
or perhaps by letter, it would have been helpful if I had gathered a few
more "hard" facts and figures, rather than being content with approximate
answers, such as on the number of schools an Outreach teacher had visited.

However, the interviews did go much better than I had expected. Perhaps

my feelings were similar to some of those experienced by the Outreach teachers. At first I was nervous as I walked into each school, unsure of what reception I would have, but as I became more familiar with my role, my confidence increased. It was challenging to enter so many different schools, particularly without the security of a structured questionnaire. I learnt a lot from listening to many teachers describing their work, some ideas, particularly on the teaching of reading I have since put into practice. In many other ways this work has developed my thinking and so informed my classroom practice. I enjoyed the oppor- tunity to read widely on education - from theoretical issues, such as equality of educational opportunity and the rights and wrongs of positive discrimination, to fascinating sidetracks like Harlan Lane's book "The Wild Boy of Aveyron".

Finally, the school in which I currently work includes a unit for partially hearing children who are integrated into the mainstream as much as possible. Also the school was used as a pilot test in an LEA project to develop a Special Needs policy. At this school I have had help from a special needs support teacher who works regularly with me in the classroom, rather than withdrawing children for remedial teach- ing. These experiences have helped me understand the issues involved in the Outreach project, while my study of the Outreach project has informed my work in the school.

Many people commented on successful aspects of the Outreach project. The Outreach teachers were able to build up good relationships with the schools in all but a couple of cases. They performed a great variety of tasks in ordinary schools. In many cases these do seem to have maintained the aim of leaving the schools "better able to cope" by intro- ducing the schools to specialist materials, discussing teaching strat- egies, supporting the SNAP co-ordinator, co-operating in the assessment

of pupils and the devising of programmes for them, and by helping the schools to review and develop their resources.

Galloway and Goodwin (1987) discuss the work of Mullins (1982) on a project in Sheffield where the support teachers were mostly based at special schools at which they had previously been teachers. The support teachers had initially wanted "to work on a consultancy model" (p.127) but pressure from the class teachers, 65 per cent of whom wanted the support teachers to act as peripatetic specialist teachers, had "socialised" the teachers into the latter role... The support teachers had found themselves in a "catch 22" situation.

> "To work effectively they have to be accepted as individuals, since otherwise their advice will almost certainly be ignored. Yet to be accepted as individuals they have to work ineffectively, by individualising the problem, and playing down the school's contribution."
>
> (Galloway and Goodwin, 1987, p.126).

The Outreach teachers in Coventry's project recognised this problem. More than one Outreach teacher stressed the need for great diplomacy when trying to work co-operatively with schools. In a sense the Outreach teachers were saying "Now listen, you're doing it all wrong", but they had to tactfully bring up the "school's contribution" to pupils difficulties. Sometimes they had to compromise and do tasks which in the short-term seemed inappropriate, perhaps they would effect only one child. But this was seen as a way to be "accepted as individuals" so that a relationship in which teaching strategies and classroom or school organisation could be openly discussed.

The Outreach teachers were mostly pleased with the work they had done, although it was not easy "watching what you say and how you say it". They had managed to avoid being "an extra pair of hands", and most

schools had understood and valued their role, sometimes after initial
misunderstanding.

In the Sheffield study, "Far from 'giving away' their expertise, using
their experience to help class teachers identify and meet the child's
needs, the service inadvertently contributed to the mystique surround-
ing special education". (Galloway and Goodwin, 1987, p.128).   In many
cases the Outreach project seemed to avoid this pitfall, perhaps be-
cause SNAP emphasises that "all teachers are teachers of children with
special needs" and in each school there is a co-ordinator who has had
in-service education in this philosophy. Also the system of contracts
allows the Outreach teachers role to be tightly defined where the area
support teacher and educational psychologist considered this advisable.
The Outreach teachers had put a lot of work into the project. They
themselves often attributed their successes and "survival" to the support
of the area special needs support teachers, who were experienced at the
job the Outreach teachers were learning and readily gave them advice
and help when they needed it.

DIFFICULTIES

The difficulties found by those working on the Outreach project have
been divided into two categories. Firstly problems they experienced
in their work in ordinary schools, and secondly drawbacks of the project.

The Outreach teachers were in ordinary schools to help the staff provide
for the education of children with special needs. A contract between
the special and ordinary schools was set up as a response to the ident-
ification of problems. Outreach teachers were therefore in schools as
agents supporting change. Schools are complex organisations, difficult
to change, and inevitably the Outreach teachers met resistance to change

in schools and in their work with individual teachers. Change threatens, suggests that the existing self is not adequate, but also beckons, suggests that improvement is possible, (Brandes, 1985).

Coventry's ~~chief~~ Senior educational psychologist, Jim Muncey, said that it was taking longer than they had envisaged to set up SNAP (at a lecture on a SNAP "Open Day", 8/7/85). The primary schools showed a variety of responses to the calls for change, accepting the innovation, adapting it, or rejecting it by saying that special needs are not their problem, they had not got the time for it or that they were doing it already. In some cases the area support teacher confirmed to the school that their existing policies and practice were in agreement with the basic aims of SNAP.

Often, however, the teachers did not see special needs as part of their responsibility. Although support services are a "significant requirement" for successful innovation (Nisbet, 1975 in Harris et al) support teachers for special needs can be counter-productive. "Ordinary teachers, already de-skilled and patronised by the concept and practice of support, are made to believe that they have no resources and cannot cope alone. So the circle is completed, back to special education." (Sayer 1984, in Spencer). The child becomes 'special' in the teacher's eyes, out of her province, out of her "locus of control" (Rotter, 1972), responsibility has been handed over to the support teacher. A child with special needs is seen as different from one who needs remedial help. Some of the comments made by co-ordinators and class teachers suggested that this was their attitude.

In a review of the literature Henderson, 1978, could not find much evidence for enduring attitude changes in teachers as a result of in-service education. The Outreach teacher's job of convincing teachers that with

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appropriate help they have or can develop the skills necessary to

teach children with special needs, is therefore not easy. However,

an American study by Thomas (1985) offers some hope. He found that

in one area with "mainstreaming traditions buttressed by official

policy, federal legislation and generous financial support" the teach-

ing profession was "significantly less opposed to integration "than

another area without the "mainstreaming traditions " etc. He concluded

that a mainstreaming "tradition, backed by extra resources and personnel

does influence attitudes over time", (p.260).

The disclaimer that there was no time for writing programmes for indiv-

idual children was treated with sympathy by one of the area support

teachers:

> "I can take you to a school just down the road where there are
> no classes under 35 and only a .5 teacher to relieve. The
> head is co-ordinator and ... does her best to do a lot of
> teaching and relieve staff, but it isn't a very happy situation.
> There are lots of schools on the periphery of the city who are
> in the same position, things become a little easier when you
> get to the inner city schools with the extra staff."

Jim Muncey (SNAP "Open Day", 8/7/85) said that it was "virtually imposs-

ible" to sustain change, but with SNAP they were trying. The co-ordinators

were the key people within the schools who were to maintain the change,

(Margulies and Wallace, 1973). Where they did not have any non-contact

time, they seemed to be less positive about SNAP and it was also diffi-

cult for the Outreach teachers to support them in their new role.

The drawbacks of the Outreach project are mainly the workload expected

of Outreach teachers, the stress of having "two jobs" and the effects

on the special school of the Outreach teachers frequent absence. Several

suggestions were made as to how these difficulties might be overcome.

One solution which was being developed was to include more special school

staff in the project, and so spread the load. One Outreach teacher

hoped that in-service education in the special school would encourage

more of the staff to become involved. Part of the stress of the job

at first was because it was all so new. An area support teacher thought

that with time the Outreach teachers would get to know the support

centre's resources and the schools, and their job would therefore be a

bit easier. In the first year of the project (1983-84) four teachers

were involved each spending half their time on Outreach. In the

second year a few more teachers joined and some left the project.

One of the Outreach teachers commented on her reasons for not continuing:

> "There were a lot of problems in school for me to resolve.
> The main point that I'd like to get across publicly is
> that we were the pilot scheme and there was no proper
> evaluation involving us. We gave some reports in which we
> described what we did... The main problem to consider is
> the number of children that we are treating - economics...
> I was spending a whole afternoon (to see) two children...
> Well I have twenty here ... always between seventeen and
> twenty. Now I would like very much to spend that kind
> of time on various individuals in my class on their language
> development."

Starting in September 1985 team teaching was to be tried as a solution

to the problems of Outreach teachers having the full responsibility

for a class, and the effects of the teacher's absence on the class. At

a different special school it was suggested that bringing the children

to the school would not waste the teachers' time travelling and would

mean that the teachers who felt unable to visit other schools would be

involved.

However this reverts to the notion of the problem being located solely

in the child. Galloway and Goodwin (1987) further criticise temporary

special school placements:

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"On theoretical grounds there is no reason for thinking
that improvements in a child's behaviour, established in
one context, will transfer to another ... With learning
difficulties the problem is slightly different ... children
can indeed make rapid progress in small 'remedial' groups.
Yet this progress is rapidly lost on return to the main-
stream unless: (a) fairly intensive support is maintained
and/or (b) the remedial programme is directly related to
the child's curriculum in the ordinary class."

<div align="center">(p.129)</div>

Another suggestion was for the Outreach teachers to use the special school
as a base, and do very little, if any, teaching. Where the effect on
the special schools is minimal, special and ordinary education stay seg-
regated, but one head thought this compromise was the best way forward
for Outreach teachers. The process of integration could be pursued with
neighbouring ordinary schools.

Some improvements suggested by the project's participants have been con-
sidered. A brief look at some accounts of similar initiatives might
suggest further lines of development. I will also see if I can confirm
the findings of any other studies. The practice of developing special
schools as a resource centre, as suggested in Warnock (1978) has been
taken up in some areas. Examples of this are given by Hegarty and
Pocklington (1982), Turner (1979) and Stevens (1984). Hegarty and Pock-
lington give an account of a school for pupils with learning difficulties
which sends out teachers to local primary schools to help the class
teachers by advising them and supplying them with structured learning
materials. There are many similarities to the Outreach project. For
example, it was useful to have the school psychological service as "gate-
keepers", it was a form of in-service training attempting to "gradually
and subtly" influence educational practice, and as with the Outreach pro-
ject, there were "short and longer term concerns ... the short emphasis
is on the individual pupil ... the long term concern is to extend the

skills and expertise of the ordinary teacher." (p.271).

Factors making for success which concurred with those of the Outreach project were the "commitment and enthusiasm" of the staff, the "collaborative" nature of the scheme, the prior agreement of "a specific rather than general purpose", the fact that "visiting teachers are all practising teachers and are seen as such", and "the availability of relevant curriculum materials, materials that most class teachers would not have the time - and possibly the expertise - to develop for themselves". (pp 273-4). This school had a "favourable staffing ratio" (1:8) and "additional finance" for its role.

> "The favourable staffing situation allows Greenfields
> teachers to confine themselves to a maximum of two schools
> each. This enables them to provide an in-depth service
> and to continue it for as long as necessary. Visits are on
> average of at least two hours duration and may be for a
> half day."

One of the area support teachers in Coventry said that she would like it if eventually each special school was responsible for its local primary schools. This would help with the problems of liaison and deciding on who would be ultimately responsible for work carried out. If the staffing ratio at the Coventry schools was greater than 1:8, then lowering it might lessen the heavy workload on the Outreach teachers.

In Steven's account the provision of materials is again stressed along with the aim of helping teachers to help themselves, in this case weekly visits usually lasted half a day and were reviewed after twelve months, in the Outreach project most contracts were initially for about half a term. As in "Greenfields" the special school teachers' credibility comes from being an ordinary class teacher, and the amount of time a teacher spends out of the school is less than that of some of the Out-

reach teachers. "None does link work for more than one full day weekly and initially would help for only half a day ... visits coincide with the times when the teacher's own class is doing Home Economics with another member of staff, so no extra cover is necessary".

Another feature of the support programme at this school was part-time and short-term attendance at the special school for pupils who remained on the registers of ordinary schools. The part-timers attend at the most for two days a week. Short-term placement means up to three terms, they hope that children will be able to return to the parent school, but long-term admission is a possibility. There were problems with the parents' attitudes to their child's part-time admission to a special school, the children had difficulty identifying with two schools, and it had been difficult to organise the timetable.

Galloway and Goodwin (1987) report that Mullin's study in Sheffield found a similar effect of support teachers based at special schools acting as a "funnel" for the special schools. The support teachers (formerly special school teachers) would agree with the need for special schools.

> "With their own limited scope for helping their child clients
> in ordinary schools, it is scarcely surprising that support
> teachers quite frequently concluded that special schooling was
> the only answer."
> (p.129).

The proposition of part-time attendance at a special school has been examined because it was made by one of the Outreach teachers, although in Coventry I found no evidence to suggest that the Outreach teachers were acting as a "funnel" to fill up their school's roll. Rather one Outreach teacher had supported the re-integration of one of her school's pupils into an ordinary primary school.

Hockley (1984) and Visser (1986) have both written about the role of
the support teacher. In both articles in-service education is stressed
as the support teachers' aims.

"The curriculum and in-service training have been very important
to me. There is much talk about the needs of children, much
less about the needs of the staff who feel threatened by the
prospect of integration and require support".
                    (Hockley, p.28)

"Perhaps the next title (instead of support teacher) could be
the Teacher-Enabler, since the real role of the teacher with
responsibility for special educational needs is to enable the
children to have access to the curriculum, and to enable
colleagues to present their curricula in ways in which they are
more accessible to all pupils."
                    (Visser, p.8)

The support for teachers "must be active, not hit and run" (Visser,

p.7), a criticism levelled at some educational psychologists.

Visser also gives support for the idea that not all special school

teachers could become Outreach teachers. "The interpersonal skills

required to work with colleagues are of a high order" and Smith (1982)

(in Visser) says that they are "of a different order to those required

to support children". (p.7). Perhaps in-service education to develop

these skills, as suggested by one of the Outreach teachers, would make

more special school teaches willing to take on the role of Outreach

teacher. Hockley is not alone in her "talk of...the needs of staff".

Wolfendale (1987) writes that there is a "growing view that teachers

have the right to have their own professional needs met". (p.104).

Perhaps appropriate in-service courses would lessen the stress that some

teachers feel, for example the Outreach teachers, (Hargreaves, 1978).

The literature on the developing role of special schools as a resource

centre, and on the role of supporting teachers, shows that some of the

findings of this study on the Outreach project are replicated else-where. Although the Outreach teachers in Coventry do seem for the most part to have avoided being moulded into the role of peripatetic special-ist teachers, as happened in Sheffield - the similarities with other studies suggest that the findings could be generalised to some extent. As many LEAs have shown an interest in SNAP, and some such as Havering have adopted it, it would seem likely that they would be interested in how Coventry uses special school teachers to support the development of SNAP.

The Outreach project did seem to be doing a lot of useful work in ord-inary schools, gradually helping classteachers to see that they could take responsibility for special needs in their classes. There seemed to be a lot more work for them to do. In the Coventry schools, and in other projects reported in the literature, teachers seem to apprec-iate the support of someone who is "hot from the classroom" as they implement the 1981 Education Act.

The Outreach teachers seemed to work extremely hard. The biggest criti-cism I have of the project is the pressure put on these teachers. In the second year the project did involve more teachers, but the amount of time each school was required to give to Outreach also went up. Perhaps some special schoolteachers felt that involvement in the Outreach project would be like "cutting their own throats". Or perhaps in-service education on the interpersonal skills necessary to support their colleagues in the mainstream and better working conditions, such as non-contact time to prepare for the Outreach work, would encourage more special school teachers to be involved.

If the LEA wish to provide a good education for most children with special needs in the mainstream, and for a few in special schools, then removing

some of the pressure on the Outreach teachers is important. People

often suggested either that the special school teachers did Outreach work

for a relatively small proportion of their time, one or two sessions

a week, or that they spent most of their time on the Outreach project

and only kept up a minimal involvement with the special school. A fifty-

fifty split between the two parts of their work seemed to be the most

uncomfortable to live with. In a time of limited resources, my priority

for expenditure would be to staff the special schools so that Outreach

teachers would be able to do their "two jobs" without "burning the

midnight oil".

APPENDIX 1: The Checklists used for the Interviews

Adviser for Special Educational Needs

- Influences on development of SNAP
- Modifications, the future
- Uptake by other LEAs
- Too Behaviourist?
- Relationship between SNAP and the Outreach project.

Special Schools (Headteachers and Outreach teachers)

- Length of involvement
- Type of commitment
- Modifications, the future
- Successful?
- Effect on special school
- Aims of the project and SNAP

Special Needs Support Service Teachers and Adviser

- Influences on development
- Modifications, the future
- Relationship between Outreach project and SNAP
- Aims of project
- Successful?

Ordinary Schools (Headteachers, Co-ordinators and Class teachers)

- Length and type of involvement of Outreach teacher
- Successful?
- Modifications, the future
- Aims of SNAP
- Role of co-ordinator
- Opinion on SNAP course

APPENDIX 2: An Example of an Unedited Interview

COV 8 : Primary School Class Teacher

N.B. The numbers refer to the theme under which a comment was classified (see Appendix 3).

(MAN)

15 My experience of it is fairly limited, I have worked through several

programmes with children but the programmes have been set up by Outreach

teachers.

(ALISON)

Perhaps you could give some details of your work with the Outreach teachers?

(MAN)

We had an Outreach teacher attached to us for one year, for this year,

she was a class teacher at one of the Special schools and had a class as

16 well and was our Outreach. It seems to me to put an awful lot of pressure

on them. I think it's an excellent idea because their expertise in

dealing with such matters and breaking down such small steps is much

greater than ours, but I can see there is an awful lot of pressure on

them, an awful lot. I think it's unwise to, I think if they're going to

use Outreach teachers then I think they ought to be centrally based and

not be working in a classroom situation as well, I don't really see that

that's a fair way of doing it. The programmes that we worked out were

23 language programmes, for two or three specific children, and the one

that I've been most recently working on is a spelling problem, a little

girl, eleven year old girl. We tested her to start with and we found that

she was failing on initial grounds so we worked on that programme, and

we're still working her through it. I've been in contact with the head

14 of the remedial department in the secondary school that she's going to,

and in the folder of sort of work that goes with them, then the SNAP
programmes that she's been doing with me are going with her. So,
we're looking to get some sort of continuity going. Its probably
important. In terms of how she's reacted to it, she's reacted excellently
to it, excellently, it seems to have stimulated her interest a lot.

23 She used to switch off in certain aspects of the curriculum and she's
seen success and she's seen it rapidly and the more success she's had
the faster she's wanted to do it, and the better she's gone more succ-
essfully. Its been sort of like a spiral, and its been really really
good. The comments sort of adverse comments I've heard about SNAP have

15 mainly been from fairly insular class teachers, and not necessarily in
this school who can't see why teachers who have been dealing with this
for years should suddenly be asked to do something that they've been
doing for years. I don't believe that they have been doing it for
years. It's a much much more structured approach. Only time will tell,
but it seems to me that it does appear to be a child-centred, very
structured, very well worked idea. I think it will be successful. The
only thing that worries me is that if its a sort of passing phase, you
know we've had them before and they've come and they've gone and
nothing's ever been heard about them. I mean the last one we sort of
had Distar, but this one has a smack of reality about it if you know
what I mean, its not sort of pie in the sky, and its much more delivered
with regard to the child's needs. That I think is the biggest problem
of all. Its fine having the Outreach teacher, but lets say for instance

24 you hit a class where you have a very high percentage of special needs

25 within that class. The time factor will be critical during the day. I
mean organising your day to spend the time individually with them. Re-
drawing the programmes out, structuring the programmes. That's where
I think the problems with this could come. From a sort of management
side of it, I think more and more the post holder for special needs, if

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5 they really really want to make it work, I think the post holder for

special needs will have to replace the Outreach teacher almost as I

suggested in the beginning, except instead of being centrally bound

they're in each individual school and they're not attached to a class,

they're not given certain responsibility for a class, they are given

just pure responsibilities for enabling the production of SNAP as a

sort of you know Cecil B de Mille SNAP. I mean what else, what sort

of things, what else would you like commented on?

(ALISON)

Well what specifically do you see as the aims of SNAP?

(MAN)

1 Success. Success for children. The aims of SNAP as far as I see it are

to ensure that failure becomes a thing of the past. It's got to be,

that's the overall aim, and the people's needs, children with special

22 needs and there are a much higher percentage than there ever were admit-

ted to before - that children with special needs are actually catered for,

because its too easy to watch a child fail, its the easiest thing in

the world to watch it fail, whereas a programme like SNAP which is very

individually based, very carefully structured, won't allow for failure,

and as far as I'm concerned thats probably one of the best things that

could offer success.

I don't think really that this sort of thing, the high-faluting aims of

SNAP are relevant, not to me and not to my children, and not to my school,

as far as I'm concerned that's what its all about, its about success.

Its about making sure that the child makes progress and making sure that

that child absolutely reaches the top potential that they're capable of.

You ask me what SNAP means to me, thats what it means to me, as simple

as that.

APPENDIX 3: The Themes used to Analyse the Interviews

1. Aims of SNAP and relation to Outreach Project
2. Advice/Support for Teachers
3. Attitudes to Integration, 1981 Act.
4. Contact Teacher
5. Co-ordinator
6. Factors affecting development of Outreach Project
7. Evaluation/Accountability
8. Finance
9. Future Developments
10. Role of Headteachers
11. In-service Training
12. Labelling
13. LEA's role and nature
14. Multi-disciplinary teams
15. Ordinary class teacher
16. Outreach teacher
17. Parents
18. Resources/Materials
19. Character of Schools
20. Special Needs Support Team
21. Effects on Special Schools
22. SNAP for all Children?
23. Support for individual children including programmes.
24. Factors affecting success
25. Teacher time allocation

APPENDIX 4 : TABLE 3

GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS SNAP AND THE OUTREACH PROJECT

	Mostly Positive	Mostly Negative
Adviser for Special Educational Needs	1	
Special Needs Support Team Leader/Adviser	1	
Education Officer	1	
Special Needs Support Team/ Area Support teachers	3	
Headteachers of Special Schools	1	2
Outreach Teachers	3	4
Ordinary School Headteachers	8	2
SNAP Co-ordinators at Ordinary Schools	8	5
Other Ordinary School Teachers	6	3
	—	—
TOTAL	32	16

NB: This is only an approximate indication of how favourably the two projects were received as it is based on only one person's impression of a respondent's attitude. Sometimes it was clear where someone stood, but more often each person's views were mixed.

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