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Title of Thesis:

**An investigation of factors which may contribute to the
disproportionately high rate of exclusions of African Caribbean boys
from secondary schools.**

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Title: An investigation of factors which may contribute to the disproportionately high rate of exclusions of African Caribbean boys from secondary schools.

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ABSTRACT

African Caribbean pupils experience disproportionate rates of both fixed term and permanent exclusions from schools across Britain. Boys from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups are most affected. At the same time, a gap between attainments of African Caribbean pupils and attainments of White pupils widens through all key stages of schooling from an "on a par" start at baseline assessment.

This suggests that there are factors which are educationally disadvantageous for African Caribbean pupils operating during both primary and secondary phases of schooling. These factors may derive from a wide range of sources which are not necessarily within the schooling system. Factors leading to the gap in attainments may or may not be linked with those leading to disproportionate exclusions.

The overall aim of the research was to gain insight into factors operating within schools in order to indicate relevant areas for early intervention to prevent the later exclusion of African Caribbean boys. Most permanent exclusions occur from years 10 and 11 of secondary school. However these often appear to be the culmination of a longer period of deteriorating relationship between the pupil and school. Additionally adolescent "sub-cultural groupings" at this age may also serve to increase the risk of exclusion. Since the aim was to contribute to prevention, both studies were undertaken with younger groups of pupils.

The first study explored the perceptions of a sample of boys at key stage 3 who had

experienced fixed term exclusion, and their families. Qualitative and quantitative

data was collected on views of school, the exclusion, family and pupil factors

through structured face to face interviews. Comparison was made between African

Caribbean and White pupil and family perceptions. Wide similarities were found

between the responses, however some subtle differences emerged. Parents from the

African Caribbean group viewed discipline in secondary school as significantly

worse than parents from the White group. They also perceived the exclusions as

significantly more "unfair", more often citing singling out of their son for blame, and

confrontational styles of classroom management as contributory factors. Previous

research has indicated more teacher-pupil confrontation, more teacher criticism and

control, and singling out of African Caribbean boys for blame in secondary school.

The current findings suggest a direct link with exclusion. Other areas of concern

commented on by pupils and parents were lack of parental involvement with

secondary schools, lack of genuine valuing of diversity, an excessively "Euro-

centric" curriculum, and pupil views not being heard.

The second study used direct observation of pupil classroom behaviour and teacher

pupil interactions at key stage 2, comparing African Caribbean boys, a representative

sample of White boys, and White boys matched for teacher ratings of learning and

behaviour. The aim was to investigate whether there were more observed negative

teacher-pupil interactions with African Caribbean boys, and if so whether these were

related to differences in pupil behaviour. The findings were that the African

Caribbean boys spent a significantly higher percentage of time on task, and called

out to the teacher more frequently than the matched White group. The African Caribbean pupils also received significantly more negative behaviour comments from the teacher, than the White representative sample or the matched White group. This is unlikely to be entirely explicable in terms of increased calling out to the teacher. Possible reasons are discussed in relation to the research literature.

The outcomes from both studies are discussed in the context of current theories of African Caribbean disadvantage within the education system. These are used to identify areas for intervention strategies in primary and secondary schools to prevent disproportionate exclusions of African Caribbean boys.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1. Issues to be investigated

A number of key outcome measures, including attainments and exclusions, provide

strong support for the argument that the education system in this country is failing

African Caribbean pupils. The interest underpinning these studies is to promote

social justice, equal opportunities, racial equality and inclusive practice in our

education system. Disproportionate exclusion from school is one indicator of issues

adversely affecting particular groups in schools. Exclusion from school was therefore

used as focus to investigate relevant issues with regard to African Caribbean pupils,

and with the intention of informing preventative action.

Disproportionate exclusion of African Caribbean pupils is a serious issue, firstly

because it implies that processes of direct or indirect racism may be operating within

our education system, and as a result, some pupils are being denied their right to

equal opportunities in education. Secondly, educational and social outcomes for

excluded pupils are comparatively poor, with only 15% of permanently excluded

pupils able to return to mainstream education (CRE 1997). Exclusion, and resulting

time out of school, is linked with lower academic attainments and increased risk of

being taken into care (Robinson 1998) and with future unemployment, social

disadvantage and possibly delinquency (Blyth and Milner 1993) and crime (Audit

Commission 1996).

Data from the 1991 census suggests that African Caribbean people in Britain on average experience greater levels of educational, social and economic disadvantage than White ethnic groups (Wrench and Hassan 1996). Increased rates of exclusion from school would appear likely to exacerbate this discrepancy, as well as to increase disaffection from school and society, with negative consequences for both the individuals concerned and our entire multicultural community.

1.1.1 Definition of "African Caribbean"

For the purposes of this study, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) ethnic monitoring categories have been adopted since these are the most widely used in educational monitoring and research. These are "Black African", "Black Caribbean" and "Black Other" (all self identified categories). "Black Other" in particular covers a variety of ethnic origins which may include Black British, Black American and mixed heritage. The new ethnic monitoring categories used in the 2001 census, which contain a wider range of more specific ethnic groups, have not been adopted since they were introduced after the studies commenced, and are not yet in universal use in education.

The term "Black" is described by the CRE as "Caribbeans, Africans and others who wish to describe themselves as Black". "African Caribbean" is the current generic term used in research and other literature including DfES and CRE reports to describe the three ethnic groups cited above. In this thesis both terms are used to describe people from these three ethnic groups. The literature review is complicated by the use in older studies of the terms "Afro-Caribbean" and "West Indian". In the current context these are taken to refer predominantly to people from the Black

Caribbean ethnic group.

"White pupils" refers to "White British", "White Irish" and "White Other" ethnic groups. The terms "Black" and "White" are not used in a political sense, as in antiracist philosophy, as this would include Asians and members of other minority ethnic groups as "Black".

1.1.2 Data on exclusions of African Caribbean pupils

Evidence collected in Britain since 1994 (when ethnic monitoring of exclusions first formed part of the DfEE national schools census) shows that African Caribbean pupils are over-represented amongst pupils excluded from schools. Exclusions of pupils from other major ethnic groups (Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Chinese and Indian) remain consistently below those for White pupils. Permanent exclusions peaked in 1996-1997 and since then have fallen for all ethnic groups, but proportionately more for Black ethnic groups. DfES figures for the academic years 1996-1997 to 2000-2001 giving percentage of total pupils from each relevant ethnic groups permanently excluded are shown in Table 1 (p.14).

As can be seen Black Other and Black Caribbean pupils are excluded at approximately three times the rate of White pupils. This has fallen from approximately four times the rate of White pupils in 1996-1997, and six times the rate of White pupils in 1993-1994 (OFSTED data reported in National Children's Bureau Highlight - August 1998). Black African pupils are also excluded more than White pupils, but figures are not as disproportionate as for the other two Black ethnic groups.

Variation is apparent according to which LEA is selected, varying from 3 times to 15 times the rate for White pupils (TES 1998). However across all LEAs and over at least the past seven years exclusions of African Caribbean pupils have been disproportionately high.

Table 1: Permanent exclusions by ethnic group from 1996-2001 (percentage of total pupils in group)

Ethnic group	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-01	% reduction over 5 years
Black Caribbean	0.78%	0.77%	0.60%	0.46%	0.38%	51%
Black Other	0.71%	0.58%	0.50%	0.37%	0.40%	44%
Black African	0.31%	0.30%	0.21%	0.17%	0.18%	42%
White	0.18%	0.18%	0.15%	0.13%	0.13%	28%

1.1.3 Data on attainments of African Caribbean pupils

Current data indicates that African Caribbean pupils begin school attaining in line with national averages. A gap in attainments opens up during primary school with African Caribbean pupils falling progressively further behind the national average at end of Key Stage 1 and end of Key Stage 2. In many LEAs African Caribbean pupils

are the lowest performing ethnic group at GCSE level. For instance in 1997

nationally, White pupils obtained an average of 44% passes at grades A*-C in

comparison with 28% for Black pupils (OFSTED 1999, Gillborn and Mirza 2000).

The comparatively lower attainments of African Caribbean pupils in British schools

has been an issue for many years, coming to prominence in the reports by Rampton

(1981) and Swann (1985), and the comprehensive study by Gillborn and Gipps

(1996).

Against a background of overall rising attainments at GCSE level, African Caribbean

pupils' comparative attainments are lower than a decade ago. However there are

wide variations between different schools and different LEAs; in 11% of LEAs

which monitored for ethnicity, the attainments of Black pupils were higher than those

of White pupils. Overall the attainments of African Caribbean girls are higher than

those of boys, nevertheless they are lower than those of White boys and girls

(Gillborn and Mirza 2000). However later outcomes are better for girls, with African

Caribbean women twice as likely as men to have a post school educational

qualification (Wrench and Hassan 1996).

The figures conceal a marked difference in attainments between Black African and

Black Caribbean or Black Other groups, with Black African pupils on average

achieving at a considerably higher level. However the recent key study of

comparative attainments (Gillborn and Mirza 2000) does not distinguish between the

three Black ethnic groups, classing them all as "Black". This may at least in part

explain some of the wide variations between different local authorities, depending on

which Black ethnic group is most numerous in the area.

Some educationalists have rejected the term "underachievement" as it appears to assume "within child" causation, and the term "academic or educational disadvantage" is preferred. In this text "underachievement" has been used as a more specific term to refer to comparatively lower academic attainments, and "educational disadvantage" has been used as a more general term to include comparatively higher exclusions as well.

1.2. Factors involved in exclusion from school

1.2.1 Legislation

Headteachers have had the power to expel pupils for many years and the Education Acts of 1981, 1986, and 1993 have retained this right. Headteachers may use exclusion, under the review of the governing body, for fixed terms of up to 45 days in any school year (in practice usually one to five days at a time). They may also exclude permanently, but only as a last resort for very serious breaches of discipline, when other strategies have failed, and when remaining in school would be seriously detrimental to the education and welfare of that pupil or others (DfEE 1999).

1.2.2 Exclusions data

DfES yearly statistical reports show that permanent exclusions rose to a peak in 1996-97, and have subsequently fallen (see Table 2). This may at least in part be due to government targets to reduce exclusions by one third by September 2002. However the statistics on exclusion do not include "unofficial exclusions" which may be on the increase (Osler, Watling and Busher 2001). Additionally, targets do not differentiate according to ethnic group, thus comparative proportions may remain

stable or become even more disproportionate.

Table 2: Permanent exclusions from 1989- 2001 (total number of pupils excluded)

Year	Total no. permanent exclusions	Year	Total no. permanent exclusions
1989-1990	2000	1995-1996	12476
1990-1991	2910	1996-1997	12668
1991-1992	3833	1997-1998	12298
1992-1993	8636	1998-1999	10438
1993-1994	11181	1999-2000	8323
1994-1995	11084	2000-2001	9210

National data on fixed term exclusions is not routinely collected, however figures for fixed term exclusions have been estimated at around 135,000 per year (Highlight 1998).

Likely reasons for the increases in exclusion until 1996-97 include a move to a more market based school system with increased parental choice, competition to attract pupils and performance league tables. In this climate, pupils with behaviour difficulties are perceived as unlikely to enhance the image of the school (Highlight 1998). There are also additional curricular demands and performance pressures which have had the effect of increasing staff stress levels and their ability to cope with pupils with behaviour difficulties (Grant and Brooks 1996). Stretched resources

within the education system, and greater delegation of funding to schools too may make it more difficult for schools to adequately support pupils at risk of exclusion because of budgetary priorities and the need to buy in services (Grant and Brooks 1996). Finally, an increase in psychosocial problems amongst young people, and incidence and severity of behaviour difficulties encountered in schools is apparent (Parsons and Howlett 1996).

1.2.3 Factors linked with increased risk of exclusion for individual pupils

As reported above, African Caribbean ethnic origin is associated with an increased risk of exclusion, but a number of other factors also alter individual pupils' risk of exclusion from school (data from DfES from 1997-2001). Over 80% of excluded pupils are in secondary school, most of these being between 13 and 15 years old. 83% of excluded pupils are boys, with even higher proportions of boys in primary schools.

Pupils with Statements of Special Educational Needs are over-represented in exclusions data with 8 times as many as would be expected in 1996-7, falling to 3 times as many in 2000-1, and 10 times as many pupils in Public Care are excluded as would be expected (The Educational Network 1998). Many aspects of socio-economic disadvantage are linked with increased rates of exclusion. These include poverty, homelessness, family ill-health, family stresses and break up, bereavement and frequent changes of school (Brodie and Berridge 1996, Garner 1993, Robinson 1998, Gersch and Nolan 1994). Finally some other minority groups are at increased risk of exclusion e.g. Traveller children (CRE 1997).

Exclusion rates vary considerably between schools, even with similar catchment areas (OFSTED 1996, Osler et al 2001) suggesting that factors related to school ethos and organisation may have a significant effect on number of exclusions. Rates also vary considerably between LEAs to a greater extent than can be explained by socio-economic factors (Parsons and Howlett 1995).

1.2.4 Events preceding exclusion

Permanent exclusion often represents the culmination of a long-standing deterioration in relationship between the pupil and staff, therefore the official reason recorded may represent a relatively trivial incident which was "the last straw". A study of exclusions in Birmingham from 1990-96 (Osler 1997) found the commonest reasons cited by schools for exclusion to be disrupting lessons or disobeying teachers (37%), followed by violence to other pupils and fighting (30%) and violence to staff (5%). Blyth and Milner (1993) also reported that disruptive, insolent and uncooperative behaviours were most frequently cited, with violence to staff, and violence and bullying to other pupils, coming second.

It frequently appears to be the case that pupils and parents have a different perception of the reasons for and process of exclusion than the school. Gersch and Nolan (1994) studied a small sample of excluded pupils. Pupils reported a history of difficulties with work, behaviour and peer and staff relationships, as well as changes of school and family disruption prior to the exclusion. Most were not fully aware of the reasons for the exclusion, felt they had not received adequate warning, and that the exclusion was "unfair". They felt upset, disappointed and angry about the exclusion. Parents have also reported feeling ill-informed, informed too late and unfairly treated by

schools (Grant and Brooks 1996).

The common pattern of a long history of difficulties prior to permanent exclusion points to the need for early intervention to prevent exclusion. There is little reliable evidence on SEN support prior to exclusion including involvement of behaviour support and educational psychology services. However, in two small scale studies of excluded pupils, Hartnell (1998) found that only half had educational psychology service involvement, and Rendall's (2000) figure was as low as 30%.

1.2.5 General factors which may contribute to African Caribbean exclusions

Some of the factors cited as increasing the risk of exclusion for individual pupils may contribute to African Caribbean pupils' risk of exclusion. There are higher levels of socio-economic disadvantage amongst families from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups (Wrench and Hassan 1996), and more likelihood of being a "Child in Public Care". However it would appear unlikely that general factors alone would explain the increased risk of exclusion of African Caribbean pupils against White pupils in the same schools, LEAs and from comparable backgrounds.

Although overall, boys are considerably more likely to be excluded than girls, OFSTED (1996) reported that Black girls are as over-represented among all excluded girls as Black boys are among all excluded boys. Reasons cited by schools for exclusion of Black pupils are slightly more often for violence to other pupils or fighting and slightly less often for disruption or disobedience than White pupils, although differences are small (Osler 1997). OFSTED (1996) also notes that the history of individual exclusions often differs from that of White pupils, with Black

pupils less likely to have weak basic skills or obvious emotional issues, and more likely to be excluded for challenging the teacher's judgement, later in their schooling. In the following sections, possible factors which may contribute to the observed high risk of exclusion of African Caribbean pupils are examined in more detail. The structure of the literature review groups factors in broad areas, i.e. within society and school, within the Black community and family, within pupil and within the classroom. Clearly this is a complex issue, and factors are likely to interact in a variety of ways to produce effects.

Given that pupils from the Black African ethnic group experience proportionately fewer exclusions, and have higher attainments on average than those from the Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups, wherever possible in the literature review, distinction has been made between these groups. This is particularly relevant to studies of pupil, family and culturally related factors. It is probably less relevant to studies of racist effects in school and teacher attitudes and stereotypes since evidence suggests that teachers generally distinguish poorly between the three groups. In practice there is a considerable overlap between "Black Caribbean" and "Black Other" ethnic groups resulting from people's preference in the way they define themselves.

1.3. Factors within society

1.3.1 The effects of racism in society

In a broader context, it would seem necessary to question the usefulness of the

concept of "race" since this is now recognised to be a social construct which is constantly being recreated and modified through human interaction, and is not based on fundamental genetic or biological differences (Gillborn 1995). In a similar way, "racism" is a term open to different interpretations. It has often been equated with "prejudice" i.e. a belief or attitude of racial/cultural superiority/inferiority which combined with power, can give rise to action in the form of discrimination. *For the purpose of this discussion, I have taken racism to mean actions which disadvantage people from minority ethnic backgrounds,* irrespective of underlying intent. This would include unwitting "institutional racism" as well as that resulting from individual prejudices.

Social Identity theory argues that there is a need for social groups to create and maintain a positively valued social identity associated with in-group favouritism, achieved through comparison to an out-group or groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979). This, combined with the differentials in power and status between ethnic groups in society may at least partly explain the development of racism. Certainly Britain's historical legacy as a colonial power, has contributed to views of racial and cultural superiority and the corresponding devaluing of people from minority ethnic groups, and viewing their cultures as inferior or even defective (Gillborn 1995, Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 2000). This is not to imply that White people alone are racist or that they are inevitably racist, but in Britain they comprise the majority and most powerful section of the population, and are likely to be less sensitive to racist issues.

There is considerable evidence of wide ranging racism and discrimination forming part of the everyday experience, including work and education, of many people from

minority ethnic groups, particularly Black and Asian groups, living in Britain today

(Phoenix 1997). The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999) highlighted

institutional as well as overt racism, an example being in policing procedures with

regard to Black groups. NACRO reports (1988 and 1991) also show that the criminal

justice system treats Black offenders more severely than comparable White

counterparts. Such institutional racism may be inadvertent and systemic and result

from ignorance, thoughtlessness or racist stereotypes.

1.3.2 Socio-economic disadvantage

Data from the 1991 Census of Population shows that people from the Black

Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups, have remained relatively socio-

economically disadvantaged, with higher than average unemployment rates (over

double that of white people), lower average incomes and more employment in lower

status jobs. Fewer of these Black households lived in owner-occupied housing, and

fewer had a car (Wrench and Hassan 1996). When educational qualifications were

controlled for, people from minority ethnic groups generally were found to be less

successful in finding work, despite stated ambition and commitment (Cross, Wrench

and Barnett 1990).

Socio-economic disadvantage is linked with underachievement in school, with an

inverse relationship across LEAs between poverty as indexed by percentage of free

school meals, and educational attainments as indexed by percentage of passes at

GCSE grades A*-C (MacKay 1999). It is also linked with increased risk of exclusion

from school, along with family break-up and being a child "in Public Care".

1.3.3 Racism and exclusion

Racism both reflects and perpetuates the uneven distribution of power within society, and the experience of racism is undeniably harmful to the life chances of Black children and adults (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 1999). Racism leads to discrimination in education, jobs and recruitment, and thus results in socio-economic disadvantage. This may further lead to a lack of positive role models in society, and also anger and disaffection from society. Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) regarded racism and social disadvantage as contributing to the underachievement of African Caribbean pupils. However, even when social class is controlled for, data shows that Black pupils underachieve in comparison with their White peers (Gillborn and Mirza 2000).

Superficially, a combination of racism and social disadvantage could be used to explain the disproportionate exclusion of pupils from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups. Lower rates of exclusion of Black African pupils could be ascribed to the "buffering" effects of being on average from more advantaged backgrounds. However, the cycle of racism and socio-economic disadvantage affects other minority ethnic groups in Britain, for instance people of Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage, yet exclusions of pupils from these groups remains below the national average. Clearly therefore, general effects of racism and social disadvantage are not the only factors producing high levels of exclusions amongst Black pupils, and other factors must also be involved.

1.4. Factors linked with school systems

There are several aspects of schools systems which may contribute to difficulties and disadvantage experienced by pupils from ethnic minorities and African Caribbean pupils in particular. The fact that exclusion rates of African Caribbean pupils vary widely between schools even with similar pupil intakes, demonstrates the importance of within-school factors.

1.4.1 Racism in school organisations

In some ways, schools are a microcosm of the racism in the wider society. They may operate in "racialised" ways which mean that minority students experience school differently from their White peers, often in ways that disadvantage them, and reinforce the message that "Britain" and "the British" are categories that can never truly include them (Gillborn 1995). As such they reflect the "pervasive construction of the White majority as "normal" and the norm against which Black and other minority groups are compared". Thus even well intentioned attempts to address racism through "multicultural approaches" which emphasise diverse cultural images, may patronise and marginalise minority students and reinforce White assumptions about exotic, distant and "primitive" populations (Gillborn 1995).

There have been several recent studies of "real life" in schools using both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques across a range of settings, including observation and interview with staff and pupils. Many of these have

provided evidence of racist practice, albeit "institutional" and unintentional (Green

1983 and 1985, Wright 1986, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Gillborn 1990, Troyna 1991 and

Gillborn and Drew 1992). Examples of these are school "setting" decisions,

disciplinary procedures, teacher stereotypes and teacher-pupil interactions in the

classroom.

However some researchers have disagreed, or taken the view that racism in schools

is not proven. Smith and Tomlinson (1989), found little evidence of overt racism

either pupil-pupil or teacher-pupil (based on a fairly limited amount of quantitative

data collected). Foster (1990, 1992 and 1993) produced a series of critiques of the

studies cited above, mainly rejections of findings or "cases unproven" based on

extrapolation from certain methodological criticisms of the studies. Whilst some of

these criticisms may be valid, overall rejection of the findings would appear

unwarranted. For instance, in his study of "Milltown High" he reports that African

Caribbean boys are often put in lower sets than their academic achievements would

suggest are appropriate, on the basis of classroom behaviour. This practice appears

discriminatory in effect if not in intent, given teacher stereotypes about behaviour of

African Caribbean boys.

Some of the differences and disagreements between researchers may be as a result of

actual differences in schools studied (most use a small sample size), for instance

"Milltown High" appears to be a school which has an open minded philosophy and

already implements antiracist practices. Others may be due to differing definitions of

racism (Foster defines racism by intent rather than effect). Yet other differences in

findings may be because of data collection methods, researchers' interpretations

particularly of qualitative data, and effects of researchers' own attitudes (and possible ethnocentrism) and ethnic origins on participants. My view is that there is sufficient and varied evidence to indicate that schools are frequently racist organisations, albeit without intent to be so.

The issues of racism in general, as well as in the education system, has been highlighted by a succession of reports and enquiries, including Rampton (1981), Swann (1985), and the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999). The Swann report (1985) concluded that racism is widespread in schools, ranging from unintentional racism, to teacher and pupil ignorance and stereotypes, to overt racial hatred. Since then, there have been many initiatives in education to implement antiracist, multicultural and equal opportunities practice. It is to be hoped that many of the issues raised in studies of racism in schools are now being effectively addressed.

1.4.2 Teacher racism

Teachers have led many antiracist initiatives. They have had a crucial role in moving towards a more equitable education system (Troyna and Hatcher 1992). While most teachers may be sympathetic to ideals of equality, and only a few are openly hostile to minority students (Gillborn 1995), racism and racial harassment by some teachers has been raised as an issue. Scott (1990) presented data collected by questionnaire and group interview from African Caribbean pupils, many of whom reported racial harassment in school, both from pupils and teachers, although less so in schools with higher proportions of Black pupils. While some incidents of direct racist behaviour by staff have been reported, many appear unrecognised by the perpetrator, or inadvertent. Others consist of inadequate action against racist behaviour by other

pupils, or dealing with incidents as an individual rather than whole school issue (Wright 1993).

Both Wright (1986) and Gillborn (1995) reported evidence from interviews and observation in a number of schools that some teachers perceive that increased ethnic diversity leads to decline in standards of discipline and achievement. Wright also observed racist talk in the staff room about "these alien pupils" and negative, condescending and patronising attitudes expressed towards minority ethnic cultures. In the classroom, highly offensive racist "jokes" made by staff to pupils were recorded. The Black Child Report (1997) found that 22% of the sample of 374 black children felt they had experienced teacher racism over the preceding month.

1.4.3 Pupil racism

The CRE (1988) found racial harassment by peers in school to be widespread from infant age range upwards. Several later studies (e.g. Troyna and Hatcher 1992) have indicated the prevalence of negative stereotypes and prejudiced views in children from nursery age upwards, in many areas ranging from predominantly White rural to inner city multi-ethnic areas. Certainly large numbers of pupils from minority ethnic groups report experiencing racist incidents, sometimes on a daily basis (Sinnott 1995, Troyna and Hatcher 1992, Wright 1992, Ross and Ryan 1992).

However, Bath and Farrell (1996) conducted a study of 62 White pupils aged 13-14 years in Tyne and Wear (an area with a low proportion of people from minority ethnic groups). They elicited attitudes through use of a short essay and questionnaire. Their findings were that at least two thirds of the pupils did not hold racist attitudes. Roberts and Sachdev (1996) also found 70% of a sample of 12-19 year olds

interviewed said that they were not prejudiced. These are in contrast with previous studies by Mould (1986), also in Tyne and Wear and using similar techniques, and Gaine (1987) both of which found that three quarters of adolescents interviewed held racist attitudes.

These studies could be interpreted as indicating that young people's attitudes are becoming less racist over time. An alternative explanation would be that adolescents in particular have become more reluctant to express racist attitudes (perhaps for reasons of social acceptability). Clearly there may be wide discrepancies in findings across different areas of Britain and also depending on method used in eliciting such sensitive information. Peer racism, even if declining, certainly still occurs and the Black Child Report (1997) found that 15% of the sample reported experiencing peer racism over the preceding month.

Bourne, Bridges and Searle (1994) and Wright et al (2000) document a number of exclusions resulting from retaliation against peer racism, and the data showing more Black exclusions for peer directed aggression could possibly be explained on this basis (Osler 1997).

1.4.4 Black education professionals

There is an under representation of African Caribbean people in teaching and education as a whole. At the 1991 census, only 2.5% of education professionals were from minority ethnic groups (CRE 1998). Pupils have felt this to be an issue, both in terms of having meaningful role models, and because of improved teacher-pupil relationships (Wrench and Hassan 1996). There is also evidence that Black teachers

are less often promoted to senior positions, their skills are undervalued, and their image may become that of a "professional ethnic" i.e. a token presence, or relegated only to roles related to Black pupils (Callender 1995).

1.4.5 The school curriculum

Wrench and Hassan (1996) interviewed a group of underachieving young men from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups after leaving school. Many of them spoke of the absence of subjects relevant to Black people in the school curriculum particularly Black history. Some felt that this had formed part of their alienation from school. This is echoed in pupil perceptions reported from many other studies (Blair 2001, Gillborn 1995, Smith 1997, Wrench and Hassan 1996).

In many ways, the school curriculum is Euro-centric, with little attention paid to world history, and a lack of coverage of the major contributions of non-European cultures and people to subjects such as mathematics, science with its emphasis on "western technology" (Gillborn 1995), literature, languages and the arts.

1.4.6 School grouping and setting decisions

An important source of underachievement may be the use of ability groupings, whereby pupils who are lower achievers may effectively be exposed to less of the curriculum, (and lower teacher expectations) over their time in school (Tizard, Blatchford, Burke, Farquhar and Plewis 1988, Foster 1990). This may be particularly pertinent to African Caribbean pupils since evidence suggests they may be "pushed" into lower sets and streams based on questionable teacher judgements (Wright 1986), or setting processes which use "behaviour" criteria as well as attainments to inform

decisions (Foster 1990). This results in pupils being in "ability bands and examination sets well below their actual academic ability" (Wright 1987).

1.4.7 School systems for discipline and behaviour difficulties

School systems for dealing with emotional and behavioural difficulties may act differentially on Black pupils with more likelihood of disciplinary action than SEN support, although Black pupils are over-represented in EBD special schools (Blyth and Milner 1993). There is evidence that the same behaviour is more likely to result in exclusion for Black pupils (Gillborn 1990, Wright 1992), that Black pupils are perceived as presenting a discipline problem (Sewell 1997), are less likely to receive appropriate additional support (McIntyre 1995), and that Black pupils tend to be excluded after shorter periods of difficulty and fewer incidents of disruption (Blyth and Milner 1993).

In this area in particular, effects are specific to African Caribbean pupils and not those from other minority ethnic groups. Schools are also less likely to involve outside professionals e.g. educational psychologists for Black pupils, unless they perceive this as a way of removing the pupil to special provision (Rampton 1981, Tomlinson 1983). School rules about dress and hair too may be disadvantageous to African Caribbean pupils, and there are instances of pupils being excluded for "culture specific behaviours" e.g. hairstyle or way of walking (Majors 2001) which are regarded by teachers as showing arrogance or "attitude" rather than pride in cultural identity.

1.4.8 School systems and exclusions of Black pupils

There is also a considerable body of evidence that school systems may in some

respects be racist in their effects (e.g. through the curriculum, discipline systems, lack of role models). There is also evidence of overt teacher racism from interviews and observations, although my own informal observations during recent work in schools suggest that a large majority of teachers would no longer express such views. However there is still inadvertent racism in terms of assumptions and stereotypes about minority ethnic pupils and families. Peer racism, although also likely to be declining is clearly a factor in many young peoples' school experience, and possibly a factor in exclusions of minority ethnic pupils.

As with racism in society, racism in school would be expected to affect all pupils from visible minority groups, not African Caribbean pupils specifically, and in the case of peer racism it appears more frequently directed towards pupils of Asian heritages (Wright 1992). However differential effects may occur through the operation of staff stereotypes and low expectations which are discussed at greater length in section 8.

1.5. Historical and cultural factors

This is a complex area, and one in which it may be easy to make inappropriate generalisations. As Phoenix (1999) points out, there is much differentiation within, and commonalities across, socially constructed categories of "Black" and "White". It is important to avoid "essentialism" i.e. exaggerating differences by treating racial groups in essence as forever differentiated, or "ethnicism" which assumes internal homogeneity of a culturally different group (Brah 1992).

The point has been made (Gurnah 1987), that by elaborating upon cultural factors, these may be perceived as minority "peculiarities" and serve to increase negative stereotyping. Mac an Ghaill (1993) adds to this that the "new racism" postulates intrinsic cultural differences as the primary cause of differences in social behaviour thus presenting minority culture, not racism as the major source of "problems". It is worth noting in this context that "culture" is dynamic, constantly changing and adapting to the environment, thus the perception of some people that pupils from minority ethnic groups are "caught between cultures and have to choose" does not represent the reality (Mac an Ghaill 1993). Having said this, I feel it is necessary to explore cultural factors for the purpose of this study, to clarify what, if any, contribution they may make to exclusion of Black pupils.

African Caribbean people in Britain are descended from communities in many different places. To assume that there is wide ranging commonality between Black African cultures, Black Caribbean cultures and Black US culture would deny the individual histories of these communities and be naive at best. Caribbean countries in particular have people from widely varying cultural backgrounds e.g. people from African, Indian, Chinese, European and mixed origins.

1.5.1 Historical legacies

It could be argued that racism and discrimination in society would have similar effects on for instance Black and Asian pupils, and therefore higher rates of exclusion from school would be anticipated in Asian pupils if this factor were important. However although Black and Asian ethnic groups may share a common history of colonialism and racism there are also striking differences, not only in

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cultural terms e.g. language, religion etc but also in historical experiences and reasons for coming to Britain.

One of the major historical differences between Black US or Caribbean cultures and Black African cultures is the history of slavery and White oppression experienced by Black US and Caribbean people. This is not to deny possible effects of European colonisation of many African countries, but to recognise the unique impact of slavery on Black Americans and Caribbean people, as well as the effect on Black-White attitudes and relations particularly in the USA.

Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory (1987) divides minorities into two groups, "immigrant" and "involuntary". Immigrant groups arrive with a strong social and cultural identity and often an aim to improve their economic position. They are less likely to feel threatened by the majority culture and experience of racism. Involuntary minorities have been brought to a society against their will or subjugated by invaders to their country so there is no "homeland" to which they could return, and they are forced to compare themselves with the dominant group, which reinforces their subordinate status. This status may then be challenged through collective resistance and development of an "oppositional identity", and adoption of dominant cultural values may be regarded as association with the oppressors or "acting White" (c.f. Fordham and Ogbu 1986). In schools, minorities whose cultural frame of reference is oppositional to mainstream culture have greater difficulty in crossing cultural boundaries to learn.

Although Black ethnic groups in Britain cannot be regarded directly as "involuntary minorities", nevertheless those people who originated from the Caribbean have

experienced this role, and the resulting alteration in relations with White majority groups. The theory thus has some potential to explain underachievement and higher exclusions as resulting from a resistance to adopting White cultural values.

There is certainly supportive evidence of this theory world wide in terms of educational disadvantage (as well as crime and social problems) among involuntary minorities, e.g. Aboriginal Australians, Maoris, African Americans, Native Americans. There is further evidence that if underachieving groups migrate from the culture in which they underachieve, their achievements may improve e.g. socially disadvantaged Buraka people from Japan do as well as the dominant Ippan group in the USA (Ogbu 1992). However there is also contrary evidence from a large scale study of African, Asian and White Americans in which perceived opportunity and resistance to school were not found to be in line with theoretical predictions (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998).

1.5.2 Black styles of verbal and non verbal communication

Many studies of Black cultural "style" have originated in the USA, and may be of considerably less relevance in this country. Kochman 1981 conducted a wide scale ethnographic study of the comparative interactional styles of Black and White Americans. Much of the evidence was based on personal observation and also anecdotal evidence. His view was, that although the study was conducted in the USA, some of the Black patterns of interaction were also found in Caribbean countries, and may be African in origin. He recognised the interaction between culture and social class and commented that many "middle class" Black Americans were "bicultural" thus able to move with greater ease in White contexts.

His main findings were that there were different ways of handling debate and disagreement, with Black people demonstrating commitment and emotional involvement and a more contesting style, and White people tending to be dispassionate, impersonal and non challenging. The "rules" for entry and interruption also differed between Black and White people leading to more White silence in a mixed arena. He noted differences in several other areas, including male-female patterns of interaction, perceptions of "boasting", "bragging" and criticism and how to handle it, and use of direct personal questions. Finally he comments on the more expressive clothing, hairstyle and way of walking adopted by Black people.

His view was that these differences led to misperceptions about intent. For instance in debate, Black people were perceived as confrontational and threatening, and White people as lacking commitment and deliberately concealing their views. It is clear also how clothing and hairstyle can easily fall foul of "school rules".

Callender (1995 and 1997) also studied "Black style" and possible implications in British schools. She noted in particular "African retentions" in cultural style throughout the African diaspora including the Caribbean and US. Styles of communication such as "call response" she viewed as prevalent in many African and Caribbean communities, and moreover felt that some aspects of Black style could be misinterpreted as rebellious and anti-authoritarian. She remarked on lowering of eyes as a sign of respect when reprimanded in the Caribbean community, but being perceived as a sign of "insolence" in school, and on exuberant dress, expression, body language and energy being perceived as threatening by White teachers.

Callender concludes that there is no shortage of evidence that Black children behave in culturally different ways and that these differences are often perceived negatively by White teachers (cultural dissonance theory). This has led to teacher behaviours which have helped to perpetuate educational underachievement of Black pupils.

1.5.3 Possible contribution of cultural factors to exclusions of Black pupils

The cultural-ecological theory appears to have explanatory power, however there are experimental studies which do not support it. It is also unclear to what extent it has relevance to Black people in Britain, and it is certainly not coherent with the high value placed on education by many African Caribbean parents.

Whilst it is clear that there are cultural differences between ethnic groups in verbal and non-verbal communication, the cultural style of Black ethnic groups is often traced back to African origins. The cultural dissonance theory would therefore predict that Black African pupils would experience even greater disadvantage than other Black ethnic groups in the British educational system, which is not the case. It will be argued in subsequent sections that a number of aspects of cultural style have been (re)-adopted as a marker of cultural identity, and possibly resistance, by Black (and some White) young people.

1.6. Family factors

1.6.1 Family structure

The underachievement of African Caribbean pupils has sometimes been explained in

terms of the assumed "pathological structure" of African Caribbean families

(particularly in comparison with Asian families), including increased family break-

up and more lone mothers. Data from the 1991 Census of Population reported in

Wrench and Hassan (1996) shows that family composition differs on average

between Black Caribbean/ Black Other and White groups. There were

proportionately twice as many single, half as many married, and a higher divorce rate

for these Black groups than for White people. There were also more lone parent

families with one or more dependent children (32% of Black families as compared

with 7.8% of White families). In practice, a higher proportion of Black children live

with a lone mother, although a significant number also live with a lone father (Mirza

1992). Black children are also more likely than other groups to be in "Public Care"

which in itself is a risk factor for exclusion. Midshire data for 1999 shows that 20%

of "Children in Public Care" were Black (a much higher proportion than that of

Black people in the local community).

Lone mother families have been implicated in behaviour difficulties in boys, possibly

due to lack of availability of male role models (particularly since most teachers are

also women). Data also suggests a link between family break-up and pupil exclusion

(see previous section). However there is also an increasing proportion of White

children living with a lone parent, and little reliable evidence that family structure in

itself contributes to exclusion rates. Indeed Sewell (1997) reports that exclusions

from Black two-parent families are also disproportionate.

1.6.2 Parent attitudes towards education

Academic underachievement has been linked with lower academic aspirations of the

family and resulting lack of interest. However Swann (1985), Tomlinson and Smith (1989) and Wright et al (2000) found that in general African Caribbean parents value education more highly than White parents. Fitzgerald, Finch and Nove (2000) reported that 97% of the 264 Black Caribbean young men interviewed said their parents viewed a good education and getting good qualifications as important. Discourses reported in Sewell (1997) suggest too that Black Caribbean parents often actively try to prevent their children becoming involved in anti-school sub-cultures.

1.6.3 Parental involvement in school

Parental involvement in school life has been found to have a positive effect on behaviour in school (The Elton Report 1989). However for some Black parents, their own educational experiences in this country may lead to a reluctance to be involved in school and lack of establishment of teacher-parent relationship, making it less likely that pupil difficulties will be effectively addressed (Grant and Brooks 1996). It appears that Black parents have not found schools sufficiently friendly to wish to get involved in them as parents or governors, despite evidence that such involvement could dramatically raise the achievements of Black pupils (Scott 1990). From the school side, Smith and Tomlinson (1989) found that schools were less likely to involve Black parents to help solve their children's problems in school.

1.6.4 Discipline in the home

A number of studies in the USA and Britain have indicated that parents in Black families are stricter with their children. "Strictness" includes expecting respect and obedience, scolding and sometimes physical punishment. Gibson and Barrow (1986) give anecdotal evidence regarding families of Caribbean heritage, Wrench and

Hassan (1996) evidence from interviews with young people from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups, and Wright, Weekes and McGlaughlin (2000) evidence from African Caribbean parent views. A small scale study of Black African and Black Caribbean teachers too (Callender 1997) found that they used harsher reprimands than their White counterparts.

Harsh discipline and particularly physical punishment have been linked with behaviour difficulties in young children. However studies, mainly in the US suggest that such discipline appears to be a mediating factor between economic hardship and parental emotional distress and child behaviour, and is usually associated with lack of parental warmth and support (Dodge, Pettit and Bates 1994, McLoyd 1990). On the contrary, Callender (1997) viewed strict parenting in Black families as part of being caring, thus not associated with other problems. It has also been suggested that a "stricter" home culture may lead to behaviour difficulties apparent in the "more liberal" environment of school.

Finally, there is evidence of families preparing Black children to face and challenge racism e.g. telling children they will have to work harder to do well than a White person (Sewell 1997), or "preparation for a world which refuses to accept them as equal citizens" (Callender 1997).

1.6.5 Relevance to exclusions

Poverty and social disadvantage are linked with higher rates of exclusion from school, and lone parents families in Britain are much more likely to be poor (AEP 2002). Evidence suggests that it is the effects of poverty which is the important factor

rather than family structure per se (Battle 1998).

Some evidence of "strict discipline" in Black families could possibly link with child behaviour difficulties although it does not appear to be associated with the lack of caring and support and excessive harshness which mediates between social disadvantage and child behaviour difficulties.

1.7. Pupil factors

In any discussion of factors related to Black pupils the charge of "blaming the victim" may be raised (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 2000). This charge assumes that there is an attempt to shift blame from racism in society to "pathologising" Black cultures, families and children. The intention of this section is certainly not to do that, but to provide a better understanding of the dynamics of the process leading to educational disadvantage for Black children and young people.

1.7.1 Language

Gibson and Barrow (1986) interviewed 508 Black Caribbean young people, of whom a majority reported difficulty in understanding or being understood by teachers in school. It is difficult to draw conclusions without a White comparison group, but a possible explanation could be differences in English dialect and usage, especially since teachers may be less aware of issues for a child whose first language is English, than one who has English as an additional language. This may have had relevance for first generation immigrants and their children, but is less likely to be a current issue.

On the contrary, use of Caribbean dialects such as Patois and Creole appears to have

become an expression of cultural identity, and one which has been adopted by many White pupils recently. Mac an Ghaill (1993) reports on Black pupils' resentment and embarrassment at being "corrected" by teachers in pronunciation and use of language, but also that dialect e.g. Patois, Creole, is used as a mechanism of White social exclusion. Wrench and Hassan (1996) too have reported that this usage appears to upset teachers, who may feel excluded or insecure about what is being said.

1.7.2 Learning style

It has been suggested that minority ethnic students may have a more field dependent and "wholist" learning style derived from more "collectivist" and "universalistic" cultures, and that this style is at odds with the US and British educational systems which value more field independent and analytic learning styles (cf Callender 1997). Although a number of studies have been conducted on minority ethnic learning styles in the USA there is little direct evidence to support this theory. Additionally children from other cultures which are characterised in this way e.g. South Asian cultures (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 2000) do not seem to experience educational disadvantage as a result.

1.7.3 Black self esteem

Excluded pupils have been found to have a more external locus of control and lower global self esteem, with no differences in a number of domains but lower ratings on behaviour, academic performance and friendships (Rendall 2000). Academic self-concept in particular appears to play an important part in progress in school (Blatchford 1997).

One study of over 600 Black and White US middle school students (Tashakori 1991) found that Black students had a more external locus of control and were more likely to attribute success and failure to chance or task difficulty than to ability. A review of 101 self esteem studies (Cross 1985) showed that the majority found no significant difference between Black and White self esteem, although 21 found Black self esteem to be higher and 16 found White self esteem to be higher. Two US studies of adolescents have found higher Black self esteem (Dukes and Martinez 1994, Morgan 1995).

Other US studies have found a discrepancy between higher global self-concept and lower academic self-concept in Black students (Majors 2001). This contrasts with a British study of over 400 White and Black Caribbean, predominantly working class, pupils aged 7, 11 and 16 years (Blatchford 1997). Blatchford found that of the four groups, Black girls had significantly higher self-concept than other groups at all ages, and the highest attainments at 16 years of age. Differences between Black and White boys were small.

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions from studies conducted over many years, in many locations, with different populations and age groups, and using a variety of measures of self esteem and self-concept. However evidence for differences in self esteem, particularly lower Black self esteem either in the USA or amongst Black Caribbean people in Britain, is not strong.

1.7.4 Stereotype threat

Steele (1997) developed the theory of "stereotype threat". This means that pupils

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who belong to groups with a low achievement stereotype experience anxiety not just about failure itself, but also about confirming the stereotype, and the anxiety depresses actual performance. The theory would predict higher anxiety during relevant tasks, and also "academic disidentification" i.e. devaluing those aspects of self-concept related to academic performance so that overall self esteem can be maintained. This indirectly results in lower motivation to succeed because academic success is not required to maintain self esteem.

Osborne's (1997) study compared academic identification (i.e. the extent to which academic self-evaluation affects overall self-evaluation) across ethnic groups in the USA. In eighth grade all groups were positively identified, but this decreased significantly over a four year period for Black but not other students. A second study (Osborne 2001) found higher anxiety in Black students in test situations associated with lower test scores, whereas if a task is represented as not indicative of academic ability, Black students perform better. These findings clearly support the stereotype threat theory.

Although the Blatchford (1997) study examined academic self-concept rather than academic identification, the two concepts are closely related, and the British findings do not therefore support this particular theory of Black underachievement.

1.7.5 "Ethnic identity"

Aboud (1988) carried out a wide scale review of studies on development of ethnic identity and preference in several countries. She concluded that White children

consistently identify themselves with White dolls and pictures and express own

group preferences. For minority ethnic children the picture is more complex. Under

seven's tended to show mixed identity and preference. This, she hypothesised to

represent dominant social values rather than genuine self identification. From seven

years to adolescence, minority ethnic children gradually became more favourable

towards their own group. Thus Black children develop positive Black identity

(especially for those with a Black peer group).

Identity development for some Black children of mixed heritage in may be difficult

particularly if family break-up has occurred and more so if the child is living with a

White parent who may hold racist or ambivalent views about Black people (Coleman

1997). However under favourable circumstances individuals can develop a positive

bicultural identity with relative ease (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 2000).

1.7.6 Attitude towards education

In a study of 562 young people, Eggleston, Dunn and Anjali (1986) found that

African Caribbean young people were more likely to believe it was important to do

well at school than White young people. As with many of the older studies, the

participants were defined as "Afro-Caribbean" a term no longer used, but most

closely equated with Black Caribbean. Data from 14,000 children in the National

Child Development Study (Bagley 1982) showed Black children were keener than

White children to do further studies. More recently Fitzgerald, Finch and Nove

(2000) and Wrench and Hassan (1996) also reported a positive attitude of Black

Caribbean/ Black Other young men towards education, and many Black pupils go on

to attend colleges after leaving school in order to improve their basic qualifications.

Truancy rates too are lower for Black than for White pupils (Wrench and Hassan 1996, Highlight 1998) which does not suggest a negative attitude towards education. This finding may be linked with higher exclusions in that White young people are more likely to truant when disaffected but Black young people stay in school and get excluded (Sewell 1997).

However, Wright (1986) found that teachers perceive a change for the worse in the attitude of African Caribbean pupils between the second and fourth years of secondary school, and some African Caribbean young people appear to develop ambivalent attitudes towards education. Callender (1995) identified this as a "dissonance" with regard to academic success, in that success may be perceived as "acting White" resulting in able Black students not persevering or putting effort into their schoolwork. Sewell (1997) and Mac an Ghaill (1993) also report the prevalence of pro-education but anti-school groups of Black pupils (see following section).

1.7.7 Cultural identity and "cool pose"

Many researchers have described the development of adolescent "sub-cultural" groups. For instance Gillborn (1988) noted the formation of Black "sub-cultures" which engaged in "displays of ethnicity" and were proud of their "tough, hard" reputation (in common with some "working-class male" sub-cultures).

Such groups often use "cultural markers" derived from the Black diaspora in the USA, Jamaica and London to symbolise pride and confidence in Black cultural identity. These include hairstyle, clothes, musical taste, language e.g. Creole or Patois, way of walking and a "macho" attitude. Cool pose theory (Majors and Billson

1992) posits that Black boys project a "cool", fearless, aloof front, and adopt flamboyant and non conformist behaviours in order to cope with a racist environment and maintain positive self concept. However these cultural markers are often negatively evaluated by teachers (Callender 1997) as evidencing an "attitude problem" or arrogance, thus leading to conflict with staff.

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) in a US single school study identified that Black students associated academic learning with "acting White" and Fordham (1988) observed that successful Black students, especially girls, adopted a "raceless persona" identifying with the values and beliefs of the (dominant) White ethnic group. In Britain both Gillborn (1990) and Mac an Ghaill (1992) have described a "pro-education but anti-school" attitude amongst some Black pupils. Development of an oppositional identity in this way would give support to Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory discussed previously.

However the actual situation appears less clear cut with individuals responding in very different ways (Gillborn 1988, Sewell 1997). Sewell in an in-depth ethnographic study of an inner city boys' comprehensive school identified an anti-school subculture, and the need to resist identification and solidarity with this Black sub-culture in order to succeed (which was perceived by group members as "acting white").

Black Caribbean boys responded with varying degrees of resistance or conformity. 41% accepted teacher-parent values and remained pro-education and pro-school. 35% were pro-education but anti-school. 6% engaged in passive forms of resistance

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and the rest were "rebels" with strong oppositional values. Sewell also reported a powerful peer pressure to conform to the subculture. Indeed a recent study by Fitzgerald, Finch and Nove (2000) reported the most frequently cited reason for Black Caribbean young men not doing as well as they might in school was peer pressure.

Black girls also form sub-cultural groupings, but these are frequently pro-education even if anti-school (Mac an Ghaill 1988).

Clearly, belonging to adolescent anti-school sub-cultural groups is likely to increase pupils' risk of exclusion. Members of such groups have been excluded for fighting (in order to protect their "hard" image) and staff generally "anticipated trouble" from them (Gillborn 1988). It also makes the escalation of classroom conflict more likely, in that group members are unwilling to let staff control and criticism go unchallenged. Several of the pupils in Gillborn's study were eventually excluded from school. Additionally some of the "cultural markers" in themselves may challenge school rules.

1.7.8 Summary of pupil factors

It may be postulated that in studies of pupil factors, differences may be found between pupils from different Black ethnic groups, thus findings may differ in the USA (e.g. studies on stereotype threat) and possibly between Black African, Caribbean and Other groups in Britain. Almost all of the British studies have looked at children and young people from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups (not specifically including those of Black African heritage). This means they are

directly relevant to factors involved in underachievement and exclusion since these are the two ethnic groups at greatest risk of educational disadvantage.

There is little evidence of low Black self esteem, language or learning style difference accounting for educational disadvantage of Black children. Some studies in the USA have supported the theory of stereotype threat, although the lack of evidence for lower academic self-concept of Black children in Britain would not be predicted by this theory.

With regard to ethnic identity development and preference, in-group identification and preference is much less strong for young Black children than White children. This might be assumed to be related to self esteem. However an important study by Spencer (1984) with a sample of 130 Black pre-schoolers found separation of self-concept (positive overall) from racial evaluations (which showed a pro-White bias).

Attitudes of Black pupils towards education appear to be positive at the start of schooling although there is some evidence of changes during adolescence. There is considerable evidence of adolescent sub-cultural groups identifying themselves using Black cultural markers. This identity is often oppositional, frequently anti-school and sometimes anti-education. Mac an Ghaill (1994) also refers to the "colonisation" of elements of Black style and culture by White (often disadvantaged) youth, especially where they address notions of masculinity and sexual prowess.

Although there are wide individual differences, it seems plausible that Black pupils may be particularly drawn to such groups in order to assert a strong cultural identity, and as a form of resistance to racism experienced in society and school, combined

with a response to the teacher stereotypes and unfair disciplinary procedures discussed in the next section (Gillborn 1988, Wright 1986).

1.8. Factors in the classroom

As can be seen from the preceding sections, it would be simplistic to assume that either it is solely racism which is responsible for high rates of school exclusion and underachievement of African Caribbean pupils, or that it solely originates in pupil, family or cultural factors. The real life situation appears to be a complex interaction between gender, social disadvantage, the effects of racism, and pupil attitudes and responses as shaped by experiences in school, society and the family. It appears likely that teacher-pupil interactions are a key area within which the factors may interact to produce effects.

1.8.1 Teacher stereotypes and expectations

A stereotype can be defined as "shared beliefs about person attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviours, of a group of people" (Leyens, Yzerbyt and Schadron 1994). Stereotypes tend to be rigid, excessively or inaccurately generalised beliefs, which can underlie racist attitudes. They assume that all members of a group share the same attributes and ignore individual differences.

Stereotypes contain expectations of behaviour, which may act as "self-fulfilling prophecies", making the behaviour more likely to occur, mediated by the behaviour of the stereotyper (Augoustinos and Walker 1995). Many studies e.g. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), Aronson and Osherow (1980), have demonstrated this effect. If teachers have been informed that (randomly selected) pupils are of higher or lower

ability than their peers, in time overall pupil scores of ability and achievement will tend to improve or decline according to teacher expectations.

There is a considerable body of evidence that many teachers (who are disproportionately of White ethnic origin) have negative expectations and stereotypes regarding both attainments and behaviour of African Caribbean pupils. These stereotypes may have their origins in colonial history, media representations or the "race-IQ" argument (e.g. Eysenck 1971, Jensen 1969). Some teachers also perceive underachievement as being linked with motivational and/or family factors.

1.8.2 Low academic expectations

That teachers perceive African Caribbean pupils as being of "lower ability" and "less academic" irrespective of actual attainments is well documented (Swann 1985, Highlight 1998, Mac an Ghaill 1988). OFSTED (1999) reported that teacher assessments of Black pupils are consistently lower than their actual test results. Anecdotal evidence from my own work in schools suggest that, in contrast to White pupils, teachers seldom label African Caribbean pupils as "dyslexic", but are much more likely to explain underachievement in terms of "overall learning difficulty".

Teacher stereotypes of Black pupils as good at sport and music (Carrington and Wood 1983) are also far from positive because they limit the aspirations of Black pupils and channel them away from academic success.

1.8.3 Teacher stereotypes of behaviour

Evidence from teacher interviews, surveys and analysis of discourse indicates that adolescent African Caribbean boys are often believed by teachers to be potentially

aggressive, threatening, disruptive and troublesome (Grant and Brooks 1998, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Wright 1986, Highlight 1998, Blyth and Milner 1993). Most of the stereotypes appear gender specific (Sewell 1997, Grant and Brooks 1998 and Blyth and Milner 1993) with some teachers having generalised negative social constructions of Black boys, viewing them in some ways as "super masculine" in style and toughness.

Teachers also appear to have stereotypes of younger African Caribbean children's behaviour. Bagley's NCDS study of 14,000 pupils (1982) found that teachers view Black children at age 7 and 11 as seven times more likely to be "rebellious" than White pupils. The finding was still significant after controlling for socio-economic status. Wright (1992) found that some teachers in particular viewed Black pupils as lacking motivation, aggressive, disobedient and distractible. These contrast with stereotypes of Asian pupils as "keen to learn, industrious, conformist and courteous" (Mac an Ghaill 1988, Wright 1986).

These stereotypes have accumulated to produce "the myth of a West Indian challenge to authority", with any offence being interpreted as an indication of a more general "attitude" (Gillborn 1990). In practice they may have led to pupils being judged and treated not on the basis of their individual merits and circumstances, but on the basis of the negative reputation attributed to Black boys by a predominantly White society (Grant and Brooks 1998).

1.8.4 Pupil perceptions of interactions between White teachers and Black pupils

Pupils sharing the same classroom can experience school very differently according

to their gender and ethnicity (Green 1985). There is much evidence of high levels of

conflict within the classroom between White (male and female) teachers and African

Caribbean pupils mainly from ethnographic studies. This conflict appears to occur

despite the best intentions of some teachers (Mac an Ghaill 1988, Callender 1995).

There is also data from a small number of quantitative studies.

There is overwhelming evidence that Black boys (and often their parents) perceive

that they are unfairly treated. Black boys perceive that they are more likely than

White class mates to be disrespected, over-monitored , blamed for things they didn't

do and not listened to (Majors 2001, Blair 2001). Swann (1985) reported that African

Caribbean pupils perceive teachers as less fair (and also less supportive) than other

pupils. Wrench and Hassan (1996) gave examples from interviews with young men

of pupil perceptions of unfairness, injustice, "being picked on", excessive sanctions

for behaviour, less help provided to Black pupils, and lack of positive recognition

and encouragement. This "singling out for criticism" of Black pupils" has also been

reported in interviews with their White peers, including high-achieving pupils

(Wright 1986, Gillborn 1990).

1.8.5 Evidence from the classroom on interactions between White teachers and Black pupils

It could be argued that many pupils from all ethnic groups in secondary school may

perceive teacher actions as unfair. Indeed a study by Miller, Ferguson and Byrne

(2000) found that year 7 pupils attributed "fairness of teacher's actions" to be the

most significant contributor to pupil misbehaviour. Foster (1992) and Short (1985)

both argue that although some teachers seem to have negative views and low

expectations of African Caribbean students there is little evidence that these views result in less favourable treatment in the classroom.

It will be argued here, on the contrary, that there is strong evidence from ethnographic and other studies that teacher behaviours differ considerably with African Caribbean pupils, and that pupil perceptions are to some extent accurate. Ethnographic studies in both primary and secondary schools have found more teacher criticism, control and reprimands directed towards Black (predominantly Black Caribbean) pupils (Wright 1986, Gillborn 1988, Callender 1995, Wright 1992, Sewell 1997). Other findings have been singling out of Black pupils from a group for blame, reprimands for behaviour which had attracted no comment coming from White pupils, and punishment more often and more severely for the same offences (Wright 1986, Gillborn 1988, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Wright 1992, Connolly 1998a). Mac an Ghaill (1988) found that in a class of 34 students, the five Black Caribbean students were singled out twice as often for interrupting the lesson as all 29 other students. The teacher concerned expressed an antiracist philosophy and was surprised by this feedback. Records of sanctions e.g. sending out of class show disproportionate numbers of sanctions against Black pupils and these often appear to result from conflict in the classroom (Wright 1992, Connolly 1998a).

The studies cited above have all used ethnographic methodology (Wright 1986, 1987, 1992, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Gillborn 1990, Callender 1997). In this research method, the researcher participates in the daily lives of those being researched for an extended period of time, collecting data in a variety of ways including interviews, observation, recording of discourse and use of school records. The intensive nature of this type of study can sometimes identify and explain particular causal

relationships (Connolly 1998b). However, what it is less able to do is to generalise

findings (since sample may not be representative). There may also be a bias in that

data collected tends to support the researcher's view (Callender 1997). However

checking methods such as triangulation are usually used. Since there is data from a

number of studies (conducted by Black and White researchers) all suggesting that

Black pupils experience higher levels of teacher criticism and control, singling out

for blame and harsher punishment for the same offences, the case for generalising

this finding is strengthened.

There is further evidence from some observational studies collecting quantitative

data. Hathiwala-Ward and Swinson (1999) observed teacher interactions using the

OPTIC (Merrett and Wheldall 1986) with 129 boys (9% of whom were Black) in

year 3-6. They found significantly more overall verbal attention to the Black (defined

as Black UK) boys and significantly more negative verbal feedback mainly for social

behaviour. Brook (1991) also using the OPTIC found 11-12 year old Black

Caribbean pupils received more negative behaviour comments than other pupils.

There have been similar findings in the USA e.g. Irvine (1985) who found that

(mainly primary aged) Black pupils received more negative behavioural feedback

than White pupils.

1.8.6 Black teachers and Black pupils

The evidence on interactions between Black teachers and Black pupils is interesting.

The Runnymede Trust (1996) reported student perceptions that Black teachers

punish Black pupils more frequently and for lesser offences than White teachers.

Callender (1997) observed 127 (69 Black and 58 White) pupils in primary

classrooms taught by Black African and Black Caribbean teachers. She found no significant differences in praise given, but significantly more reprimands given to Black pupils. Callender gives possible explanations in terms of teachers behaving more similarly to Black parents, perhaps related to a desire for Black children to "achieve their full potential" in a racist society, and perhaps holding back from reprimanding White pupils for fear they misinterpret the behaviour. Clearly another possible explanation (not explored by Callender) is that Black pupils' behaviour is more problematic.

Analysis of teacher categorisation and Black teacher discourse reported in Sewell (1997) suggests that Black teachers are at least as likely as White to be irritated or antagonistic towards Black pupil sub-cultures. They seem to share some of the same views e.g. Black "challenge to authority", and also have a desire not to be seen by White staff to be more favourable to Black pupils.

1.8.7 Differences between teachers

Unsurprisingly there appear to be considerable differences between teachers both in stereotypes of, and behaviour towards, African Caribbean pupils. Gillborn (1995) and Blyth and Milner (1996) suggest that it is a minority of staff who behave differently with other teachers in the same school reporting few problems in their relationship with Black pupils, and being perceived as "fair" by those pupils (Gillborn 1990).

Sewell (1997) found that teacher attitude to Black sub-cultures varies. Some were "supportive" (understanding), some were "irritated" (ambivalent but concerned about

effects on discipline), whereas 30% of teachers in that school were "antagonistic" either holding racist stereotypes or have strong oppositional feelings towards sub-cultures.

1.8.8 Summary of classroom factors

Treating young Black people based on stereotypes, low expectations or with hostility is likely to have a powerful effect on pupil attitudes, behaviour and attainments, and thus could be one of the most important factors implicated in exclusions of Black pupils. The evidence cited indicates that some teachers have low expectations of Black pupils and hold stereotypes of them as aggressive, disruptive and a threat to teacher authority.

Because some teachers perceive Black pupils as representing a more frequent and severe threat to their authority, they may deal quickly and harshly with any sign of disobedience in order to "nip it in the bud" (Gillborn 1995), and enforce their authority through public criticism and reprimand. This results in pupils feeling disrespected, "small" and resentful, and as a result challenging the teachers in order to maintain personal dignity and "save face". This in turn is perceived by the teacher as "insolence" and leads to an escalating situation of conflict (Wright 1986, Gillborn 1988, Gillborn 1995), labelling as "a troublemaker" and often rapid escalation in sanctions, sometimes to exclusion (Wrench and Hassan 1996). Indeed, reasons for exclusion of Black pupils are often cited as violent or abusive conflict in the classroom (Sewell 1997) or disruptive and aggressive behaviour (Wright et al 2000).

Teachers seldom make distinctions beyond Black, Asian and White although they

may distinguish various categories of non-English White pupils (Blyth and Milner 1996), so teacher stereotypes are unlikely to differentiate Black African and Black Caribbean or Black Other ethnic groups. The question therefore remains as to whether teachers have stereotypes and behave differently because pupils behave differently. In secondary school there is evidence of adolescent oppositional sub-cultural groups using Black "cultural markers". This "cool pose" may be understood as defiant, aggressive and intimidating by both Black and White teachers, and serve to reinforce existing stereotypes. In primary schools however there appears to be little evidence on pupil behaviours.

1.9. Successful African Caribbean pupils

There is certainly no shortage of Black potential high achievers. Bagley (1982) reported from a large scale (n=14,000) NCDS study of children, that although Black children were generally perceived by their teachers as low attainers, and were significantly underachieving overall, at age seven, 4% of Black children came within the "highly gifted" category (more than for any other ethnic group). Gillborn and Mirza (2000) also give evidence of an "on a par" start at school entry. But there is scant evidence, particularly in Britain, on factors which promote the educational success of African Caribbean pupils. Such studies could help to throw light on the educational disadvantage experienced by other pupils, and on possible strategies to promote more widespread success.

1.9.1 Pupil factors associated with success

African Caribbean girls' attainments in school are on average higher than those of

boys, and they are less frequently (although not less disproportionately) excluded. Wrench and Hassan (1996) suggested that Black boys were exposed to negative educational influences specific to both their ethnic group and gender, and there is some evidence (Mac an Ghaill 1988) that peer and teacher pressure may amplify male but not female resistance. Some girls appear to develop a strategy of "resistance within accommodation", an anti-school, but pro-education stance enabling them to stay in school and complete examinations, whereas boys are less willing to "accommodate".

Black African pupils also achieve better in school and are less often excluded than other Black groups. Possible explanations relate to socio-economic status, with more Black African families having middle-class, professional backgrounds. Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory would also predict less likelihood of an oppositional cultural identity developing for Black Africans, as they are, in the main, a "voluntary minority".

Unsurprisingly, Nehaul (1996) in a study of four primary schools found Black Caribbean children identified as high achievers to be confident, well motivated and interested in learning.

1.9.2 Family and community factors

Channer (1996) interviewed 12 Black graduates. Factors they associated with success were having attended school in the Caribbean, family support, and commitment to church and religion and having role models and teacher mentors. Maton, Hrabowski and Greif (1998) studied 60 Black young men with scholarships to college in the

USA who cited positive factors as parental high expectations, support and encouragement, strict discipline at home, strong community links, and having a positive personal cultural and gender identity. They viewed their peer group as a potential negative influence. Overall, factors promoting strong personal, social and community identity appear particularly important.

1.9.3 Differences between schools

It is clear that school factors have a major role to play in exclusions generally. Osler (1997) studied exclusions from six schools, and concluded that the school attended was a bigger factor in influencing the likelihood of exclusion than ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status or having SEN. Rendall (2000) in a study of exclusions from 10 schools found the two highest excluding schools to be much more "coercive" in ethos (e.g. based on external imposition of rules) and the two lowest excluding schools to be the most "incorporate" (e.g. based on providing a positive learning setting). Imich (1994) reported that institutional factors may predict exclusions even more than the behaviour of the pupil involved. The view has been expressed that low attainments of Black pupils may result mainly from attending poorer schools (Smith and Tomlinson 1989, Foster 1990).

However, it also seems that some schools are relatively effective for some groups but less effective for others in terms of pupil attainments (Gillborn and Gipps 1996, Blair 2001), and this may also be the case in terms of exclusions. Osler reported evidence suggesting that schools with relatively low proportions (less than 20%) of Black pupils tend to exclude proportionately more Black pupils.

Blair and Bourne (1998) in a study of schools with good or improving attainments and in which minority ethnic pupils also appeared to fare well identified the following factors. The schools had strong leadership on equal opportunities, clear procedures to deal with racism, and used strategies to prevent exclusion. They included minority ethnic cultures across curriculum, and used mentors to support students. They had positive links with parents and community, and staff commitment to students e.g. running lunchtime and after-school clubs. There was also monitoring of educational outcomes by ethnic group.

Most of the studies cited have been small scale and without comparison between ethnic groups. It is clear that some of the pupil, family and school factors mentioned are associated with success, but it is not clear that they are particular to the success of African Caribbean pupils.

1.10. Rationale for the present studies

The research literature has identified a plethora of potential explanations for the underachievement and over-exclusion of African Caribbean boys including general factors such as comparative social disadvantage. There are also factors which are shared with other members of visible minority groups such as individual or institutional racism in school and society. These do not in themselves fully account for the disproportionate exclusions of Black boys. Of particular interest for the purpose of this thesis are factors which appear specific to Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups.

Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory has some explanatory power in terms of oppositional identities developed by involuntary minorities in society. However, Black ethnic groups in Britain do not technically fall within this definition. Also of interest is the possibility of home-school discipline differences for Black children, although similar arguments could be made for some pupils of Asian descent.

Particularly relevant to the subject of exclusions which occur mostly from secondary school, is the development of Black adolescent sub-cultural groups with an oppositional identity, often maintained by peer group pressure. The reason for greater identification with such groups by Black pupils remains unclear. Neither does this explain Black underachievement in primary school.

These issues could however be explained through self-fulfilling prophecies resulting from teacher low expectations and negative stereotypes of Black pupils' behaviour, mediated by teacher behaviour in the classroom. This still leaves the question of the comparative success of Black African pupils who would presumably also be affected by such stereotypes.

It was decided to focus on boys for both studies, although there are clearly issues regarding exclusions of African Caribbean girls as well. However Wright, Weekes and McGlaughlin (2000) and others have argued that there is a complex interaction of gender and ethnicity. Factors involved in exclusions of boys and girls may not be the same, thus a confounding factor would have been introduced into the study by including boys and girls, and this would not help to clarify the evidence. If girls alone were to be studied the lower rates of exclusion combined with demographic

factors would have made it difficult to find a large enough sample for the first study.

1.10.1 The first study

Although there are studies which have sought views of excluded pupils and parents, these have been open ended and included issues of rights to education and outcomes for excluded pupils (e.g. Wright, Weekes and McLaughlin 2000). Direct links between teacher-pupil interactions and other school factors, and exclusions, have not been made in a structured way. Clear evidence for such a link would strengthen the argument that teacher-pupil conflict and confrontation is one of the most important factors leading to exclusion.

There are also no direct comparisons of views of Black and White pupils and parents, particularly using quantitative as well as qualitative data. Such a comparison could indicate whether teacher-pupil conflict and confrontation, or other school factors are more important in leading to exclusions of Black than White pupils, thus possibly explaining the disproportionate exclusions of African Caribbean pupils.

It was also necessary to closely examine the local situation of exclusions in Midshire, to determine whether these were in line with national statistics, and thus findings of the studies were likely to be generalisable to other areas of Britain.

1.10.2 Study 1 hypotheses

- Many of the pupils and families (Black and White) will report difficulties in teacher-pupil relationships as contributory to the exclusion

- More Black pupils and parents will report teacher-pupil conflict and perceived teacher unfairness as factors involved in the exclusion than White pupils and

parents

1.10.3 The second study

There is considerable evidence from the literature of higher levels of teacher negative

feedback for behaviour directed towards African Caribbean pupils in both primary

and secondary schools. There is also some evidence that pupil behaviour in

secondary schools differs as a result of development of oppositional groups

associated with pupil resistance to teacher authority (and in some cases provocation

of teachers, Wright 1986). It is however not possible to determine from the literature

"which came first" excess teacher reprimands based on stereotypes, or excess teacher

reprimands as a result of more inappropriate pupil behaviour.

In order to consider this, it is necessary to investigate the classroom dynamics with

an earlier age group, before adolescent sub-cultures develop. There is evidence of

some disadvantageous effects in primary school from the slower academic progress

made by African Caribbean pupils from an "on a par" start. Previous studies have

also found higher levels of teacher negative feedback to African Caribbean pupils in

primary schools, but have not observed pupil behaviour to determine whether this is

the cause of the level of negative feedback. The second study therefore examined

both teacher and pupil behaviour in the primary classroom using quantitative

methods.

1.10.4 Study 2 hypotheses

There are four main possible outcomes to this study:

1. Teacher reprimands are similar for Black and White pupils (or less for Black

pupils) and Black pupils' behaviour is no more (or less) inappropriate than White

pupils' behaviour. This would be contrary evidence to other studies in primary school, and would not give indications of reasons for exclusion or underachievement of Black pupils.

2. Black pupils' behaviour is no more (or less) inappropriate than White pupils' behaviour, but teachers reprimand Black pupils more than White pupils. This would suggest that teachers may be acting upon stereotypes. Such teacher behaviour could possibly explain Black underachievement in primary school, and the development of oppositional sub-cultures and teacher pupil conflict leading to exclusions in secondary school.

3. Black pupils' behaviour is more inappropriate than White pupils' behaviour and teachers reprimand Black pupils more than White pupils. This would not indicate whether the inappropriate behaviour began earlier and led to teacher reprimand or vice versa. However the study includes comparison of Black pupils with a White group matched by teacher ratings of learning and behaviour. If this group also receives more reprimands it would suggest the operation of teacher stereotypes.

4. Teacher reprimands are similar for Black and White pupils (or less for Black pupils), but Black pupils' behaviour is more inappropriate than White pupils' behaviour. This would suggest that there are differences in pupil behaviour as a result of family, cultural or "within pupil" factors.

1.10.5 Wider aims of the studies

It is hoped that this study will extend the knowledge base on school effects in a relatively under-researched and important area, and provide evidence on links between school factors and exclusions of African Caribbean pupils which are generalisable to other schools and local authorities. It is also hoped to present a view

of factors involved in exclusions of African Caribbean boys based on evidence rather than ideology, and to provide pointers for intervention, which can be of benefit to individuals, schools, the local authority and the country as a whole from a philosophical stance of promoting equal opportunities and racial equality. Finally the studies aim to form an evidence-based foundation for preventative approaches to African Caribbean exclusions, addressing factors from primary school onwards, and to have relevance for work in other areas where issues may be similar in nature e.g. gender and social class.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1: FACTORS WHICH MAY BE RELATED TO

EXCLUSIONS FROM SCHOOL: THE PERSPECTIVES

OF AFRICAN CARIBBEAN AND WHITE PUPILS AND

THEIR FAMILIES

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The context in Midshire

Of approximately 70,000 school age pupils in Midshire, 0.2% are from "Black

African", 1.1% from "Black Caribbean" and 0.6% from "Black Other" ethnic groups

(LEA database). Many of the African Caribbean families live in the Hilltown area,

and the majority of these are of Vincentian descent.

In common with many other Local Education Authorities, data from Midshire

indicates that African Caribbean pupils are being disproportionately excluded from

schools, both on a fixed term and permanent basis, as well as underachieving in

comparison with average attainments in Midshire. The LEA OFSTED report (1999)

highlighted that exclusions of Black pupils were higher than the national average,

although exclusions overall were lower than the national average. Reduction in

exclusions of Black pupils was therefore identified as an action in the Post-OFSTED

Inspection Improvement Plan.

A number of issues can be identified from the LEA data (see Table 3 and Figures 1-4 for details).

Table 3: Mean attainments (1999-2001) and exclusions (Sept 1999-July 2002) by ethnic group in Midshire

Ethnic group	Fixed term exclusions % of group	Permanent exclusions % of group	KS2 L4+ Engl./ maths average (% of group)	GCSE 5+ A*-C (% of group)
Black African	1.40	0	76.9	62.3
Black Caribbean	4.65	0.25	58.2	30.1
Black Other	5.76	0.45	61.1	34.1
White	1.48	0.09	80.0	70.1

Figure 1. Mean fixed term exclusions from Midshire schools (% of pupils in group experiencing at least one FTE) Sept 99 - July 02
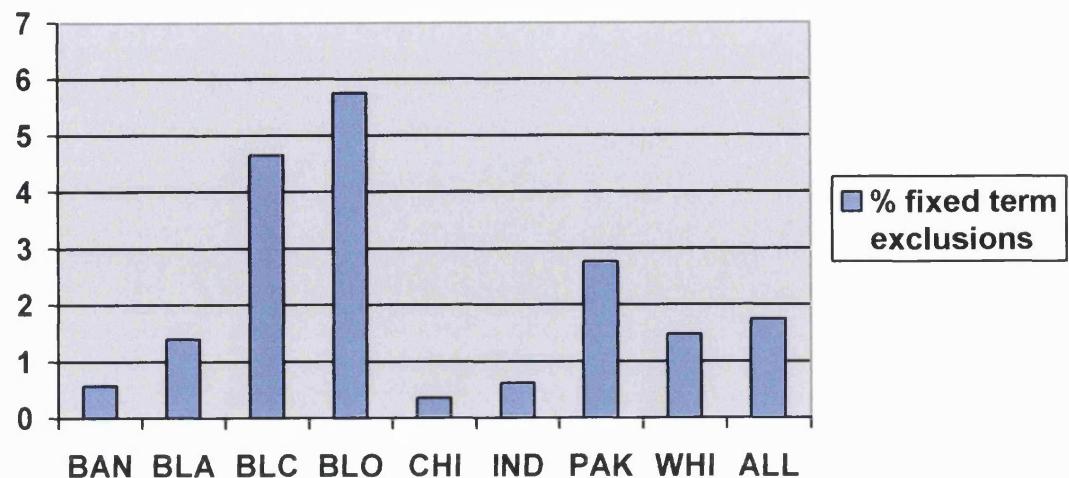
Figure 2. Mean permanent exclusions from Midshire schools (% of pupils in group experiencing PE) Sept 99 - July 02
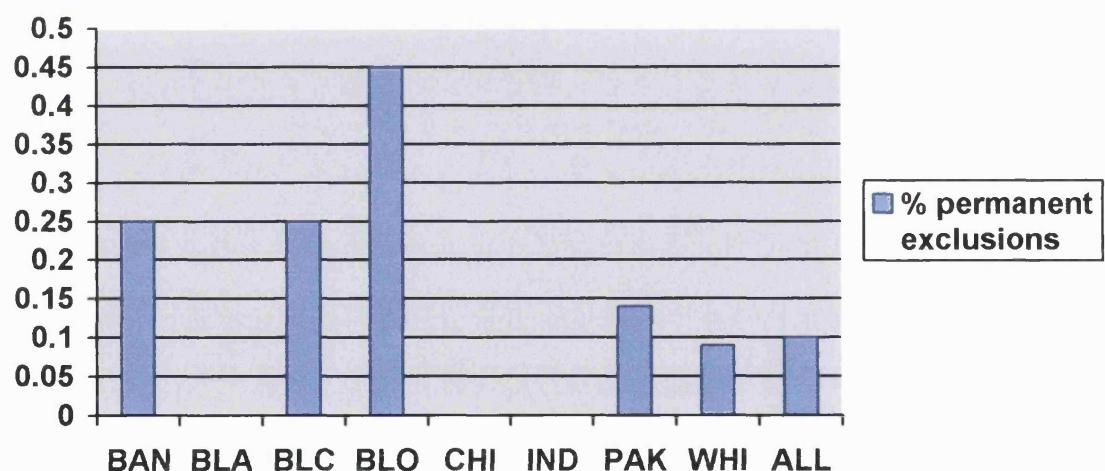
Key to ethnic group:

BAN - Bangladeshi
BLA - Black African
BLC – Black Caribbean
BLO – Black Other
CHI - Chinese

IND - Indian
PAK - Pakistani
WHI - White
ALL – All ethnic groups

Figure 3. **Key Stage 2: % of pupils from group attaining Level 4 + (English/Maths average) in Midshire schools. Mean for 1999 - 2001**
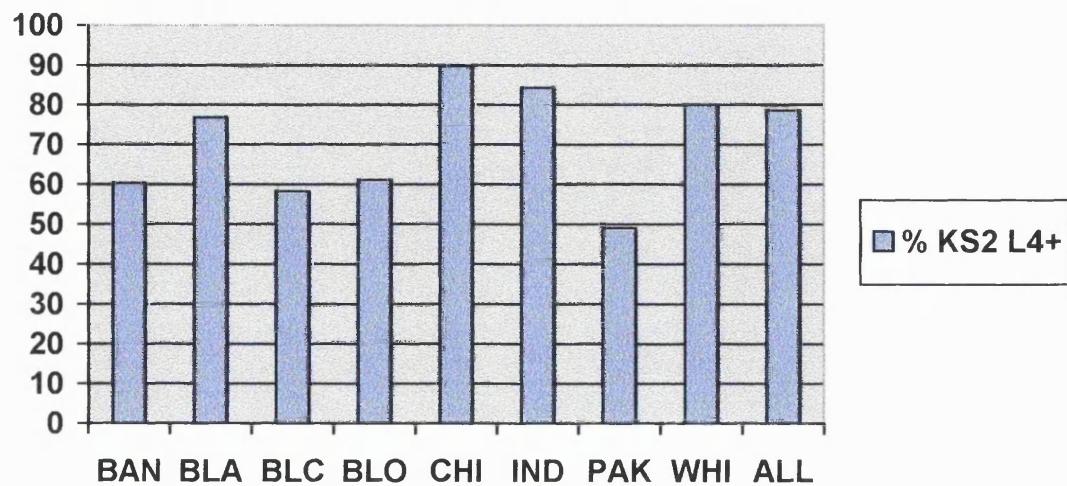
Figure 4. **GCSE: % of pupils from group attaining 5+ A*-C in Midshire schools. Mean for 1999- 2001**
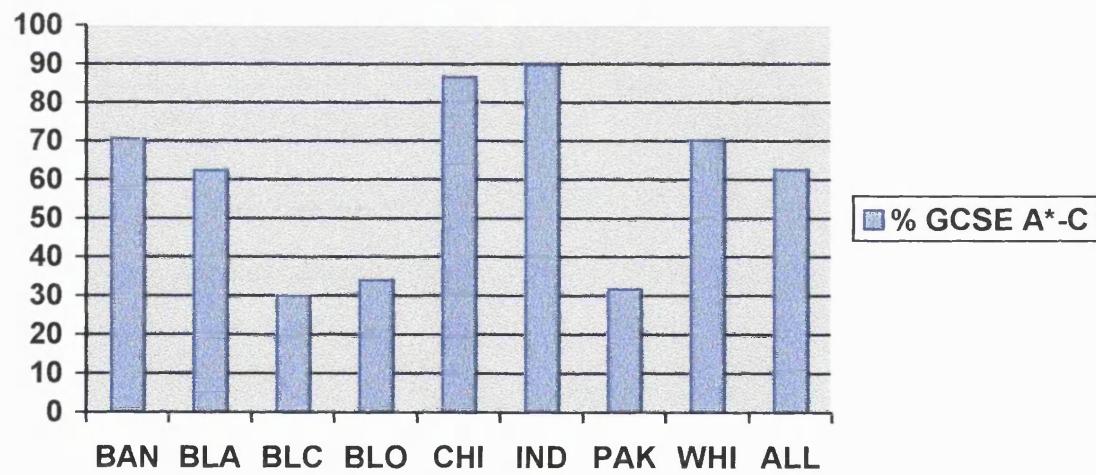
Key to ethnic group:

BAN - Bangladeshi
BLA - Black African
BLC – Black Caribbean
BLO – Black Other
CHI - Chinese

IND - Indian
PAK - Pakistani
WHI - White
ALL – All ethnic groups

It should be noted that numbers of pupils in the Bangladeshi and Black African groups are less than 200 each, so comparisons with these groups may be less meaningful. However, pupils from the Black African ethnic group do not appear to be over-excluded or underachieving in comparison with the LEA averages, data which is supported by national evidence that Black African pupils achieve quite highly within the British education system.

Pupils from the Black Caribbean ethnic group experience over three times the rate of fixed term exclusions, and two and a half times the rate of permanent exclusions compared with White pupils. They are underachieving at the end of Key Stage 2, and by GCSE level, there is an even larger gap in attainments compared with White pupils.

Pupils from the Black Other ethnic group experience nearly four times the rate of fixed term exclusions, and four and a half times the rate of permanent exclusions compared with White pupils. Their attainments are similar to those of pupils from the Black Caribbean ethnic group, although slightly higher. Overall, Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups experience higher rates of exclusion than any other group in Midshire.

2.1.2 Aims of this study

The first aim of this study is to find out whether the data on attainments and exclusions of Black pupils is similar to national data, and thus findings may be representative of a wider population than Midshire alone. As can be seen from the introduction, local data on both attainments and exclusions do appear similar to

national data. Any particular issues affecting local schools and the local Black community may also emerge from the findings.

The study aims to link a range of factors in school and at home either directly or indirectly with exclusions. Previous studies seeking views of excluded pupils and their families (e.g. Wright, Weekes and McGlaughlin 2000) have been more open ended, and not made specific links between within school factors and exclusions. Clear evidence could, for instance, strengthen the link between teacher-pupil interactions and exclusions.

Quantitative and qualitative data will be collected through a structured interview, on a number of specific themes. This is in contrast with the open interviews and discourse analysis methods used in ethnographic studies. Whilst some of the "richness" of the data may be lost, there is less opportunity for researcher bias to occur, and clear comparisons can be made between groups. Findings will then be discussed in the context of the research literature, and compared with those from the ethnographic studies.

Finally, unlike previous studies, a direct comparison between a Black excluded group, and a White excluded group will be made, by comparing responses from a sample of African Caribbean pupils and parents with responses from White pupils and parents. This will enable comparison of the relative importance of different factors for each group, and similarities and differences between the groups. The literature review shows for instance that Black pupils frequently perceive discipline processes as "unfair", but so too do White pupils. The study may provide an

opportunity to discover whether Black pupils are more likely to perceive discipline as "unfair", with the possibility that this perception has contributed to the exclusion.

This study seeks to confirm the appropriateness of the hypothesis for Study 2, and inform the observations to be made, by gaining insight into school processes important in the exclusion of Black pupils, especially teacher-pupil interactions. By using a retrospective component to the interview, it is hoped to provide a link between behaviour and interactions in the primary phase, and exclusions in the secondary phase of schooling. It is also hoped that the study will directly provide pointers for intervention to prevent the exclusion of African Caribbean pupils.

2.1.3 Hypotheses

- Many of the pupils and families (Black and White) will report difficulties in teacher-pupil relationships as contributory to the exclusion

- More Black pupils and parents will report teacher-pupil conflict and perceived teacher unfairness as factors involved in the exclusion than White pupils and parents

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Design of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was devised so that it could be administered in the form of a structured face to face interview with pupils and parents (see Appendix 1 for sample copy). No existing questionnaires were found which could be used or easily adapted for the purpose required. Previous questionnaires used with excluded pupils and their

families (e.g. Gersch and Nolan 1994, Osler 1997) had focused less strongly on wider school effects than was required for this study.

Whilst realising that devising the questionnaire for the purpose means a lack of data on reliability and validity, the questions used were simple and straightforward, and confidentiality and anonymity were assured in order to obtain as truthful a set of responses as possible. The questionnaire asked about most of the key issues in school which had been identified in the research discussed in the literature review as having effects on African Caribbean pupils' attainments and exclusions e.g. home school liaison, interactions with peers, interactions with staff, contents of curriculum, discipline strategies etc.

The items asking pupils and parents about school effects were scored as a 0,1,2 rating, with 2 representing the most favourable view of school. In some cases standard prompts were used e.g. "has he been bullied or experienced racism" for the question on peer relationships, and "tell me more about it" to elicit further information/ clarification. Standard explanatory statements were also used for any terms which may not have been clear e.g. cultural diversity, discipline etc. Educational level and job done by parents used a 1-5 rating derived from census ratings.

Finally the pupil self perception section used a small number of items derived from Harter (1985) Self Perception Profile for Children, presented in the form of a statement with a 4 point Likert scale for responses. This was included for the sake of

completeness, although other studies have found little evidence of lower self esteem amongst African Caribbean pupils.

Qualitative responses were sought in two ways. Firstly each rating question invited a comment after the rating was given. Secondly, one item on the questionnaire asked for three strengths and three improvement areas for the school. Because responses had been elicited on focused topics, these provided the themes for discussion, and it was not viewed as necessary to follow procedures as for discourse analysis where the content is less structured. Additional themes were included when a cluster of comments were related to these e.g. school environment and home-school communication.

Although this method provided results which were simpler to analyse, the possible drawback may have been a loss of "richness" in that themes were imposed by the questions, and some important areas could have been missed. It was hoped that the strengths and improvement areas question would draw out some of these. Further justification for the method is that factors involved in exclusion are already documented, and new factors are unlikely to be found. It is the relative importance of these factors for African Caribbean pupils which is of interest.

The questionnaire was tested for clarity, timing and issues covered, on two colleagues prior to administration. It was not tested on potential participants since this would have reduced an already small sample size. In practice it was found that interviews were long enough to give a rich picture of home and school, but not so long that families appeared to find the process intrusive.

2.2.2 Possible researcher effects

Consideration was given to possible researcher effects during interview, particularly that differences in response may emerge between the two groups due to factors such as ethnic group of researcher, and also that researcher perceptions may influence the way in which qualitative data has been constructed and interpreted. Callender (1997) considered the possible advantage of researcher and participants having a shared ethnic background, as access to meanings normally reserved for in-group members, but the risk being that the researcher may be too immersed in the situation to see clearly what is happening.

The use of audiotaping of interviews was considered so that responses and interpretations could be shared with a colleague (from an African Caribbean ethnic group). However, during the first two interviews it was noted that participants found some of the questions emotionally sensitive, which led me to believe that they would find taping intrusive, and it would reduce trust. Secondly, the structured nature of the interview reduces "interpretation effects", and comments were written down as close to verbatim as time allowed. In practice, participants in the study from both African Caribbean and White groups mostly appeared to speak openly and freely.

2.2.3 Participants

Two groups of pupils and their parents were taken from the LEA exclusions database according to the following criteria:

- Group 1 (African Caribbean) were pupils whose self-defined ethnic group was Black Caribbean or Black Other.

- Group 2 (White) were pupils whose self defined ethnic group was White. (This

group were chosen as a comparison group since their exclusion rate is closest to the county average).

It was decided to focus the study on boys alone, since exclusion rates are higher for boys, and the complex interactions apparent between gender and ethnic group (Wright, Weekes and McGlaughlin 2000), might otherwise have introduced confounding factors. The boys were in National Curriculum years 7, 8 or 9 at the time of the exclusion (between September 1999 and July 2000). It was hoped that choosing a younger age range may lessen the effects of adolescent anti-school sub-cultures which may be relevant to exclusion of older pupils, but less relevant to the aims of the second study. None had a statement of SEN.

All pupils attended one of three secondary schools in Midshire. The schools had between 4.2% and 13.7% of African Caribbean pupils. Osler (1997) reported that schools with less than 20% of Black pupils on average excluded proportionately more Black pupils, although reasons for this finding are not clear. In each of the Midshire schools exclusions of pupils from Black Caribbean and Black other ethnic groups were proportionately higher than for White pupils. Exclusions varied from 1.58 to 3.73 times those of White pupils. In most respects the schools were fairly representative of Midshire secondary schools.

All the pupils had had fixed term rather than permanent exclusion(s), since it was felt that the experience of permanent exclusion may alter parent and pupil views of school. Pupils from the African Caribbean group had a total of 12 fixed term exclusions (maximum 3 per pupil) and pupils from the White group had a total of 10

fixed term exclusions (maximum 2 per pupil).

A total of 20 pupils meeting these criteria were identified from Midshire's exclusions database. One of these was removed from the study because of serious family difficulties at the time. Interviews took place during home visits from July to October 2000. Subsequent to interview, data from three more pupils was discarded, because permanent exclusion had occurred, or because of inaccuracy of ethnic group recorded by the schools.

2.2.4 Procedures

Schools were contacted initially, and gave family addresses and telephone numbers. Attached educational psychologists for the schools were informed. Family participation was requested through an initial letter, and followed with a telephone call two weeks later. All parents and pupils agreed to participate after the purpose of the study and the value of their contribution had been explained to them.

The questionnaires were administered during a home visit lasting approximately one and a half hours, arranged at a time convenient to the family. The study was explained to families and questions invited. This also provided a "warm up" prior to some of the more sensitive questions. After this, the parent(s) were interviewed for approximately 40 minutes, and then the pupil was interviewed for approximately 20 minutes. Most families were found to be co-operative even with the more sensitive questions, and several talked at length with me.

2.2.5 Measures used

The school themes investigated in the parent interview were feeling welcome in school, valuing of cultural diversity by school, their son's relationships with staff and peers, school curriculum, teaching methods and discipline, changes of school and educational aspirations for their son. Two new themes emerged from their comments namely home-school communication, and school environment. General information was also sought on parent educational level, parent employment and family composition.

Pupils were asked about their relationships with staff and peers, school curriculum, teaching methods and discipline, whether they liked school and which were their subject preferences and their educational aspirations. The school environment theme also emerged from pupil comments. Pupils were then given a brief self-perception questionnaire.

Finally both parents and pupils were asked about the exclusion, the reason given, whether they perceived it as fair and when the problems leading to the exclusion began. A full copy of the questionnaire and scoring system is given as Appendix 1.

2.2.6 Ethical considerations

Discussion with colleagues who had piloted the questionnaire suggested that although some of the questions were on potentially sensitive issues, they were unlikely to cause significant distress to pupils or parents. Families were told prior to interview that they need not answer questions if they did not wish to, however this option was not taken up by anyone.

Families were initially contacted by letter and then by phone call, during which consent from parents and pupils to participate was sought. Families were told clearly about the time commitment involved, the fact that there would be no direct benefit or resulting intervention for their sons, although findings may help to reduce future exclusions of other young people. There was no pressure to take part.

Each visit began with an introduction to my role, an outline of what would happen during the visit, assurances regarding confidentiality (e.g. individual information not shared with school or others) and anonymity (numbered response sheets, any quotes used not sourced), an explanation of the purpose of the study, and an opportunity to ask questions. Completed interview sheets were given a code to identify which group the family were in but had no other identifying information. Families were given chance for further informal discussion and questions if they wished after completion of the questionnaire, and some appeared to value this chance of having their views heard.

Copies of the initial letter and briefing notes are given as appendix 2.

2.3 Results

2.3.1 Quantitative data analysis

Because the quantitative data was not of an interval or ratio type but was categorical in nature (subjective ranking), non-parametric statistical analyses were used. The two groups were independent, but broadly matched for school, age range, SEN status, and type of exclusion. A comparison of the two groups' ratings in each category was

therefore made using the Mann Whitney U test (see Appendix 3 for table with full
results of statistical analysis).

The following categories were used for comparing quantitative data (see Appendix
2):

- Welcome (secondary and primary)

- Diversity (secondary and primary)

- Peer relationship parent (secondary and primary)

- Staff relationship parent (secondary and primary)

- Curriculum parent (secondary and primary)

- Teaching methods parent (secondary and primary)

- Discipline parent (secondary and primary)

- Educational aspirations parent

- Fair exclusion parent

- Parent education

- Parent job

- Peer relationship pupil (secondary and primary)

- Staff relationship pupil (secondary and primary)

- Curriculum pupil (secondary and primary)

- Teaching methods pupil (secondary and primary)

- Discipline pupil (secondary and primary)

- Like school (secondary and primary)

- Educational aspirations pupil

- Fair exclusion pupil

- Pupil self perception

2.3.2 Overall findings from quantitative analysis

As can be seen from the bar charts (Figures 5 to 10), there was a good spread of response on most of the measures and few "floor" or "ceiling" effects. For all measures in Figures 5 to 8, the range of possible scores is from 0 (least favourable) to 2 (most favourable) with 1 representing neutral view or "don't know".

There was a wide commonality on most of the measures between the two groups, although some subtle differences were apparent. Pupils from both groups viewed peer relationships as the most favourable aspect of school life, relationships with staff and discipline being viewed least favourably. Parents viewed staff relationships as better than did the pupils, but again viewed discipline in secondary school least favourably.

Significant differences at the 0.05 level were found between the two groups on the following measures:

- Discipline parent. Parents in the African Caribbean group were significantly more likely to view discipline in secondary school as poor (U = 15.0, p = 0.045)

- Fair exclusion parent. Parents in the African Caribbean group were significantly less likely to view the exclusion as fair (U = 14.0, p = 0.037)

Differences approaching a 0.05 level of significance were:

- Parent education. Parents in the African Caribbean group had reached a slightly higher educational level (U = 15.0, p = 0.055)

- Fair exclusion pupil. Pupils in the African Caribbean group were somewhat less likely to view the exclusion as fair (U = 16.0, p = 0.068)

- Pupil self perception. Pupils in the African Caribbean group were somewhat more likely to agree with the statement "I wish I could be different" (U = 15.0, p = 0.060). There were no significant differences on the other self perception items.

2.3.3 Quantitative comparison of primary and secondary schools

A Mann Whitney U test was also used to compare overall ratings (by parents and pupils) of primary and secondary schools by each group. Both the African Caribbean and White groups rated the primary schools significantly more favourably overall than the secondary schools (U = 37.0 and 32.5, p = 0.005 and 0.002 respectively). The overall ratings between the two groups for both schools did not differ significantly.

Clear areas of difference (more than 6 points difference between primary and secondary schools, out of total of 16 points) were:

- White group parents felt more welcome in primary than secondary
- Parents from both groups felt that discipline was better in primary than secondary
- Pupils from both groups felt that discipline was better in primary than secondary

Figure 5: PARENTS' VIEWS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL

Bar chart of mean ratings
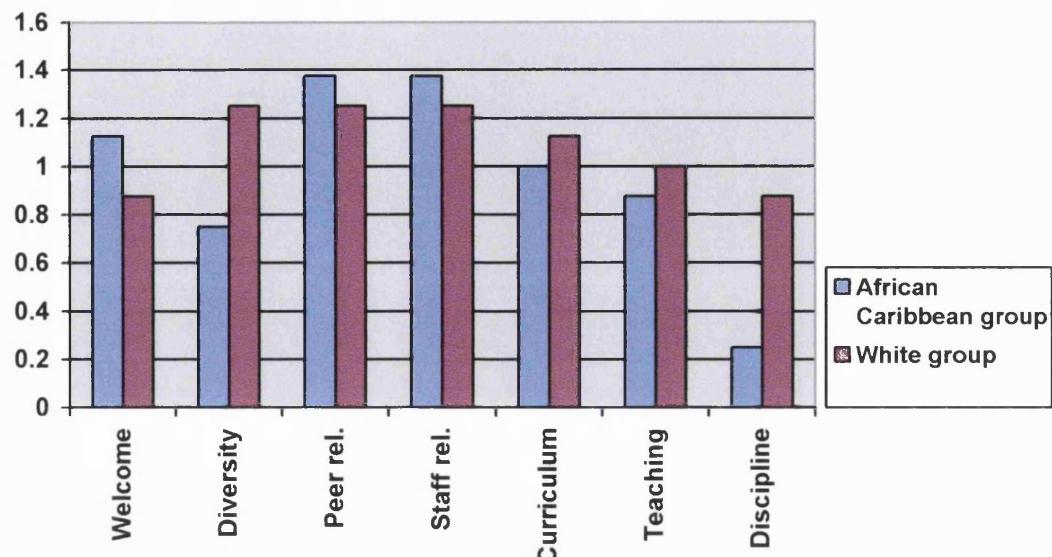
Figure 6: PARENTS' VIEWS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL

Bar chart of mean ratings
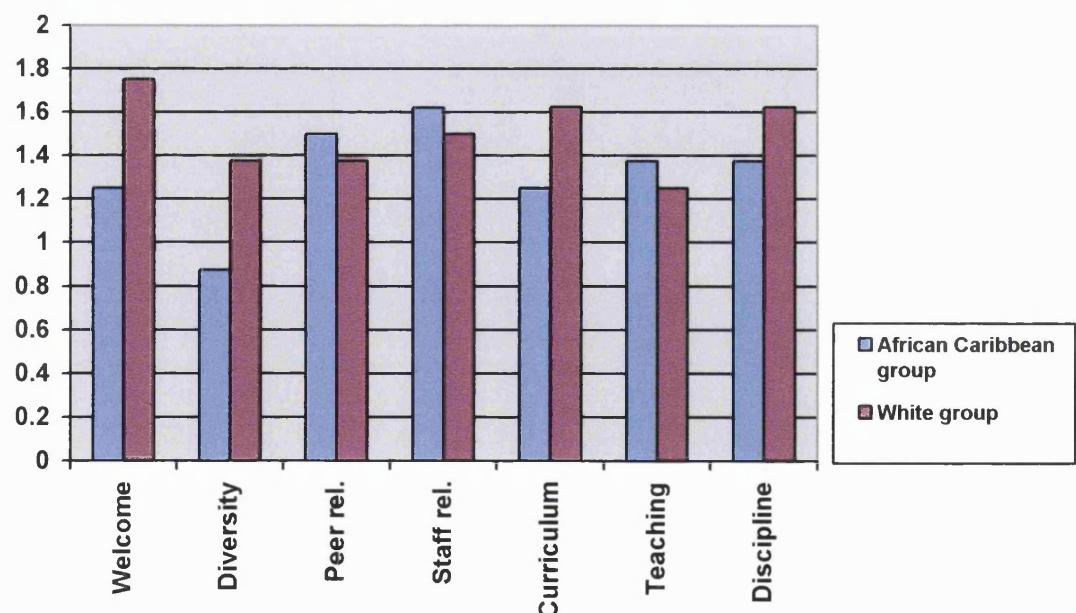
Figure 7: **PUPILS' VIEWS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL**

Bar chart of mean ratings
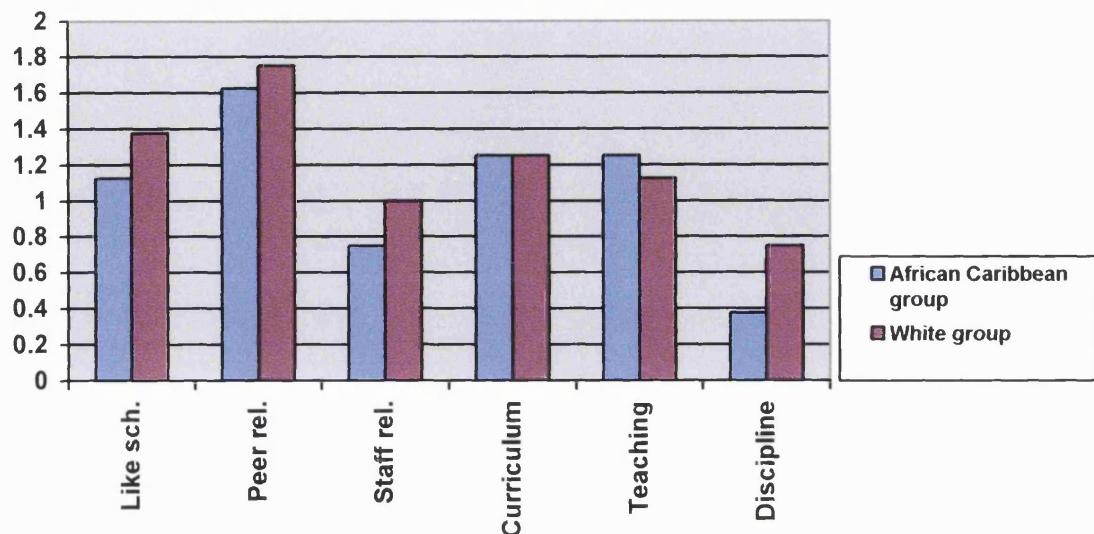
Figure 8: **PUPILS' VIEWS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL**

Bar chart of mean ratings
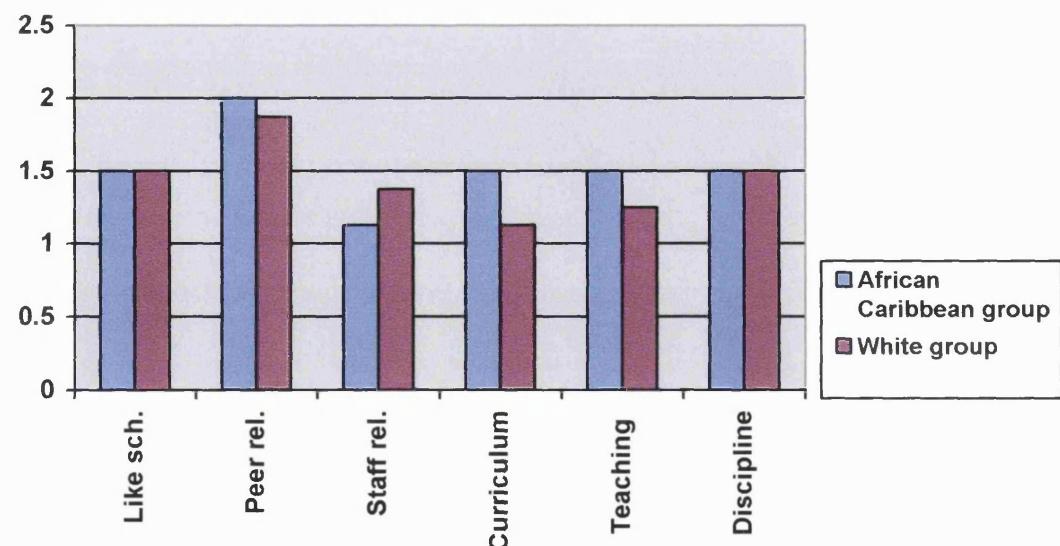
Figure 9:   PUPIL SELF PERCEPTION

Bar chart of mean ratings
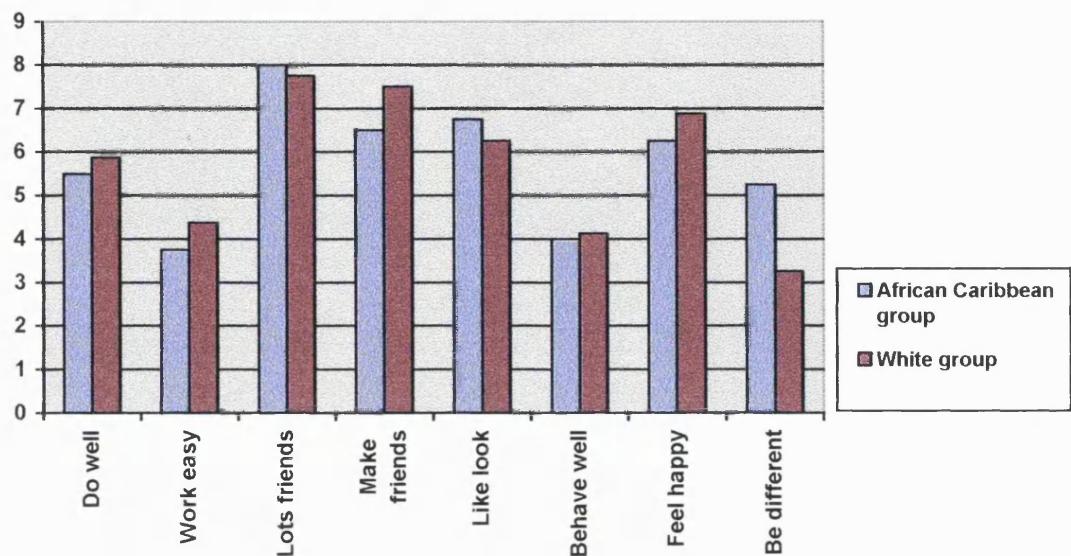
Figure 10:   BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND EXCLUSION

Bar chart of mean ratings
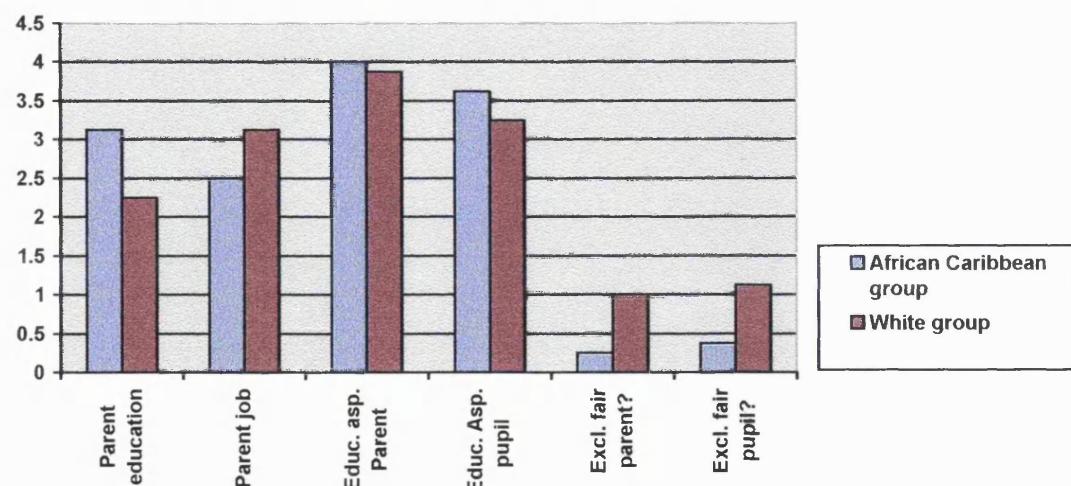
2.3.4 Qualitative data analysis

In the case of the qualitative data, the themes were drawn from the categories in the questionnaire, since most of the responses were comments elaborating upon the quantitative response, and clustered in this way. Other comments which did not fit these categories, i.e. on the school physical environment and home-school communication, were also included as themes. Quotes are as recorded during the interview, some with my addition in parentheses. A full record of comments is given in Appendix 4. The following analysis of themes uses both quantitative and qualitative data.

2.3.5 Views on school (welcome in school and home school communication)

Parents from both groups commented that they were contacted by school regularly but usually because of their son's behaviour, and that home school links on other issues should be better, particularly in secondary school e.g. "I feel shut out except when he misbehaves". Several parents from the African Caribbean group felt there should be easier access to staff, less jargon in letters from school to home, and more involvement in decision making.

2.3.6 Valuing cultural diversity

Ratings did not differ significantly between groups, but comments suggested that some parents from the African Caribbean group viewed schools' efforts to reflect diversity as superficial rather than genuine e.g. "It's just a show – they don't really understand people's backgrounds", "I don't see it - (for schools) Black kids don't exist". Some of the White group parents appeared unaware, disinterested and did not value cultural diversity themselves "there aren't many pupils from other

cultures", "I don't see why we should have to have "their" festivals in school".

2.3.7 Peer relationships

These were rated highly by parents and pupils from both groups e.g. "there are quite a few Black pupils and all the pupils mix well", and pupils viewed friendships as one of the most important reasons for liking school. However five of the sixteen families reported bullying, and three reported peer racism e.g. "I sometimes have problems with (racist) name calling".

2.3.8 Staff relationships

Several parents from both groups felt that their son had a "reputation" or had been "labelled" and was therefore more likely to be blamed for incidents irrespective of the facts, although parents rated staff relationships more favourably than pupils. Six out of eight parents from the African Caribbean group commented on particular difficulties with certain members of staff "some of the staff are confrontational", "he's picked on by some teachers", and problems with one teacher's "views about Black people". Three parents commented on lack of respect towards Black pupils "Teachers don't respect Black pupils so the pupils don't respect them". One said "teachers come from a narrow background, they need training to provide a more positive view of Black people", and another that "there aren't enough Black teachers".

Both groups of pupils felt that teachers should listen to pupils more and not shout or blame immediately "I prefer the ones who are laid back, have a sense of humour – who say nicely about behaviour – not the ones who go for blood", "they don't ask

you to calm down, just shout straight away". Three pupils from the African

Caribbean group felt that they were unfairly treated by some teachers "some have a

grudge against me, they stare at me, give me unfair detentions", "some have a rule

for me and a rule for others – I get in worse trouble", "some teachers blame me for

things I don't do".

2.3.9 Curriculum and teaching methods

Many parents felt that they knew little about the curriculum and teaching methods in

secondary school. Parents from both groups commented on lack of staff experience,

and low expectations. Four parents from the African Caribbean group criticised

aspects of the curriculum "There should be more Black and Asian History", "History

makes Black people feel insignificant", "The pupils can't relate to it – they're

switched off", "they aren't using their brain – just copying". Responses from pupils

were less critical and more mixed e.g. "some lessons they explain well – others they

don't", "teachers try to make things interesting".

2.3.10 Discipline

Discipline in secondary school received the least favourable ratings from parents and

pupils in both groups. Parents from both groups felt that some staff lacked

experience to handle problems with pupils. They were highly critical of discipline in

school "discipline is dreadful", "a passing impression suggests it's chaotic". Parents

from the African Caribbean group viewed discipline in secondary school as

significantly worse than parents from the White group "there isn't any discipline –

only exclusion", "the discipline is rubbish – pupils get away with murder", "he

wouldn't at home – they're not tough enough", "discipline needs to be firmer – not

just rely on exclusions".

Pupils had more mixed views and several felt that sanctions were excessive for small infringements "I accept if I've done really bad, but the punishment's too much like for talking", "the teachers don't give you chance to explain – they think it's rude if you say anything".

2.3.11 Views on school and subject preferences

Favourable comments were made on sports facilities, extra curricular activities, internet access and SEN provision by parents and pupils, and negative comments were made by pupils about toilet facilities, litter on site and lunches. Most pupils from both groups (14 out of 16) reported that they liked or did not mind school. They enjoyed being with friends, some of the subjects and relationships with some of the teachers.

Ratings were given to each subject on the basis of total pupils reporting it as a preferred subject minus total pupils rating it as a disliked subject. Overall ratings were slightly more positive for the African Caribbean group than the White group. For the African Caribbean group, the most preferred subjects were PE, English and IT. The most disliked subjects were History, Science and Geography. For the White group, the most preferred subjects were PE, Geography and Art. The most disliked subjects were Maths, RE and Modern Foreign Language.

2.3.12 Pupil self perception

No significant differences were found between pupils from the African Caribbean and White groups on any of the measures of self perception. For both groups the most positively rated items were "I have lots of friends", "I find it easy to make new friends", "I like the way I look" and "I usually feel happy with myself". The least positively rated items were "I usually behave well at school", "I find work easy" and "I wish I could be different". Total self perception scores for both groups were exactly the same. However there was a difference approaching significance on the item "I wish I could be different", with more of the African Caribbean pupils wishing to be different. Of these three wished to behave better and one "to be skinnier". Of the White pupils, only one commented and this was on being better looking.

2.3.13 The exclusion

Most pupils and parents (12 out of 16 in each case) said that the difficulties which eventually led to exclusion had started in secondary school. Six of the eight parents in the African Caribbean group viewed the exclusion as unfair. This was significantly more than in the White group (only two parents said it was unfair). Reasons given for "unfairness" were:

- Excessive blame "staff pick on him because he's been in trouble before", "He gets the blame for things he hasn't done"

- Being picked out of group "another boy did it to him first", "He's big and obvious – he takes the brunt", "there were worse incidents with others"

- The sanctions were too heavy for the offence "It was too heavy handed", "the letter was too strongly worded", "It was fair to be punished but not excluded".

Parents from both groups viewed exclusion as an inappropriate sanction for the following reasons:

- It is ineffective in deterring future misbehaviour since pupils do not find fixed term exclusion unpleasant "exclusion doesn't work", "they brag about it to their friends"

- Pupils miss work through exclusion "he missed a week's school"

- It distresses parents more than pupils "the kids don't mind it – it's bad for the parents though"

The implementation of the exclusion was also viewed negatively by both groups "it should have been a process – not just sudden", "there was no pre-warning", "I felt angry and upset".

Pupils' views of being excluded were similar to those of parents, and differences between pupil groups approached significance level. Four Black pupils' comments were typified by "others were doing the same but I got excluded", and another reported provocation "the other boy started it".

2.3.14 Reasons for exclusion

Reasons for exclusion provided by schools to the LEA were as follows:

For pupils from the African Caribbean group:

5 exclusions for physical aggression to other pupils

2 exclusions for physical aggression to staff

2 exclusions for discipline offences

1 exclusion for verbal abuse

1 exclusion for refusal to accept school rules

1 exclusion for drugs

For pupils from the White group:

3 exclusions for verbal abuse

2 exclusions for physical aggression to other pupils

2 exclusions for discipline offences

2 exclusions for damage to property

1 exclusion for refusal to accept school rules

As can be seen, for pupils from the White group, there were comparatively more exclusions for verbal abuse and damage to property. For pupils from the African Caribbean group there were comparatively more exclusions for physical aggression, although according to parent and pupil comments this was often of a minor nature.

2.3.15 General information

Parental data was given by all lone parents, biological parent in reconstituted families and mothers in the two families with both parents. Twelve of the pupils excluded lived in lone parent families. Of the African Caribbean group, 6 lived with lone mothers, 1 with a lone father, and 1 with both parents. Of the White group, 4 lived with lone mothers, 1 with a lone father, 2 in reconstituted families and 1 with both parents.

Parents from the African Caribbean group had reached a slightly higher level of education than those from the White group, this difference approached significance

level. However only one had stayed on at school to do A-levels. One had done A-levels at college and four more had done vocational courses. Three were adult returners to education, with two having commenced university degrees.

Five of the parents from the White group had not been educated beyond GCSE level, two having left school before taking GCSEs. Three had followed college vocational courses, one as an adult returner. In terms of level of employment, differences between groups were not significant, although the mean level of employment for the White group was higher than that for the African Caribbean group.

Ten of the sixteen pupils had experienced two changes in school, mainly because of the first and middle school system in Midshire. There were no significant differences between groups.

2.3.16 Educational aspirations

Educational aspirations of parents for their sons from both groups did not differ significantly, however one parent from the African Caribbean group commented "there's peer pressure among Black kids not to work".

Pupil aspirations were slightly lower than that of parents, although almost all pupils wanted to go on to further or higher education. Of the pupils from the African Caribbean group, three aspired to be footballers, two to work in IT, one to be an athlete and one a mechanic. Of the pupils from the White group, aspirations were varied and involved several choices and more uncertainty. None aspired to be footballers.

2.4 Discussion of findings

This section aims to draw together and make sense of both the quantitative and qualitative findings of this study in the context of the research literature. Some methodological issues with the study will be discussed, and links made between the findings and the rationale for the second study.

2.4.1 The situation in Midshire

In common with many other local authorities, African Caribbean pupils are underachieving and over-excluded in comparison with White pupils. There are few pupils from the Black African ethnic group and they do not appear to be experiencing significant educational disadvantage. However, Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups are the most excluded groups in the county. At the end of Key Stage 2 there is a gap in attainments between White and Black Other groups and between White and Black Caribbean groups, but this has widened by GCSE to an extent where both Black groups are less than half as likely to obtain five or more A*-C grades as White pupils.

2.4.2 General factors in society and school

The parents from the African Caribbean group had somewhat better educational qualifications than their White counterparts, however their employment was not commensurate with these qualifications. This employment-qualification gap was also found by Cross, Wrench and Barnett (1990), and may be indicative of the effects of racism in society.

Many of the parents from the African Caribbean group felt that schools did not

genuinely value cultural diversity. As found in other studies, they were particularly

critical of the History curriculum, which they felt was Euro-centric and did not

represent Black people. They also mentioned the lack of Black teachers in school.

History was one of the Black (but not White) pupils' least favourite subjects. Three of

eight Black pupils aspired to be footballers (but none of the White pupils did) and

this may indicate lack of other positive role models.

Most pupils from both groups viewed peer relationships positively. However three

families from the African Caribbean group reported peer racism, and one pupil

reported peer provocation and his retaliation as a cause of the exclusion. On a more

general level this may be one cause of the disproportionate exclusion of Black pupils

(Osler 1997).

Parents and pupils from both groups viewed primary school significantly more

favourably than secondary school, in particular the discipline in primary school.

There were a few reports of difficult teacher-pupil relationships in primary school,

but little other evidence that the problems leading to exclusion had started in primary

school. Interestingly, parents from the African Caribbean group viewed secondary

school discipline significantly less favourably than parents from the White group.

2.4.3 Family factors

No major differences were found between the two groups in either family

composition or educational aspirations of parents for their sons. Only one pupil in

each group lived with both biological parents, and many of the families appeared to

be experiencing socio-economic disadvantage.

Parents from both groups viewed involvement with secondary school as being mostly in connection with their son's behaviour. There were few positive reports home, or less formal opportunities for contact with staff mentioned. Parents from the African Caribbean group in particular commented on poor home-school communication. A number of these parents had left school early and gained their qualifications at FE colleges, so this problem may have been exacerbated by their own experiences of schooling, making them more reluctant to make contact with their son's school.

The reported lower ratings of parents from the African Caribbean group for secondary school discipline appeared from the comments to be as a result of lack of perceived "strictness". Some educationalists have postulated that Black families are generally stricter with their children (Gibson and Barrow 1986, Callender 1997) and expect more respect for adults (Wrench and Hassan 1996). This may mean that parents have higher expectations of strictness in the school. An alternative explanation is that this rating was a more general reflection of greater dissatisfaction with disciplinary processes in school.

2.4.4 Pupil factors

Most pupils from both groups reported enjoying school, and there was little evidence of disaffection. Amongst the African Caribbean pupils there was no evidence of anti-school sub-cultural groups (Mac an Ghaill 1988), oppositional identities (Ogbu 1987) or "cool pose" (Majors and Billson 1992). However the group were comparatively young, so this does not imply that these factors are not important in exclusions from

years 10 and 11 of school.

There was also no evidence of language or non-verbal differences during the interviews with either pupils or parents from the African Caribbean group. Many of the parents had been educated in Britain, thus the relevance of these factors may be much less than reported in earlier studies e.g. Gibson and Barrow (1986).

Finally, no significant differences were found in self esteem between the pupil groups. This would be anticipated from the research literature. However more of the pupils from the African Caribbean group said they wished they could behave better, possibly a reflection of greater regret at the exclusion, or perhaps a higher level of insight.

2.4.5 Teacher-pupil interactions

Black pupil perceptions of teacher unfairness, disrespect, excessive sanctions and singling out for punishment, appear to be corroborated by the research literature. Both ethnographic and some quantitative observational studies have found more criticism, control and reprimands directed towards Black pupils and singling out of a group for punishment (Wright 1986, Gillborn 1988, Callender 1995, Wright 1992, Sewell 1997).

In the present study, both groups of pupils reported poor relationships with some teachers, and had objections to confrontational styles of classroom management in particular. Three African Caribbean pupils commented on singling out for blame whereas none of the White pupils did. Six out of eight parents from the African

Caribbean group said that their son had problems with "some teachers" and three felt that teachers had a negative view of Black pupils and lacked respect. Other parent comments were of low expectations and lack of understanding of Black pupils, and Black pupil comments were of feeling that they were not respected or listened to.

These difficulties were reported with some teachers in secondary school, but very few in primary school. It is possible that the increased numbers of teachers and pupils interacting with each other at secondary school increases the chance of conflict, and perhaps the closer teacher-pupil relationship in primary protects against it. The apparently higher level of conflict with African Caribbean pupils may have led to the two exclusions for physical aggression to teachers.

Parents from the African Caribbean group were significantly more likely than parents from the White group to view the exclusion as unfair. More African Caribbean pupils too said the exclusion was unfair than White pupils, but this difference was not statistically significant. The reasons given for the view of unfairness were excessive severity of the sanction, singling out of a group for blame, and blaming for actions the pupil denied doing, or claimed were in response to provocation which went unpunished. Findings of these perceptions of exclusion make a direct link between the research on teacher-pupil interactions and exclusions.

2.4.6 Methodological considerations

The sample size for this study was small (eight pupils and families in each group). With a larger sample size, more differences or more significant differences may have been found between the groups, however the demographics of Midshire made it

difficult to find sufficient pupils who met the criteria for inclusion in the study. The fact that there were many similarities in perceptions between the two groups, and few significant differences, or differences approaching significance, probably reflects genuine commonality since pupils attended the same three schools, had all received fixed term exclusions and were in the same age range.

Attempt was made to match or control for a number of factors which could have influenced the findings. The pupils in the two groups were broadly matched for age and school attended. They were all boys, since there are indications of a complex interaction between ethnicity and gender, which would have made use of a mixed group inappropriate. None of the pupils had Statements of Special Educational Needs, were in Public Care or had experienced permanent exclusion. Finally interview data did not indicate major discrepancies in terms of socio-economic status. These controls made it more likely that any differences found would be linked with the difference in ethnic group.

The pupils interviewed were from National Curriculum years 7-9, despite the fact that that there are fewer exclusions in years 7 and 8, so it was more difficult to find an adequate sample size. The aim of this study was to identify factors which could inform preventative action as early as possible in pupils' school career, and to provide a link with the second study which would be based in the upper years of primary school. This made it important to look at factors which may have an effect prior to the formation of adolescent sub-cultural groups, which evidence suggests are linked with many later exclusions, particularly of African Caribbean pupils.

2.4.7 Critique of the methodology used in this study

A possible shortcoming of the study was that the quantitative data involved small numbers and numerous comparisons, which could have resulted in spurious findings of significance. For this reason, quantitative findings could not be expected to "stand alone" but in all cases were supported with qualitative data from parent and pupil comments. The qualitative information gave insight into some subtle differences in perceptions e.g. on "valuing cultural diversity" and "staff relationships" which were not apparent in looking at overall ratings for the groups. These may provide some pointers for possible intervention, particularly when there is additional evidence from the relevant research literature.

Another issue with the study is that findings are all related to parent or pupil perceptions, and these perceptions may not represent the "real" situation in school. In order to provide a more balanced view, triangulation from other sources of data e.g. teacher perceptions and direct observation would have been necessary. However it was intended for the data from this study to provide indicators for further investigation using other methods in the second study. Also, the retrospective "post-exclusion" aspect of the study may have led to altered parent and pupil perspectives on school. However since one of the aims of the study was to make a direct link between school factors and exclusion, this was a necessary feature, and perceptions may have not been altered as significantly as they perhaps would after a permanent exclusion. It is notable that the findings are mainly consistent with those of studies using observation and teacher interview as well, and not specifically linked with exclusions e.g. Wright (1986), Gillborn (1988), Sewell 1997.

Since qualitative data was collected through a questionnaire delivered by structured interview, a further limitation might be that the themes arising would have been limited by the researcher's choice of questions. This was partly addressed by inclusion of two open ended questions. As a result of these, only two further themes on school (the school environment and home-school communication) emerged in the comments. More importantly, the questions asked reflected the key factors in school found to be of importance to exclusions in the research literature, rather than being limited to the hypotheses of the researcher. However improvements could have been made to some of the questions. The question on peer relationships was intended to provide a chance for families to talk about racism without being "leading", although in retrospect a prompt on racism would have been helpful. This would have enabled specificity about some of the incidents categorised as bullying. Additionally, the question on teaching methods could have been removed from the questionnaire, since it was not generally well understood, and even with further explanation, many families felt they had insufficient information to answer it.

Finally and probably most importantly, the study could have employed a full qualitative as well as quantitative analysis. At the outset, quantitative analysis appeared more appropriate to the research question. Many of the school factors relevant to exclusions have been documented in the research literature, and it appeared unlikely that new factors would emerge, however comparison between the two groups on these factors was needed, a purpose well served by quantitative methods. The purpose of collecting the qualitative data was to provide more depth and meaning to answers, e.g. if the exclusion was perceived as "unfair", why this was. The structure was helpful in that it made analysis less complex, and left less

room for interviewer interpretations, one of the concerns being the possibility of the introduction of researcher bias (a criticism which Callender (1997) has made of a number of ethnographic studies in this area).

However, it is recognised that qualitative methods are well suited to small scale exploratory research and can provide rich and meaningful data, with greater sensitivity to participants' experience and sometimes more relevance to the "real world". In retrospect, the study could have been conducted by firstly collecting the quantitative data through the questionnaire, which would have provided the numerical basis for comparison between the groups, and then collecting qualitative data through an open ended interview, or even more ambitiously, a focus group for each of the study groups. The interviews could have been video or audio-taped and then transcribed. Care would have to be taken that neither the interview procedure, nor the data analysis introduced a researcher bias (possibly confirmation of researcher assumptions). Data would therefore need rigorous analysis e.g. according to "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This entails coding themes and meanings into categories until "saturation" is reached thereby creating a richer picture than can be obtained through quantitative methods or highly structured interviews. Coding could be done by more than one analyst to ensure reliability or "trustworthiness". This process, although complex and time consuming may have produced additional and meaningful results from the present study.

2.4.8 Relevance of the findings for the second study

The findings of the first study are as predicted by the hypothesis. Many of the pupils and families (Black and White) reported difficulties in teacher-pupil relationships as

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contributory to the exclusion, however more families from the African Caribbean group viewed the exclusion as unfair, and more commented on excessive or unfair blame by teachers.

The study provides a clear link between views on relationships with staff and exclusion, as many of the same factors are referred to in answers to questions on both issues. However, one interesting finding was the general view, amongst both groups that it was relationships with some specific teachers and not staff in general that were a problem. African Caribbean parents and pupils particularly viewed a minority of staff as "unfair".

It appears likely from the evidence on attainments of African Caribbean pupils that they are already experiencing disadvantageous factors in primary school, and the research literature indicates higher levels of negative teacher statements, particularly for social behaviour, to African Caribbean pupils in primary school. However the "minority of staff" perception adds another dimension to the investigation in study 2. The hypothesis will include the possibility that it is only some of the teachers who are responsible for the higher levels of negative statements, possibly due to operation of negative stereotypes about African Caribbean boys, as suggested by views of three of the parents.

If this is found to be the case, the greater complexity of organisation in secondary schools with more interactions with more teachers and fewer close teacher-pupil relationships would lead to more exposure of African Caribbean pupils to "negative teachers". This may be an important mediating factor in the disproportionate

exclusions and rapidly widening gap in attainments of African Caribbean pupils in

secondary schools.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2: COMPARISON OF A RANGE OF PUPIL BEHAVIOURS AND TEACHER PUPIL-INTERACTIONS IN SAMPLES OF AFRICAN CARIBBEAN AND WHITE PUPILS THROUGH DIRECT OBSERVATION IN THE CLASSROOM

3.1 Introduction

Both ethnographic and observational studies in primary and secondary schools have found that more teacher negative feedback on behaviour (including reprimands and criticism) is directed towards African Caribbean than White pupils. There is evidence in the secondary phase that at least some African Caribbean pupils become part of oppositional adolescent sub-cultures and develop and display anti-school attitudes. This appears to contribute to teacher-pupil conflict in the classroom. However there is little or no evidence that African Caribbean pupils have negative attitudes towards school or education in the primary phase. Nevertheless from an "on a par start" at school entry, an "attainment gap" develops by the end of key stage 1 and increases by the end of key stage 2. This suggests that disadvantageous factors are operating on African Caribbean pupils from the early primary phase and into secondary education.

These factors could be related to teacher negative feedback, which has been shown

to adversely affect attainments (for a review see Jussim, 1986). However it is not clear as to whether such teacher negative feedback results from pupil factors (e.g. behaviour differences) or teacher factors (e.g. negative stereotypes of the behaviour of African Caribbean pupils), and previous studies have not investigated this issue in British primary schools.

It is clear from the results of study 1 that the situation in Midshire is similar to that nationally in terms of comparative attainments and exclusions of African Caribbean and White pupils. It is also clear that in common most of the research literature, African Caribbean pupils and parents perceive that some teachers single out Black pupils for blame. Study 1 links this with the perceived unfairness of the exclusions. Unlike previous studies, a White comparison group was included, and it was found that the African Caribbean group were more likely than the White group to report "singling out for blame" and more likely to perceive the exclusion as "unfair". Finally it was noted that in all cases where such problems were reported, they were perceived to occur with some but not all teachers.

3.1.1 Links between primary and secondary factors

The aim of the thesis is to investigate factors contributing to disproportionate exclusions of African Caribbean pupils, with the intention of deriving pointers for intervention. The evidence of disadvantageous factors in primary school suggests that this may be the most appropriate phase of schooling in which to implement interventions. By the time teacher-pupil conflict is occurring in secondary school, the situation may be entrenched, and it may be difficult to implement effective

interventions to prevent exclusions. It was decided to conduct study 2 in the upper three years of primary school on this basis. Study 1 however, was conducted in secondary school, since there are sufficient exclusions during these years to make it feasible. It was hoped that by restricting the sample to years 7, 8 and 9 complex confounding effects arising from formation of various "adolescent sub-cultures" would to some extent be avoided.

If staff stereotypes and low expectations contribute to exclusion in secondary, stereotypes are also likely to be held by primary teachers. A study using the Child Behaviour Checklist and Bristol Social Adjustment Scale found that teachers view primary age African Caribbean pupils as having more inappropriate behaviour, and they were seven times more likely to rate them as "rebellious" (Bagley 1982). Exclusions from primary school are comparatively rare, however a disproportionate number of these too, are from African Caribbean ethnic groups.

3.1.2 Aims of the second study

The present study focuses on teacher-pupil interactions, and pupil behaviours in the classroom, through direct observation of samples of African Caribbean and White boys, enabling comparisons to be made of positive, negative and neutral statements linked with work and behaviour, and of a range of actual behaviours produced by pupils. The previous studies cited (Wright 1986, Callender 1997, Mac an Ghaill 1988, Gillborn 1988), examined teacher-pupil interactions, mostly through analysis of samples of discourse. Consideration was not given to pupil behaviours, which may have strong effects on the nature and amount of teacher-pupil interaction.

The present study aims to make rigorous comparisons between the groups using quantitative psychological research methods. Data on teacher perceptions of learning and behaviour will also be collected to examine whether teachers perceive African Caribbean boys as behaving more inappropriately, and having lower attainments than their White peers. The data will thus provide evidence based on teacher views and observation which can then be considered in relation to the perceptions of pupils and parents which formed the basis of study 1.

The study aims to answer the following questions:

- Do teachers perceive behaviour and attainments of African Caribbean pupils as differing from White pupils?

- Do teachers behave differently towards African Caribbean than White pupils?

- Do the behaviours of African Caribbean and White pupils differ?

It may be possible from the findings, in conjunction with study 1 findings and the research literature, to consider causal relationships between teacher and pupil behaviours, in particular behaviours which may increase the risk of later exclusion of African Caribbean pupils.

If teacher perceptions and behaviours differ, this may result from stereotypes held of African Caribbean pupils. Such stereotypes could in themselves contribute to increased teacher-pupil conflict and risk of exclusion. They may also have an indirect impact on pupil behaviour which increases later risk of exclusion. Alternatively, pupil behaviours may differ from early in their schooling, and it is actual differences

in pupil behaviour which lead to teacher perceptions and behaviours, rather than stereotypes based on ethnic group.

If pupil behaviours differ, there are possible explanations on a number of levels. These may be within school e.g. responses to different teacher messages, responses to peers (e.g. peer racism), or responses to finding classwork difficult (lower attainments). The behaviour differences may also result from differences in pupil attitude to school or motivation to work, perhaps due to family/community experiences in British society or lack of positive representation of Black people in school. They may also be linked with cultural differences e.g. strictness and style of discipline in family, or cultural norms of verbal and non verbal behaviour. A finding of differences in pupil behaviour would therefore require further investigation to elucidate causes.

Although there are clear differences between schools in levels of exclusion generally and proportion from different ethnic groups excluded, the number of schools in the present study is too small for meaningful comparisons of school effects to be made.

3.1.3 Study 2 hypothesis

Teacher-pupil interactions are the medium through which teacher expectations and attitudes can be transmitted to pupils, and pupil behaviour can influence teacher perceptions. They are therefore key in mediating any intentional, or more likely unintentional, racist effects, and in producing cultural misunderstandings. Of particular importance in the present study are teacher negative feedback/reprimands,

and pupil "disruptive" behaviours.

If teacher reprimands are similar for Black and White pupils (or less for Black pupils) and Black pupils' behaviour is no more inappropriate than White pupils' behaviour, the evidence would be contrary to other studies in primary school. This would not give indications of reasons for exclusion or underachievement of Black pupils. Factors related to exclusions could therefore arise only in secondary school (either in connection with stereotypes activated by older and larger pupils, or pupil behaviour differentially affected by development of adolescent groupings).

If Black pupils' behaviour is no more inappropriate than White pupils' behaviour, but teachers reprimand Black pupils more than White pupils, it would suggest that teachers may be acting upon stereotypes. Such teacher behaviour could possibly explain Black underachievement in primary school, and the development of oppositional subcultures and teacher pupil conflict leading to exclusions in secondary school.

If Black pupils' behaviour is more inappropriate than White pupils' behaviour and teachers reprimand Black pupils more than White pupils, a causal relationship could not be inferred. It would not indicate whether the inappropriate behaviour began earlier and led to teacher reprimand or vice versa. However this study includes comparison of Black pupils with a White group matched by teacher ratings of learning and behaviour. If this Black group also receives more reprimands it would suggest the operation of teacher stereotypes.

If teacher reprimands are similar (or less) for Black than White pupils, but Black pupils' behaviour is more inappropriate than White pupils' behaviour, it would suggest that there are differences in pupil behaviour primarily as a result of family, cultural or "within pupil" factors.

Of these possibilities, the hypothesis is that, as found by similar studies, there will be more teacher negative feedback to African Caribbean pupils particularly for behaviour. The results of study 1 modify this hypothesis to a minority of the teachers contributing most of the effect. With regard to whether pupil behaviours differ, there is no existing research evidence in a similar context.

Comparisons made by the study in order to test the hypothesis were:

- Teacher perceptions of learning and behaviour of the White and African Caribbean boys in their classes using a teacher rating scale

- Observed behaviours of representative samples of White and African Caribbean boys in the classroom

- Observed behaviours of samples of White and African Caribbean boys matched for teacher ratings of learning and behaviour

- Teacher-pupil interactions across all White and African Caribbean boys in the class

- Teacher-pupil interactions with samples of African Caribbean and White boys matched for teacher ratings of learning and behaviour

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Selection of schools for the study

All primary schools in Midshire with at least 10% of pupils from African Caribbean ethnic groups were approached (a total of five schools). This would mean that there would be sufficient African Caribbean boys to observe in each class. All the schools approached agreed to participate in the study. Four of the schools were located in Hilltown and one in Abbeytown, and consisted of one Catholic, one Church of England and three County primary schools.

3.2.2 Class checklist

A checklist of each class, years 4-6, was completed in advance of the study, with names of all pupils and ethnic group (from a choice of ten groups, based on 1991 census categories) filled in by the school office, according to the self defined ethnic group of pupils provided by parents at admission. Learning and behaviour ratings of all pupils were completed by the class teacher (see Appendix 5 for sample). The scale used was from 1-5 for learning and behaviour, where 1 = very good, 2 = good, 3 = average, 4 = poor and 5 = very poor. Teachers were advised that most of the pupils would score 2, 3 or 4, with scores of 1 and 5 being unusual.

3.2.3 Selection of pupils for observation

Pupil observations were made in all year 4, 5 and 6 classes, a total of 22 classes, and observations of teacher-pupil interactions were made in 15 classes (a smaller number

than total classes because of logistical problems such as length of lesson available).

A total of 132 pupils were observed. The African Caribbean group included all boys from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups present at the time of observation (a total of 42) and just over twice as many White boys. Black African boys, were not included, since this ethnic group are excluded proportionately less than the other Black ethnic groups, and factors involved may differ. For each class, one White boy was matched to each Black boy by learning and behaviour rating. Another White boy (or in six instances two boys) was selected randomly from the class list. In the case of schools grouping by ability, selections were made across the whole year rather than by class. Numbers of pupils observed in each class varied from 3 to 12, depending on how many Black boys were present. In most classes, 2 or 3 were present, meaning that 6 to 9 pupils were observed. In some classes this meant that all Black and White boys in the class were being observed.

3.2.4 Measures used

The tools used for the observations were devised for purposes of this study by adaptation from an existing observation schedule. The aim of the tool was to provide as "objective" a view as possible of pupil and teacher behaviours, a complex task in such a dynamic environment as a classroom. This meant the need to focus on a narrow range of preselected behaviours of relevance to the subject under investigation. The OPTIC (Observing Pupils and Teachers in Classrooms) is a classroom observation schedule designed to pick up data on key teacher and child behaviours related to classroom management, in particular teacher use of approval

and disapproval of children's social and academic behaviour and its effects on pupil behaviour. The reliability, validity and sensitivity of the scale is documented (Merrett and Wheldall 1986). However, the OPTIC only records on task and off task behaviours of pupils.

For the purposes of the present study it was necessary to observe a wider range of pupil behaviours in order to include types of behaviour which are related to teacher perceptions of "behaviour difficulties" and also to risk of exclusion. These include disruptive, defiant and aggressive behaviours (Osler 1997, Blyth and Milner 1993).

The following behaviour schedules aimed at identifying individual pupil difficulties were examined:

- Talking out of turn, Out of seat, Attention problems and Disruption (TOAD) (Goldstein 1997).

- ADHD School Observation Code (Checkmate Plus 1996).

- Pupil Behaviour Schedule (Jolly and McNamara 1992).

Relevant items were selected from these to include in the study. Since the present study was not intended to give reliable information about individual pupils, but rather to collect data across large representative samples of pupils, it was not regarded as necessary to repeat observations across a number of situations for each pupil.

The behaviours included in the new observation schedule were rigorously defined in observable terms (see Appendix 6 for sample schedule and behaviour definitions).

They were as follows:

Pupil behaviour – 10 second time sample

Appropriate/on task

Talking out of turn

Out of seat (inappropriate)

Off task (other)

Pupil behaviour (verbal or non verbal) – event sample

Call out/gesture to teacher

Defiant/non compliant

Call out/gesture to peer

Aggression to peer

Interfere with peer or equipment

Teacher interaction with pupil (verbal or non verbal) – event sample

Positive for behaviour

Negative for behaviour

Positive for work

Negative for work

Other – question, comment

Time sampling procedures were used to record behaviours of sustained duration e.g.

on task, or high frequency e.g. talking out of turn, and event sampling was used for

behaviours of short duration and lower frequency e.g. call out. For each individual pupil observed, five minutes of time sampling was followed by five minutes of event sampling.

The observation schedule was trialled with a small number of pupils prior to commencement of the study, and a number of alterations made to ensure that it was as simple as possible to use. Visual inspection of data from the trials indicated that there were large variations in behaviour between individual pupils, and that of two pupils perceived by teachers as having behaviour difficulties, one showed low levels of on task behaviour with comparatively high levels of talking out of turn and out of seat, and another had several events of calling out and interfering with peers recorded.

It was also noted during the trials that levels of teacher interaction with individual pupils during the observation period were generally low, and sometimes no interactions occurred. For this reason it was decided to have an additional separate 20 minute observation of teacher interactions with African Caribbean and White pupils (whole class condition). This took place across the whole class at a time of higher levels of interaction e.g. whole class introductory or plenary sessions, to enable comparison of proportions of types of teacher interaction. Teacher interactions were defined in the same way as for individual pupil observations.

3.2.5 Ethical considerations

A meeting was arranged with each headteacher to give an outline of the study, give details for class checklist completion, address any issues raised and obtain agreement to proceed further. Headteachers were asked to inform staff about the study, including observation time and commitment to complete the checklist, and to give any teachers who did not wish their class to be observed chance to opt out, since some teachers may have found the observation period intrusive.

Headteachers were also asked to inform parents, and give any parents who did not wish their child to be present during the observation chance to opt out. Since there was no direct interaction between the researcher and any pupils in school, and in some instances up to half the pupils in a class were being observed, this was viewed as the best way of addressing informed consent. A model letter to parents with an outline of the study was provided for this purpose (see Appendix 7).

Headteachers and teachers were reassured that information such as class checklists would be kept confidential and destroyed on completion of the study, and that all data from observations would be anonymous. Pupils were allocated to groups and observation sheets coded accordingly so that no data could be individually identified. No pupils, teachers or schools are identifiable in the study, and names of towns and the local authority were disguised. Headteachers were offered a twilight In-Service Training (INSET) session as thanks for taking part, in the term after completion of the study.

3.2.6 Procedures

Observations were conducted between November 2001 and February 2002. On the day of observation, pupils were selected from each class checklist with a number of "spares" to cover possible absences. Classes were observed at a time convenient to teachers concerned, and during a "seated lesson" to make observation easier. In practice, most of the observations were made during the morning in literacy or numeracy lessons, although some were in science, Religious Education (RE), Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) or "finishing time". Observations lasted from one to two hours depending on numbers of pupils observed, and this meant that in some cases they covered more than one lesson. During observation periods no interactions were engaged in between observer and teacher or observer and pupils.

Observations of "whole class" teacher-pupil interactions took place during introduction, discussion or plenary sessions, when level of interaction was generally higher, and lasted for 20 minutes per teacher. Observations of pupil behaviour mostly took place during work seated at a table with a number of other pupils, although some were whilst seated "on the carpet" for introductory or plenary sessions.

Pupils to be observed were usually identified by the class teacher on a seating plan prior to the lesson, although some preferred to take a register at the start of lesson or use other methods to identify pupils. Although teachers knew which pupils were to be observed, they were not aware of order of observation, or actual measures being used. Once pupils had been identified each was given a code so that names did not

appear on observation sheets. Order of observation was randomised within each class.

Each pupil was observed for a total of ten minutes, the first five minutes consisting of ten second time sampling of four activities, and the next five minutes consisting of event sampling of five pupil behaviours and five types of teacher interaction with the pupil being observed. The observer was seated two to three metres from the pupil under observation and out of his direct line of vision i.e. to one side. In most cases several observations were possible from one viewpoint, and pupils gave little indication of awareness that they were being observed. A stopwatch was used to time observations.

3.3 Results

As in study 1, it was considered that most of the data obtained did not meet the criteria for parametric analysis, i.e. interval/ratio scale, normal distribution and homogeneous variance. Analysis was therefore performed using the Mann Whitney U test.

3.3.1 Teacher ratings of learning and behaviour

Comparison was made of teacher ratings for all African Caribbean boys (total number 48) and all White boys (total number 177) in the 22 classes in which observation took place. Means and standard deviations are given in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Teacher ratings of learning and behaviour

	African Caribbean Mean (SD)	White Mean (SD)
Learning rating	3.13 (0.83)	2.89 (0.95)
Behaviour rating	2.73 (0.97)	2.47 (1.05)

Although means suggested teacher perception of slightly poorer learning and behaviour for African Caribbean boys, analysis using the Mann Whitney shows that differences were not significant at the 0.05 level.

3.3.2 Teacher interactions with all African Caribbean and White pupils in the class (whole class condition)

Comparison was made of five types of teacher interaction with all African Caribbean boys (total number 39) and all White boys (total number 114) in whole class situations in 15 classes. Mean interactions per pupil and standard deviations are given in the Table 5 below, and a bar chart is given as Figure 11.

Mean numbers of interactions by teachers with African Caribbean boys were higher in all categories than with White boys. Analysis using the Mann Whitney test shows that "Other" interactions are significantly more frequent with African Caribbean than with White pupils (U = 51.0, p = 0.011). Other differences are not statistically significant (see table 5 below).

Table 5: Teacher pupil interactions (whole class condition)

	African Caribbean Mean (SD)	White Mean (SD)	Mann Whitney U value	2-tailed significance level
Positive work	0.67 (0.67)	0.35 (0.39)	92.5	0.398
Negative work	0.32 (0.70)	0.19 (0.21)	80.5	0.149
Positive behaviour	0.07 (0.18)	0.06 (0.11)	101.5	0.514
Negative behaviour	0.79 (0.88)	0.63 (0.54)	106.0	0.786
Other interactions	2.15 (1.29)	1.12 (0.77)	51.0	0.011*

* differences which reached significance at 0.05 level or better

3.3.3 Pupil behaviour and teacher-pupil interactions with individual pupils observed (individual pupil condition)

1. Comparisons were made of the observed sample of 42 African Caribbean boys with a sample of 42 White boys matched for learning and behaviour. Table 6 (below) shows mean teacher ratings of learning and behaviour used for matching purposes.

Table 6: Learning and behaviour match data

	African Caribbean Mean (SD)	White Mean (SD)
Learning rating	3.10 (0.87)	3.13 (0.78)
Behaviour rating	2.74 (0.97)	2.70 (0.94)

Behaviours and interactions compared were:

- On task, talking out of turn (TOOT), out of seat (OOS), off task (10 second time sampling)

- Call out to teacher (Call out T), defiant, call out to peer (Call out P), aggressive, interfering (event sampling)

- Positive work, positive behaviour, negative work, negative behaviour, other (teacher-pupil interactions)

Table 7: African Caribbean-White learning and behaviour match comparison

	African Caribbean Mean (SD)	White learning and behaviour matched Mean (SD)	Mann Whitney U value	2-tailed significance level
On task	21.10 (6.62)	17.60 (7.19)	635.5	0.027*
TOOT	2.93 (2.99)	3.88 (4.84)	827.0	0.618
OOS	0.48 (1.23)	0.55 (1.31)	861.5	0.783
Off task	5.40 (6.13)	7.95 (6.52)	650.5	0.037*
Call out T	0.76 (1.65)	0.24 (0.88)	714.0	0.028*
Defiant	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	882.0	1.000
Call out P	0.86 (1.44)	0.79 (1.84)	791.0	0.325
Aggressive	0.02 (0.15)	0.00 (0.00)	861.0	0.317
Interfere	0.29 (0.89)	0.33 (0.95)	861.5	0.771
Positive work	0.07 (0.34)	0.07 (0.26)	862.5	0.670
Negative work	0.02 (0.15)	0.07 (0.26)	840.0	0.308
Positive behaviour	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	882.0	1.000
Negative behaviour	0.33 (0.69)	0.09 (0.37)	735.0	0.036*
Other	0.90 (1.51)	0.62 (1.31)	776.5	0.264

* differences which reached significance at 0.05 level or better

The Mann Whitney test (see Table 7 above) shows that:

- African Caribbean pupils spent significantly more time on task than behaviour and learning matched White peers (U = 635.5, p = 0.027)

- African Caribbean pupils spent significantly less time off task than behaviour and learning matched White peers (U = 650.5, p = 0.037)

- African Caribbean pupils called out to the teacher significantly more frequently than behaviour and learning matched White peers (U = 714.0, p = 0.028)

- African Caribbean pupils received significantly more negative teacher comments for behaviour than behaviour/ learning matched White peers (U = 735.0, p = 0.036)

2. Comparisons were also made of the observed sample of 42 African Caribbean boys with all White boys observed (total number 90) using the same measures. The White boys observed were a representative sample of all White boys in the classes concerned as can be seen from Table 8 below.

Table 8: Learning and behaviour data for representative White sample

	White pupils observed Mean (SD)	All White pupils Mean (SD)
Learning rating	2.90 (0.85)	2.89 (0.95)
Behaviour rating	2.49 (1.06)	2.47 (1.05)

The only significant difference   revealed by the Mann Whitney test is that African

Caribbean pupils received more negative teacher comments for behaviour than a
representative sample of White pupils (U = 1607.0, p = 0.020), see Table 9 below.

Table 9: African Caribbean-White representative sample comparison

	African Caribbean Mean (SD)	White repres. sample Mean (SD)	Mann Whitney U value	2-tailed significance level
On task	21.10 (6.62)	19.27 (6.28)	1561.0	0.107
TOOT	2.93 (2.99)	3.50 (4.10)	1820.5	0.731
OOS	0.48 (1.23)	0.47 (1.28)	1885.5	0.973
Off task	5.40 (6.13)	6.70 (5.57)	1524.0	0.072
Call out T	0.76 (1.65)	0.36 (0.87)	1702.5	0.211
Defiant	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.11)	1869.0	0.495
Call out P	0.86 (1.44)	0.83 (1.76)	1760.5	0.447
Aggressive	0.02 (0.15)	0.00 (0.00)	1845.0	0.143
Interfere	0.29 (0.89)	0.23 (0.72)	1886.0	0.974
Positive work	0.07 (0.34)	0.12 (0.45)	1813.5	0.415
Negative work	0.02 (0.15)	0.04 (0.21)	1851.0	0.564
Positive behaviour	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	1890.0	1.000
Negative behaviour	0.33 (0.69)	0.13 (0.52)	1607.0	0.020*
Other	0.90 (1.51)	0.78 (1.54)	1748.5	0.415

* differences which reached   significance at 0.05 level or better

Figure 11: Teacher-pupil interactions (mean per pupil) in whole class condition
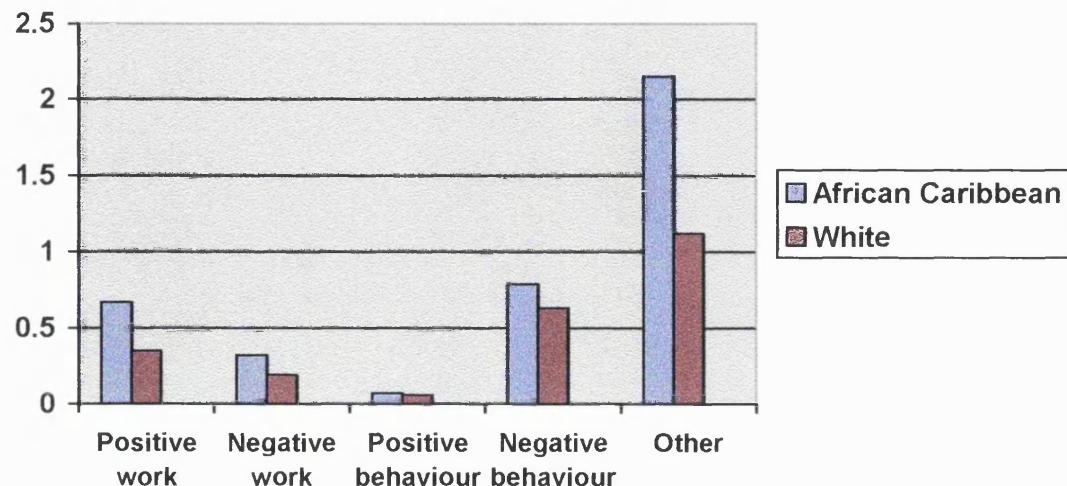
Figure 12: Teacher-pupil interactions (mean per pupil) in individual pupil condition
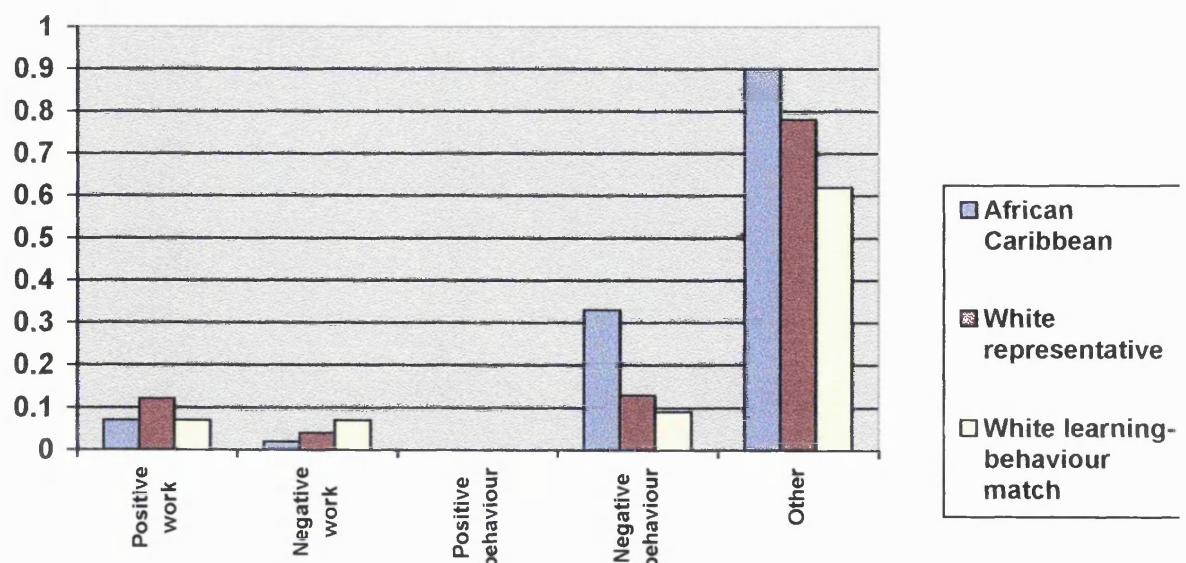
Figure 13: Comparison of data for 10 second time sampling (mean per pupil)
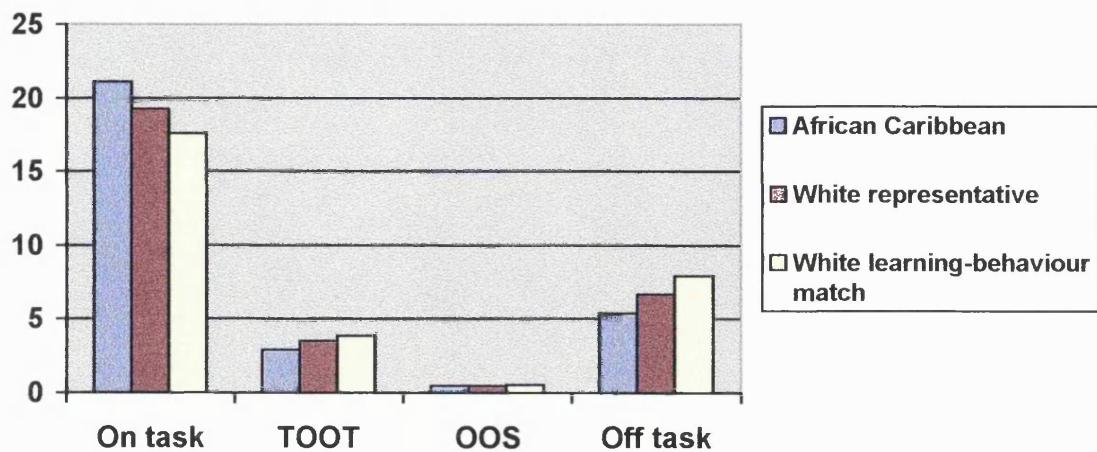
Figure 14: Comparison of data for event sampling (mean per pupil)
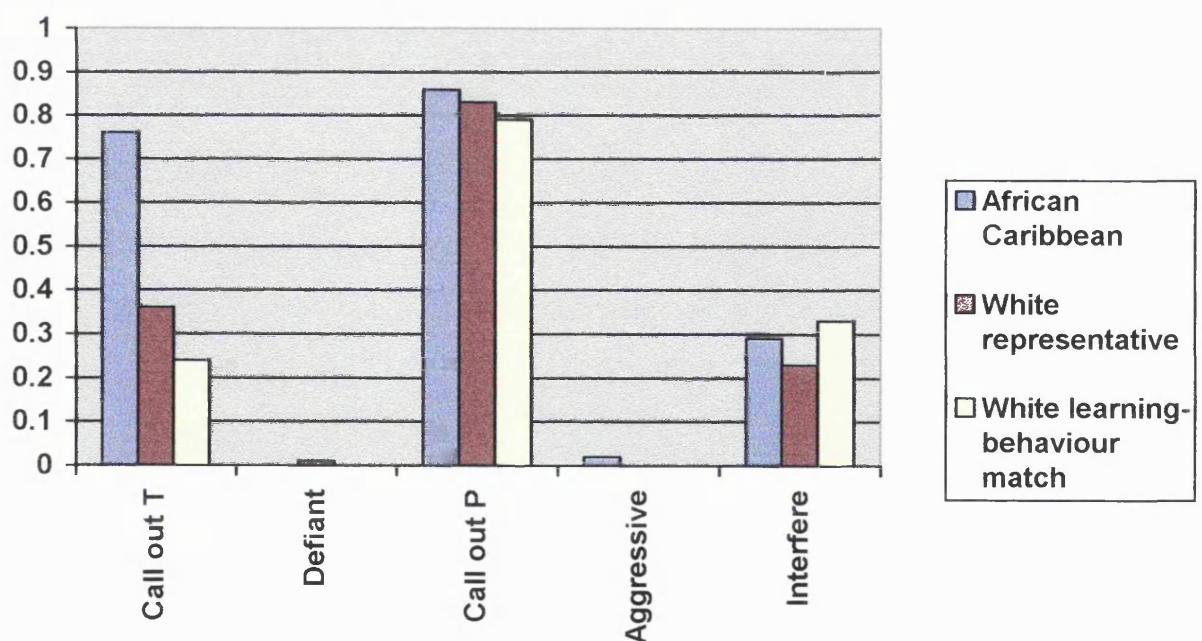
3.3.4 Summary of key findings

As can be seen from figures 12-14 above, data for the African Caribbean sample is more similar on almost all measures to that for the White representative sample than the White learning-behaviour match sample.

African Caribbean pupils spent significantly more time on task and significantly less time off task than the White learning-behaviour match group. The White representative sample were slightly more on task than the White learning-behaviour match group but less than the African Caribbean group (differences were not significant).

The African Caribbean group called out significantly more to the teacher than the White learning-behaviour match group. The White representative sample frequency of calling out was between that for the other two groups (differences were not significant).

In the "individual pupils" condition, the African Caribbean group received significantly more negative comments for behaviour than either of the other two groups. However in the "whole class" condition during introductory or plenary sessions, there were no significant differences found between the two groups (all White pupils or all Black pupils) in negative teacher comments for behaviour. However the Black pupils received more total comments in all categories, and significantly more general comments e.g. questions or instructions (categorised as "Other").

3.3.5 Further analysis to investigate "calling out to teacher"

Since the African Caribbean pupils were more on task than the White learning-behaviour match group, it raised the question as to whether the "calling out to teacher" behaviour was task-focused or disruptive in intent. During the observations, it had been informally noted that much of the calling out appeared to be through enthusiasm to contribute to the topic or answer questions.

For this reason, comparisons were made on the same range of measures used above between African Caribbean pupils who called out at least once to the teacher and those who did not, and also between White pupils who called out at least once to the teacher and White pupils who did not (see Appendix 8). These results should be interpreted with caution as group sizes were smaller than for the previous comparisons, especially for the African Caribbean groups.

The only significant difference found using the Mann Whitney test, was that White pupils who called out to the teacher were also more likely to call out to their peers (U = 364.0, p=0.000) and to receive "Other" comments from the teacher (U = 415.5, p=0.005). Mean frequency of interference was higher but this difference was not significant at the 0.05 level (U = 544.5, p=0.087). These differences were not found with the African Caribbean pupils, however mean teacher ratings indicated they perceived the "calling out" groups' behaviour as somewhat poorer, although this difference was not significant at the 0.05 level (U = 118.5, p=0.073). These findings provide some support for the informal observation that the White pupils who call out to the teacher may have been disruptive in other respects, whereas the African

Caribbean pupils who called out to the teacher were neither more disruptive in other respects, or less on task, than those who did not call out.

3.3.6 Further investigation of teacher negative comments for behaviour

In the "individual pupils" condition the African Caribbean pupils received significantly more negative teacher comments for social behaviour than either the White learning-behaviour match group, or the White representative sample. There were too, considerable variations between individual teachers in the "whole class" condition. One teacher made six times as many negative comments for behaviour (per pupil) to African Caribbean than White pupils whereas just under half the teachers made the same number or fewer negative comments for behaviour to African Caribbean pupils.

It would have been useful to be able to compare whether some of the teachers appeared to be acting more "unfairly". However given the small numbers of African Caribbean pupils in each class, and the relatively short observation periods, it would not have been possible to say from this study whether teacher behaviour simply reflected differences in pupil behaviour, or even whether it was representative of the way in which that teacher usually interacted with pupils.

3.4 Discussion of findings

3.4.1 Teacher ratings

Mean scores of teacher ratings of learning and behaviour across the whole class

were slightly higher for African Caribbean than White pupils (see Table 4), suggesting that teachers perceive the African Caribbean group's learning and behaviour as somewhat poorer. Statistical analysis did not reveal significant differences. In practice teachers frequently based their learning rating on pupil National Curriculum levels, thus these may be less based on teacher perception alone.

Teacher ratings were used to ensure matches of observation groups. As can be seen from Table 6, there was a very close match between the African Caribbean group, and the subset of 42 White pupils matched with them for learning and behaviour. The White randomly selected group of 90 pupils were also closely matched for learning and behaviour ratings with all White pupils, thus indicating that they are a representative sample (see Table 8).

Interestingly, in all respects, the actual recorded behaviours of the African Caribbean group were more similar to the White representative group than the group matched with them by teacher ratings of learning and behaviour, despite the slightly lower (better) teachers' mean ratings of learning and behaviour for the White representative sample group. Since differences between ratings did not reach statistical significance, it would be unwise to draw firmconclusions from this. However it provides a pointer that teacher expectations may be of lower attainments and poorer behaviour from African Caribbean pupils, despite the lack of observational evidence for differences in pupil behaviour. It would require a much larger scale study with repeated pupil observations to determine whether this is indeed the case.

3.4.2 Pupil behaviours – an overview

Observation mostly took place in seated and relatively structured lessons. This is reflected in the average high levels of on task behaviour for all pupils observed. Time sampling tally scores were from a total of 30, thus the mean tally score for all pupils observed for on task behaviour (19.85) represents 66% of time spent on task.

Proportions of time spent talking out of turn and out of seat were low, as were levels of all other forms of inappropriate behaviour, as can be seen from Figures 13 and 14. Clearly the low absolute levels of behaviour scored through event sampling reflect the short time of observation per pupil. However, the comparative infrequency of the behaviours also reflects the low overall levels of disruption in the classes observed.

3.4.3 On task and off task behaviours

The African Caribbean group had significantly higher levels of on task behaviour and significantly lower levels of off task behaviour than their White peers matched for teacher ratings of learning and behaviour. Compared with the representative sample of White pupils observed (whose mean teacher ratings were better in terms of learning and behaviour) the African Caribbean pupils' mean time on task was greater and mean time off task was less, but differences were not significant. These findings do not support the view, sometimes expressed, that poorer outcomes for African Caribbean pupils are linked with their attitude or motivation to learn, and neither does evidence from other studies, particularly at primary level (see section 1.7.6).

Teacher ratings of learning are strongly correlated with on-task behaviour (see

section 3.4.7 and Appendix 8). The African Caribbean group's levels of on task behaviour are higher, and off task behaviour are lower than the matched White group, whereas teacher ratings do not differ. This could be taken to indicate either that teachers have lower expectations of African Caribbean pupils which are not justified by their actual performance, or that African Caribbean pupils are underachieving despite their comparatively high levels of on-task behaviour. Results at the end of Key Stage 2 may suggest the latter, (see Figure 3), although for the individual pupils observed, it would not be possible to say which was the case without direct evidence on attainments e.g. SATs results, which were not collected as part of this study.

3.4.4 Inappropriate behaviours

Levels of inappropriate behaviours engaged in by African Caribbean pupils consisting of talking out of turn, out of seat, defiant, calling out to peers, aggressive or interfering behaviours did not differ significantly from either the representative sample of observed White pupils, or the pupils matched for learning and behaviour. Neither were any trends apparent in this data.

Since many exclusions are related to disruptive or aggressive behaviour, this study does not provide evidence that African Caribbean pupils engage in more of these behaviours in the primary phase of schooling. It should be noted however that there were very low levels particularly of aggressive behaviour recorded overall, and in order to provide more information on this, the study may have needed to have longer observation periods per pupil, and observation in less structured settings e.g. non-

seated lessons, playground etc.

3.4.5 Calling out to the teacher

The African Caribbean group's levels of inappropriate behaviours did not differ

significantly from that of either sample of White pupils, except on the single measure

of calling out to the teacher which was more frequent in the African Caribbean

sample than the White sample matched for learning and behaviour. However

interestingly, informal observation had suggested that it was the African Caribbean

pupils who were more on task who called out more, which appeared to be the reverse

of the situation for the White pupils. Further statistical analysis showed the White

pupils who called out to the teacher also called out significantly more to peers, which

was not the case for the African Caribbean group (see Appendix 8). This provides

some support for the hypothesis that the calling out of the African Caribbean group

was more task related and less disruptive in intent, however, findings may not be

very robust as frequencies are low and variance is also high.

Detailed qualitative analysis of actual content of discourse could give more insight

into the calling out but this was not within the scope of the study. It is possible that

the calling out behaviour may relate to a "call-response" style of verbal interaction

which Callender (1997) associates with African Caribbean cultural style. It is also

possible that the calling out may have been an attempt to obtain more teacher

positive comments (although African Caribbean pupils received at least as much

teacher attention overall as White pupils).

The calling out may have produced more teacher negative comments for social

behaviour. Correlations reported in section 3.4.7 to examine the validity of the observational tool, provides some support (although not causal) for this view since there is a statistically significant correlation between pupil calling out to the teacher and teacher negative comments for behaviour (Spearman's rho correlation coefficient = 0.204, p=0.012).

3.4.6 Teacher-pupil interactions

Two methods of measuring teacher-pupil interactions were used. Firstly, a 20 minute period of observation of teacher interactions with all African Caribbean and White pupils in the class (whole class condition). Five categories of interaction were recorded through event sampling. Scores were then represented as mean per pupil (see Table 5 and Figure 11). Using this method, observed teacher interactions with African Caribbean pupils were higher in all categories than with White pupils. However only "Other" interactions with African Caribbean pupils were significantly more frequent than with White pupils. Other interactions were defined as neutral in tone, e.g. asking a question, giving an instruction, answering a question, offering help, making a comment, beginning a conversation.

The second method was by observation of teacher interactions with individual pupils using the same five categories (individual pupil condition). Levels of interaction were low, partly because of the short recording period, and also because most of the observation periods were whilst pupils were engaged in individual work seated at tables, and there was little interaction with teachers unless help was needed. Using this method, significantly more negative teacher comments on behaviour were

observed being directed to African Caribbean than to White pupils (either the representative sample, or the group matched for learning and behaviour). This is surprising considering that actual behaviour, with the exception of calling out to the teacher, did not differ, and in fact levels of on task behaviour were higher. There also appears to be a discrepancy between teacher perceptions and teacher behaviour in that teachers gave more negative behaviour feedback to African Caribbean pupils than to White pupils matched for learning and behaviour. However the study replicates much of the evidence from the research literature including both quantitative and qualitative studies.

The difference between the two observation conditions may well account for the differing results. In the first condition, most observations were conducted during introductory or plenary whole class sessions, often "on the carpet", whereas in the second they were during individual work seated at tables. High levels of "other" interactions could be taken to result from attempts to redirect and keep pupils on task (e.g. instructions, comments) which may relate to perceptions of pupils as being at risk of behaving inappropriately, i.e. use of different behaviour management strategies in the "whole class" as compared with the "individual pupil" conditions. "Other" interactions may also be responses to higher levels of pupil interaction with the teacher (including calling out), or because the teacher perceives pupils as needing more help with learning. The first reason could link directly with negative comments for behaviour. In retrospect it may have been an improvement to include a time sampling category of "seeking and receiving teacher help" which to an extent would have clarified the purpose of the "other" comments.

Previous studies using the OPTIC in Britain (Merrett and Wheldall 1987) have found that teacher approval for academic behaviour is approximately three times as frequent as disapproval, but for social behaviour, disapproval is approximately five times as frequent as approval. In this study approval for academic behaviour was approximately twice as frequent as disapproval, but disapproval for social behaviour was approximately ten times as frequent as approval in the "whole class" condition (see table 5). In "observation of individual pupils" condition, approval for academic behaviour was approximately three times as high as disapproval, and interestingly there were no comments of approval for social behaviour recorded. This may reflect a relatively short recording period for a comparatively infrequent behaviour, or that teachers find that praise for social behaviour is a less effective behaviour management strategy when the class are engaged in individual work, as fewer pupils hear it.

In this study observation of teacher comments in the whole class condition was restricted to comments to individual pupils, and did not include those directed to the class more generally. This may have meant that a large number of general social approval comments were not recorded, thus explaining the difference in findings between this and other studies. Academic approval on the other hand is more likely to be directed to individuals than the class in general, hence differences between findings were less. Any differences between the two observational conditions in this study are likely to result from the difference in classroom context between whole class teaching and pupils seated at tables doing individual work.

Since there was only one Black teacher observed in this study, it is not possible to draw conclusions about interactions between Black teachers and Black pupils.

3.4.7 Methodological considerations

Six of the pupil observations (2 African Caribbean and 4 White pupils) and 2 of the teacher interaction observations were conducted with a Midshire Assistant Educational Psychologist making the same observations simultaneously, for the purpose of calculating inter-observer reliability of the new schedule. Inter-observer reliability across all items of the pupil behaviour schedule was 94.4% and for the teacher-pupil interaction schedule was 93.9%, which indicate very good reliability of the schedules (see Appendix 10). These figures are comparable with those reported for the OPTIC schedule (Merrett and Wheldall 1986). They used two pairs of observers and obtained mean inter-observer reliability of 93% and 96% for teacher behaviours, and 94% and 97% for class on-task behaviour.

As with the OPTIC, the observation tool devised for the study had clear face validity, in that behaviours of interest were counted through direct observation. However because of the different purpose of the tool, there were differences between this and the OPTIC in both behaviours recorded, and procedures used. For the purposes of the present study it was necessary to observe a wider range of pupil behaviours in order to include types of behaviour which are related to teacher perceptions of "behaviour difficulties" and also to risk of exclusion. These include disruptive, defiant and aggressive behaviours (Osler 1997, Blyth and Milner 1993). Thus the aim of the pupil observation was to record behaviours which teachers viewed as disruptive,

defiant and aggressive, and which may therefore be linked with risk of exclusion, as well as behaviours related to learning. To test whether the tool was measuring relevant behaviours and was sufficiently sensitive to detect differences between pupil behaviour Spearman's rho correlation test for non parametric data was carried out (see Appendix 9 for full results).

Teacher ratings of learning were significantly negatively correlated with on-task behaviour (rho = -0.219, p=0.012) as would be anticipated. Teacher ratings of behaviour were most strongly correlated with "out of seat" (rho = 0.242, p=0.005) and "call out to peer" (rho = 0.284, p=0.001). Teacher negative comments for behaviour were correlated with "out of seat" (rho = 0.175, p=0.045), "call out to peer" (rho = 0.174, p=0.046) and "call out to teacher" (rho = 0.204, p = 0.019). Interestingly for teacher "other" comments the only significant correlation with pupil behaviour was with "call out to teacher" (rho = 0.237, p=0.006). These findings on "call out to teacher" may in part at least explain the increased negative behaviour comments received by the African Caribbean group of pupils.

The absence of significant correlation between teacher behaviour ratings and teacher negative social behaviour comments with the other "disruptive" behaviours i.e. "defiant", "aggressive" and "interfering" is likely to reflect the low levels of these behaviours recorded. Longer periods of observation, or observation in less structured lessons or play situations could have provided more information on these links, although in the context of this study it was preferable to observe in similar situations in order to reduce the effects of possible confounding factors.

The intention was neither to gain an overall picture of classroom behaviour, nor to investigate individual pupil behaviour, but to compare behaviours of groups of pupils. It was therefore viewed as more important to record a larger number of pupils from each group for a shorter length of time than is usual with observation schedules in order to get a "bigger picture" with as much pupil data as possible. Although longer and repeated observations would have led to more reliable data and greater sensitivity to differences, these were not feasible under the circumstances of the study, as observations were already lasting for over two hours in some classrooms, which some teachers clearly found intrusive.

3.4.8 Areas for further investigation

For the purpose of this study, a number of improvements could be made. A larger scale study with longer observations in more varied situations may have found significant differences between teacher ratings of the two groups, and also provided more information about less frequent pupil behaviours. It would also be interesting to conduct a similar study in secondary schools where there is already evidence of "oppositional" pupil groups, especially amongst African Caribbean pupils. This could provide evidence of changes in pupil behaviour across the phases of schooling.

Correlation of teacher ratings of learning with National Curriculum data could have given further insight into possible teacher low expectations. However National Curriculum data was not collected in this study. The rating of 1 as "excellent" and 5 as "poor" led to some confusion in this study since teachers tend to associate ratings with National Curriculum levels. It would have been better to reverse the numerical

ratings.

In order to find out more about differences between teachers in their interactions with African Caribbean and White pupils, a much larger sample of teachers would have been required. This was not within the scope of this study, although it could provide useful insight into the findings from study 1 and some of the research literature suggesting that African Caribbean pupils appear to be in conflict with a minority of teachers.

For observation of teacher-pupil interaction, the number of interactions recorded on the individual pupil schedules was low. It was for this reason that the 20 minute period of whole class teacher-pupil interaction observation was added to the study. However data generated from this differed from that during individual pupil observation, probably due to the different teaching and learning context. Certainly it would have been helpful to divide teacher "other" comments, which have clearly differing purposes, placing those related to helping pupils with work into a separate category. This could be a time sampling "seeking/receiving help" category.

Finally, the observation schedule devised for the study could be developed into a useful tool for educational psychologists to investigate teacher requests regarding pupil behaviour difficulties, although this would require a wider examination of reliability, validity and sensitivity as well as involving repeated measurements of both pupil and teacher behaviours.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

4.1 Findings from studies 1 and 2

4.1.1 Study 1

Study 1 obtained quantitative and qualitative data on perceptions of boys from years 7-9 who had experienced exclusion and their parents, from African Caribbean and White ethnic groups. There were considerable overlaps between perceptions. Parents and pupils from both groups rated primary schools as significantly better than secondary schools. Pupils from both groups viewed peer relationships as the most positive aspect of secondary school, and relationships with teachers and discipline as the least positive aspects, and parents from both groups viewed discipline in secondary school least favourably of the aspects of school. Parents from both groups tended to disagree with the use of exclusion as a sanction, since they viewed it as a punishment for parents rather than pupils, and were concerned about the effects on their sons of missing school.

There were a number of significant differences between the groups. Parents from the African Caribbean group were significantly more likely to view secondary discipline as poor, and significantly more likely to view the exclusion as unfair. Qualitative data showed that more African Caribbean parents and pupils than White parents and pupils reported singling out for blame, excessively severe sanction for offence committed and unfair blame because of "reputation" as contributing to the exclusion.

Parents reported that some teachers lacked respect and had low expectations of African Caribbean pupils, and pupils reported that some teachers had confrontational behaviour management styles, lacked respect and would not listen to pupils' views.

Other qualitative findings were that more of the African Caribbean parents wanted better and clearer home-school communication, felt that the curriculum was Euro-centric, that schools did not genuinely value cultural diversity and that there should be more Black teachers. Three reported that their sons had experienced peer racism. African Caribbean pupils also had less varied career aspirations than White pupils. Finally there was a tendency for The African Caribbean parents to be educated to a higher level than the White parents, but this was not reflected in the nature of the jobs they were doing.

4.1.2 Study 2

Study 2 compared teacher-pupil interactions and pupil behaviours between groups of African Caribbean and White boys from years 4-6, by direct observation and collection of time sampling and event sampling data in the classroom. Teacher-pupil interactions were observed in two conditions, interactions with pupils in a whole class introductory or plenary session, and interaction with individual pupils whose behaviour was being observed during individual work seated at tables. Teacher perception of pupil learning and behaviour was also obtained through ratings given for each member of the class.

Teacher-pupil interaction and pupil behaviour data for African Caribbean pupils was compared with data for a White representative sample, and also a group of White

pupils matched by teacher rating of learning and behaviour, who were a subset of the representative sample.

Mean teacher ratings for learning and behaviour were poorer for the African Caribbean than White pupils (whole class data) but these differences were not significant at the 0.05 level. There were significantly more "other" teacher-pupil interactions in the whole class condition directed towards African Caribbean than White pupils, whereas in the individual pupil condition, there were significantly more teacher negative behaviour comments directed towards African Caribbean pupils than either the White representative sample or the White learning-behaviour match group.

In terms of the pupil behaviours, the African Caribbean group's behaviour was more similar to the White representative sample than the White learning-behaviour match group. Although mean teacher ratings were poorer than for the White representative sample, no significant differences in pupil behaviours were found. In comparison with the White learning-behaviour match group, African Caribbean pupils spent significantly more time on task, significantly less time off task and called out significantly more to the teacher.

4.1.3 Use of the findings

In the following sections the findings from both studies will be examined in the context of the research literature and current theories of African Caribbean educational disadvantage. They will be used to inform a new integrated theoretical model.

4.2 General theories from the literature

It is clear from the research literature that there is a complex interaction between factors which leads to the educational disadvantage (i.e. lower attainments and higher rates of exclusion) experienced by African Caribbean boys.

4.2.1 Socio-economic disadvantage

Socio-economic disadvantage is a very important factor contributing to educational disadvantage. The greatest discrepancy in attainments is between groups divided by social class, greater than discrepancies between different ethnic groups, or discrepancy between boys and girls, which was the smallest of the three, (Gillborn and Mirza 2000). Exclusions too are strongly linked with socio-economic status (Garner 1993). It is not clear precisely how these relationships are mediated.

Families from Black Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups undoubtably experience more socio-economic disadvantage on average than White or Black African groups (Wrench and Hassan 1996). This could possibly explain the educational difference between the Black ethnic groups. It could also possibly explain the underachievement of other socio-economically disadvantaged minority groups such as pupils from Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic origins. However it does not explain the higher exclusion rates of Black Caribbean and Black Other as compared with Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups. These dichotomies also suggest that factors related to lower attainments may not be exactly the same as those related to higher exclusions.

Additionally, some studies have attempted to control for socio-economic status factors. Bagley (1982) still found significantly more teacher-designated behaviour difficulties and poorer reading test scores for Black primary aged children and Gillborn and Mirza (2000) report that there remain significant inequalities in attainments even after controlling for social class.

4.2.2 School effects

Smith and Tomlinson (1989) and Foster (1990) put forward the hypothesis that Black pupils may experience educational disadvantage mainly as a result of attending poorer schools. This has some intuitive appeal, especially in view of the findings on the effects of socio-economic disadvantage, and the fact that "poorer" schools more often appear to serve socially disadvantaged areas. However although "poorer" schools may lead to lower pupil attainments, they do not necessarily exclude more pupils. Exclusion rates appear to have a stronger link with how "incorporate" the ethos of the school is (Rendall 2000). Data from all three schools in study 1 shows disproportionate exclusions of African Caribbean pupils, despite variations in the local area, and how "successful" the schools were (from OFSTED reports).

Although "poorer" schools may be linked with lower attainments, there appears little evidence that the higher levels of exclusion experienced by African Caribbean pupils results directly from this factor. However, there may be factors within schools which have differential effects on different groups of pupils (see following section).

4.2.3 Racism in society and school

There is a large body of evidence that racism exists, at an individual, institutional and cultural level, both within society and within schools (see section 1.3 and 1.4). The tendency for the African Caribbean parents in study 1 to be educated to a higher level yet not hold jobs commensurate with their education, may result from racist effects in society and is similar to findings reported by Cross, Wrench and Barnett (1990). Racism in schools may include direct racism from staff or peers, or racist effects through school ethos, curriculum and systems. Reports have linked such racism with educational disadvantage (Rampton 1981, Swann 1985). Racism may also have some more direct links with exclusions, peer racism for instance could explain the slightly higher level of exclusions of African Caribbean than White pupils related to peer aggression (Osler 1997, Wright et al 2000). In study 1, although peer relationships were viewed by pupils as the most favourable aspect of school, three parents reported that their sons had experienced racism from peers.

However, most visible minority groups in society experience racism, and indeed it is likely that Asian groups experience a higher level of racist abuse and attacks than African Caribbean groups in society and schools. General effects of racism alone are therefore insufficient to explain the lower attainments and higher rates of exclusion of pupils from African Caribbean ethnic groups. A case could nevertheless be made that some racist effects in society are particular to African Caribbean ethnic groups e.g. the high levels of police "stop and search" which used to be directed towards young Black men.

4.2.4 Overview of general factors relating to exclusions of African Caribbean

pupils

A combination of racism and social disadvantage may partially explain the

educational disadvantage experienced by African Caribbean pupils and general

factors and theories such as those above, may to an extent explain the lower

attainments of African Caribbean pupils. However they do not explain why

attainments are lower than those of pupils from other minority ethnic groups who

also experience racism and socio-economic disadvantage and attend schools in

similar areas e.g. pupils of Pakistani and Bangladeshi heritage. They go even less far

in explaining differing rates of exclusion, since exclusions of pupils from Pakistani

and Bangladeshi ethnic groups are generally below the national average.

There are also a number of other more specific theories and possible explanations.

These will be discussed at greater length in subsequent sections.

4.3 Theories related to Black history of oppression

4.3.1 Cultural-ecological theory

According to Ogbu's cultural-ecological theory (1987) Black American and

Caribbean peoples are examples of "involuntary minority" groups (see section 1.5.1).

Such historically oppressed groups are likely to adopt an oppositional identity and

collective resistance, signified amongst other things by resisting the goals of

schooling. This could clearly contribute to underachievement in school, and

disproportionate exclusions (due to behaviours and "markers" related to the

oppositional identity).

This theory would neatly explain the differences in exclusion rates between pupils

from Asian and Black African ethnic groups in comparison with those from Black

Caribbean and Black Other ethnic groups. It could also explain the oppositional

identity of some Black adolescents described by Sewell (1997), and characterised as

"cool pose" by Majors and Billson (1992).

4.3.2 Evidence contrary to this theory

There is certainly evidence of educational disadvantage of "involuntary minority"

groups across the world, and it is clear that Black American and Caribbean groups

have experienced extreme oppression and exploitation through the history of slavery

by White people, and segregation in the USA has continued until relatively recently.

Unsurprisingly this has engendered various forms of resistance (e.g. Civil Rights

movement, Black Panthers).

However, the situation may differ for Black British people who are not technically an

involuntary minority, although clearly there may be a generalisation from the

experiences of earlier generations. Secondly, although there is evidence of

oppositional adolescent identities amongst some Black adolescents, similar

oppositional identities have developed amongst adolescents from White and other

ethnic groups. Thirdly, there is no evidence that African Caribbean parents are

resistant to education, on the contrary, they appear in general to value education

more highly than White parents (Swann 1985, Fitzgerald et al 2000, Wright et al

2000). Even in the USA, Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey (1998) in a large scale

study, found that African American students reported more pro-school attitudes than

comparable White students, and the researchers viewed differences in achievement

as being more related to social inequality and residential segregation than "cultural-ecological" explanations.

The findings from study 1 show that African Caribbean parents have equal aspirations for their sons to White parents, and have themselves reached a higher educational level than the White parents, which challenges the assumptions of the cultural-ecological theory. Study 2 gives no evidence of higher levels of behaviour which could be associated with resistance, as may be predicted by the theory, amongst primary-aged Black pupils. Indeed their levels of on-task behaviour were higher than those of White pupils. In conclusion, the evidence supporting the cultural-ecological theory does not appear strong, either from the research literature or the current studies.

4.3.3. Conclusions

There is evidence of educational disadvantage amongst "involuntary minority" groups worldwide, and there may be a number of possible explanations other than the development of an overall "oppositional identity" with rejection of dominant values. Educational disadvantage may be primarily linked with the socio-economic disadvantage resulting from comparative powerlessness and a history of oppression. Specific attitudes of the dominant group towards involuntary minorities may also exert an effect.

There is nevertheless evidence of the development of oppositional identities amongst some Black adolescents documented by Mac an Ghaill (1988) and Sewell (1997), albeit shared with adolescents from other ethnic groups. There are a number of

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possible explanations. Such identities may have developed more in response to actual experience in school e.g. through negative teacher-pupil interactions, or in society e.g. "stop and search" than with being part of an "involuntary minority" group per se.

I would argue that, although there is little evidence for overall rejection of dominant group values by the Black community, it may be the case that African Caribbean young people are more sensitive to injustice and lack of respect because of the community history of oppression. Study 1 found high levels of concern amongst African Caribbean pupils and parents about "unfairness" and lack of respect from teachers. Whilst this may reflect actual "unfairness" e.g. higher levels of criticism and control, pupil responses may also be mediated by family or community discourse which prepares children for life in a hostile society, and there is some supportive evidence for this (Sewell 1997, Callender 1997, Bradley 1998). Such sensitivity in a positive environment may have few overt results, but in an environment where some teachers are negative and confrontational, may predispose some pupils to develop oppositional identities.

4.4 "Cultural dissonance" theories

These theories relate to "cultural misunderstandings" taking place between Black pupils and White teachers in terms of both verbal and non verbal behaviour (see section 1.5.2). Callender (1997) explains some of these verbal and non verbal differences as originating from "African retentions". The theory is based on studies of Black pupils' interactions in the classroom with Black teachers, however direct

comparisons are not made with the behaviours of White pupils or those from other ethnic groups.

One criticism of theories based on "African retentions" is that educational effects would be expected to be greater for Black African pupils than pupils from Black Caribbean or Black Other ethnic groups, who are further removed from their African heritage. However national data shows that Black African pupils have higher attainments and lower exclusion rates than other Black groups. Given the diversity of Black cultures, wide individual variations and the fact that in most cases nowadays, both Black students and their parents were brought up in Britain, the rationale for the theory appears flawed.

4.4.1 Evidence from studies 1 and 2

The African Caribbean parents interviewed in study 1 had mostly been brought up in Britain and had often attended the same schools as their sons do now. Informally, no verbal or non-verbal differences e.g. in dialect or eye contact, which could have led to "misunderstandings", were noted between the African Caribbean and White pupils or parents.

Study 2 found significant differences between Black and White pupils observed, in that Black pupils had higher levels of on task behaviour and higher levels of "calling out to the teacher" than their White peers matched for teacher ratings of learning and behaviour. Calling out to the teacher could have a number of possible explanations. It could be an attempt to elicit more teacher attention, however data from both study 2 and the study by Hathiwala-Ward and Swinson (1999) shows that African Caribbean

pupils receive as much overall teacher attention as White pupils, making this explanation less probable.

The data from study 2 appears to support a specific aspect of Callender's theory i.e. use of a "call-response" interactional style, whereby "active, vocal audience response" is expected to the "call" of the primary speaker. Callender (1997) refers to young children from of both African and Caribbean heritage learning a call-response style of interaction within their families and cultural communities. The calling out in study 2 appeared from informal observations to be more task-related than disruptive, e.g. enthusiasm to answer a question, or comments on the topic, i.e. response to the "call" of the teacher.

Clearly in school, calling out is generally discouraged and such "oral disinhibition" will often result in teacher reprimand. This may explain at least in part the higher level of teacher negatives for behaviour directed towards pupils from the African Caribbean group. Although differences in teacher negative behaviour comments did not reach significance for pupils who called out compared to those who did not (for Black or White pupils considered separately) these groups were of a small size (see Appendix 8). However, for all pupils, calling out to the teacher was significantly correlated with teacher negative comments for behaviour, but not with teacher ratings of behaviour (see appendix 9).

4.4.2 Conclusions

Cultural dissonance theories should be interpreted with caution, particularly since Black African pupils, who are presumable closer to their African heritage, fare better

in school. However study 2 data supports an aspect of this theory, in that the verbal

interaction style of "call-response" could explain the higher levels of calling out to

the teacher by the African Caribbean pupils in the study. This calling out may partly

explain the significantly higher levels of teacher negatives for social behaviour

towards African Caribbean pupils found in the individual pupil observation

condition.

With regard to some of the other the aspects of "Black cultural style" reported e.g.

use of Patois/Creole and styles of hair, clothing and walking, these may relate more

to markers of group identity amongst adolescents, since they are less often remarked

upon with primary aged pupils. This will be discussed at greater length in section 4.7.

Finally, greater emotional expressiveness, reported by Callender (1997) and

Kochman (1981) could increase the chance of teacher-pupil confrontation especially

in secondary schools where teachers are not as familiar with individual pupils.

4.5 Family factors theories

Theories relating to factors within African Caribbean families have been advanced as

a possible explanation of the comparative educational disadvantage of Black

Caribbean and Black Other groups (see section 1.6). However general evidence on

for instance child rearing by lone mothers indicates that educational disadvantage is

mediated by the lower socio-economic status of lone mother families (Battle 1998).

With regard to educational aspirations and expectations of parents, on average

African Caribbean families appear to place greater emphasis and more importance on

educational achievements than White families (as discussed previously), although there may be less direct parental involvement with schools for a number of reasons.

4.5.1 Home-school discipline differences

A review of studies (McLoyd 1990) indicated stricter and more physical discipline in African American than White American families. Harsher and more physical disciplinary practices are associated with a higher incidence of behaviour difficulties in young children (Kilger, Syder and Lentz 2000, McLoyd and Smith 2002). However, in Black families, stricter discipline has been perceived as a way of preparing children for an often antagonistic environment (Bradley 1998), and Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates and Pettit (1996) found the relationship between physical punishment and child aggression to be significant only amongst White, but not Black, families.

Results of these studies may also have theoretical implications for the findings that Black teachers punish Black children more often and for lesser offences than White children (Runnymede Trust 1996, Callender 1997). Black teachers may also feel that they should be "preparing children for an antagonistic environment".

4.5.2 Evidence from studies 1 and 2

The findings of study 2 do not support the theory that African Caribbean pupils have behaviour difficulties in school which may have resulted either from the effects of physical punishment, or the perception of school as a more "liberal environment" than home, since other than "calling out to the teacher", there is no evidence of

higher levels of inappropriate behaviour amongst the African Caribbean group of pupils.

This challenges the perspective that teacher negatives for social behaviour are a response to higher levels of behaviour difficulty amongst African Caribbean children as a result of more punitive discipline at home.

However study 1 findings that parents from the African Caribbean group viewed discipline in secondary school as significantly poorer than parents from the White group may certainly reflect expectations of stricter discipline linked with standards of discipline at home.

4.6 Identity and self concept theories

Factors mediated by lower Black self esteem or less positive sense of ethnic identity have been suggested in the literature to play a part in educational disadvantage (see sections 1.7.3 and 1.7.5), however there is little evidence in the research literature to support either perspective.

4.6.1 "Stereotype threat" and academic disidentification

The theory of "stereotype threat" (Steele 1997 and see section 1.7.4) would predict increased academic anxiety and "academic disidentification" i.e. devaluing of aspects of self-concept related to academic performance in order to maintain overall self esteem in students belonging to a group with a low achievement stereotypes. This leads to lower motivation and consequent underachievement. There is some evidence

to support this from measures comparing academic identification and test anxiety between Black and non-Black students in the USA (Osborne 1997 and 2001). However study 1 indicates that differences between the African Caribbean and White pupils were very small on questions related to academic self-concept. This was a small scale study with an abbreviated self esteem inventory, but findings from a large scale British study of academic self-concept (Blatchford 1997) similarly challenge the relevance of stereotype threat for explaining African Caribbean educational disadvantage in Britain. Findings from study 2 that African Caribbean pupils had higher levels of on-task behaviour, are also not supportive of the motivational predictions of the theory.

It is possible that differences in findings could be explained by differences between the US and British African Caribbean communities. Alternatively, the academic disidentification reported in the US studies may be an effect of subscribing to adolescent anti-school groups, particularly since it was found to be much greater during the secondary phase of education.

4.6.2 Role model theories

It is frequently raised in informal discussion that because teachers are predominantly White middle-class women, pupils who are dissimilar in these respects i.e. boys, working class, from minority ethnic groups, may become disaffected from school. This could result from not have positive role models to identify with, or even teachers (inadvertently) favouring their "in-group". There is also often a lack of positive role models, especially of people from minority ethnic groups presented through the curriculum. This theory has intuitive appeal, and could explain for

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instance why White middle class girls are currently a particularly successful group in the education system (although not why girls from the Indian ethnic group are even more successful).

Wrench and Hassan (1996) interviewed a large group of underachieving African Caribbean young men who reported that they wished that they had been taught by some Black teachers, and that lack of Black representation in the curriculum had contributed to their alienation from school. However, evidence has not yet been found to link success of Black boys with teaching by Black male teachers. In the study of Township School by Sewell (1997) several teachers, including the headteacher, were Black, but exclusions of Black pupils were still disproportionate.

Study 1 findings support to an extent "lack of role model" theories of educational disadvantage. Some of the parents from the African Caribbean group said they felt that Black pupils would benefit from having more Black teachers and a less Euro-centric curriculum. Indirect evidence was the less varied career aspirations of pupils from the African Caribbean group, with three wanting to be footballers (compared with none from the White group). This could be a result of the high profile of Black footballers in society as compared with other successful Black people.

There is also the complementary argument that many prominent and successful Black young men e.g. rap and hip-hop artists, do not form appropriate role models for success in school, and may contribute to development of oppositional subcultural groups.

4.6.3 "Cool pose" theory

There is a considerable body of evidence (see section 1.7.7) that some African

Caribbean adolescent boys develop an identity which is oppositional towards school

and sometimes towards education (Mac an Ghaill 1988, Gillborn 1988, Sewell

1997). Although this is clearly the case for other groups e.g. White working class

boys, studies suggest that anti-school attitudes may be more prevalent amongst Black

boys. In the Sewell study, well over half the sample had anti-school attitudes. Anti-

school sub-cultural groups may be related to assertion of Black cultural identity.

"Markers" of group identity are often Black cultural features e.g. use of

Patois/Creole, styles of hair and dress derived from Black American youth culture,

and (often macho) attitudes similar to those expressed in some Black contemporary

music. There is considerable peer pressure to subscribe to such groups (Sewell

1997).

Majors and Billson (1992) described the style as "cool pose", and their hypothesis

was that this serves to maintain positive self-concept in a racist environment. It is

apparent that it also results in teachers perceiving such pupils to have an "attitude

problem" and greater likelihood of exclusion, either as a result of conflict, or of

breaking school rules e.g. dress code. There is no evidence relating to this theory

from study 1, and in study 2 the pupils are likely to have been too young to observe

effects of "cool pose" and oppositional groups.

4.6.4 Conclusions

Although there is little research evidence on the subject of Black role models, it

would seem well advised from the viewpoint of combating racism and promoting

racial equality, as well as promoting the success of Black pupils in school, to attract more minority ethnic graduates into teaching, and to ensure that minority ethnic cultures and famous people are positively represented in all areas of the curriculum.

With regard to "cool pose", it will be argued in subsequent sections that experience of high levels of teacher negative comments for behaviour throughout schooling, coupled with a sensitivity to injustice and lack of respect, may predispose comparatively more African Caribbean pupils than those from other ethnic groups to develop oppositional identities.

4.7 Teacher stereotypes, expectations and "self fulfilling prophecies"

4.7.1 Teacher stereotypes

There is considerable evidence from the research literature from the 1980s to the present (see sections 1.8.1, 1.8.2 and 1.8.3) that many teachers hold negative stereotypes of African Caribbean pupils. Individual stereotypes usually derive from those held in society, which may also change over time. Thus stereotypes of African Caribbean people may be linked with the race-IQ debate (e.g. lower attainments), and images from the media (e.g. good at sport and music, more likely to be a "mugger" or "rioter"). When people hold stereotypes, they tend to assimilate information which confirms their stereotype, but reject information which disconfirms it (Augoustinos and Walker 1995), or regard it as an "exception to the rule" (e.g. Black academics). Stereotypes are also used not just as descriptions but also as explanations e.g. of socio-economic disadvantage experienced by people from some groups (Reyna 2000).

Clearly, not all teachers subscribe to such stereotypes of Black young people.

However in the course of schooling, young people encounter a large number of

teachers, so the potential for them to be affected by stereotypes held even by a

minority of teachers is high. In the primary phase, stereotypes appear to relate to

being of lower ability, lacking motivation, having higher activity levels and being

badly behaved (Bagley 1982, Swann 1985, Wright 1992, Connolly 1998a). In the

secondary phase common teacher stereotypes are of Black pupils challenging

authority and being aggressive, threatening and disruptive (Wright 1986, Mac an

Ghaill 1988, Gillborn 1990, Blyth and Milner 1993).

4.7.2 Self-fulfilling prophecies

The self-fulfilling prophecy effect is that a person's expectation leads another person

to act in ways that confirm the expectation. There is a body of evidence over many

years which demonstrates that teacher expectations can have a profound effect on

pupil attainments and behaviour, often in subtle ways. However this effect depends

on circumstances, and there is also evidence that individual pupils vary in their

responsiveness and vulnerability to teacher expectations (Good and Nichols 2001)

and that a minority of teachers may have major expectation effects on pupil

performance (Brophy 1983).

There has been more research on self-fulfilling prophecies affecting pupil

attainments than pupil behaviour. A comprehensive model of the mechanism of

mediation was presented by Jussim (1986). The following account is based on

Jussim's model with additions from other models, and is used in order to examine

how teacher stereotypes and low expectations may lead to lower attainments and poorer behaviour by African Caribbean pupils.

Teacher expectations are based on a variety of sources, including stereotypes, which also lead them to see more of what they expect and be less likely to notice the unexpected (Good and Nichols 2001). Other sources are pupil "reputation", test results and learning and social behaviour seen by the teacher.

Expectations lead to teacher perceptions of the pupil, including attributions of the pupil's behaviour and learning, ability of teacher to control pupil outcomes and affect towards pupil. These perceptions in turn lead to differing levels of positive and negative feedback for social and learning behaviour, amount of attention given, emotional support given, amount, challenge and interest level of work given, grouping decisions, opportunities to answer questions etc.

Students respond to these teacher behaviours with differing "self talk" (Burnett 1999), different perceptions of their own control and attributions of success and failure, self-concept in relevant areas, and different levels of skill development. As a result their attention, participation, co-operation, motivation and effort may differ. Pupil outcomes will then tend to confirm teacher expectations, or less often challenge and disconfirm the expectations.

In the case of African Caribbean pupils, some teachers may have low expectations of their attainments, and perceive them as of "low ability". This may lead them to put the pupils in low ability groups and give less challenging and interesting work. The

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teachers may also give these pupils less positive feedback and more ability-related feedback for failure (which is linked with decline in performance, Burnett 2002). Tasks may be excessively or insufficiently structured and either too much or too little help given. As a result pupils may view themselves as less effective learners, have lower self-concept in academic areas, and motivation and effort levels may decline, thus confirming the basis for the low expectation.

A similar cycle could be postulated to occur in the case of behaviour. If teachers perceive African Caribbean pupils as behaving more inappropriately, they may exert closer monitoring and stricter discipline in an attempt to "nip it in the bud". Higher levels of teacher negative feedback are linked with pupils perceiving a more negative relationship with the teacher (Burnett 2002). Pupils who perceive teacher "unfairness" may respond with resistance and become less co-operative and more disruptive and defiant thus confirming the teacher perception. A secondary cycle may be set up with peers who see African Caribbean pupils reprimanded, challenging their "tough " reputation leading to more fights in the playground (c.f. Connolly 1995).

As seen above, the processes for academic attainments and social behaviour may be different, and have different mediating factors. The academic self-fulfilling prophecy may operate through the primary phase and result in the gap in attainments found by the end of Key Stage 2. However teacher stereotypes of threatening and aggressive behaviour may become more salient in secondary school, resulting in more teacher-pupil confrontations.

4.7.3 Conclusions

Criticisms have been made of the general applicability of self-fulfilling prophecy effects (Wineburg 1987) and although the models above appear plausible, research evidence does not exist to support every step of the process. Specifically in the case of academic attainments of African Caribbean pupils, British research (Blatchford 1997) does not support the view that African Caribbean pupils have lower academic self-concept which forms part of the mediating process (although some US studies have found support for this). Secondly, this theory predicts the possibility of effects specific to African Caribbean pupils (as opposed to other minority ethnic pupils) through differing teacher stereotypes. However it has less power to explain differences in educational outcomes for Black African as opposed to Black Caribbean or Black Other ethnic groups, since teachers appear to distinguish poorly between the Black ethnic groups, although there may be a "buffering effect" of the generally higher socio-economic status of the Black African ethnic group.

Finally, one may argue that teachers have such negative stereotypes and low expectations of Black pupils because their attainments are lower and behaviour is poorer, i.e. that their views reflect classroom conditions rather than create them (Short 1985, Foster 1992). Regarding attainments, since a gap opens up gradually from an "on a par" start at school entry, this explanation appears unlikely. In terms of behaviour, there is evidence of "cool pose" which is frequently interpreted as oppositional amongst Black adolescents. This does not clarify whether the behaviour is a cause or effect of teacher stereotypes and expectations. There is a dearth of research evidence on comparative behaviour of African Caribbean pupils in primary school.

Study 2 aimed to provide such evidence by comparing actual behaviours of White and African Caribbean pupils using rigorous quantitative methodology. The findings of this study challenge the view that African Caribbean pupils engage in more disruptive or defiant behaviour in the primary classroom. However no attempt was made to assess whether or not the teachers concerned held stereotypes of African Caribbean pupils. The mean teacher ratings of learning and behaviour were poorer for the African Caribbean pupils, but this difference was not significant at a 0.05 level. It would require a larger scale study with ratings correlated with National Curriculum data to determine whether expectations were unjustifiably poor. Some support for this view is provided by OFSTED (1999) which reported that teacher ratings of Black pupils' attainments were lower than the pupils' actual attainments.

Study 2 also did not compare pupil behaviours in less structured situations e.g. practical lessons, in the playground etc. Connolly (1995) reported that African Caribbean primary aged pupils tend to be involved in more playground fights, which would certainly affect teacher views of behaviour. However in study 2 the levels of aggressive behaviour observed were extremely low.

Overall there appears to be modest support for the role of teacher stereotypes and low expectations in African Caribbean lower attainments and higher levels of exclusion, and parts of the model above are used to inform the integrated theory described in the next section.

4.8 An integrated theoretical model

This section aims to draw together evidence both from the research literature and the current two studies, on factors specific to African Caribbean ethnic groups, and derive a possible model for the mechanisms resulting in disproportionate exclusions of African Caribbean pupils, using the best evidence available. Clearly the issues involved are complex, and certain hypotheses need further investigation in order to clarify the model, however the main focus is on the mediating effects of differing quantity and/or quality of teacher-pupil interactions in the classroom.

The topic area of this thesis is highly sensitive and contentious. Some theories e.g. stereotypes, low expectations, unfair discipline appear to "blame the teacher" yet others e.g. cultural factors, family factors, pupil factors appear to "blame the victim". The intention of the model is solely to help resolve the issues not to apportion "blame". In any event, the origins of the problem lie in the wider society rather than with individual teachers and pupils. It is hoped that the model will provide useful indicators for areas on which to focus intervention, and that the effectiveness of relevant interventions can subsequently be evaluated.

4.8.1 Lower attainments vs higher rates of exclusion

The data for most ethnic groups both in Midshire and nationally suggests an approximately inverse relationship between attainments and exclusions, although Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic groups have low attainments and exclusions. This suggests superficially that the same factors may contribute to both. However closer examination does not entirely support this view.

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The widening gap in attainments between White and African Caribbean pupils from an "on a par" start at five years old, to the end of Key Stage 2 indicates that there are factors disadvantaging African Caribbean pupils in primary school. There is also evidence that primary school teachers on average perceive the behaviour of African Caribbean pupils as poorer. Study 2 has shown that teachers give more negative feedback to African Caribbean pupils for social behaviour despite the finding that pupil disruptive and defiant behaviours did not differ significantly between African Caribbean and White pupils. However, exclusion rates are low in the primary phase so little comment can be made on these as a measure of educational disadvantage.

A possible model for the lower attainments is the self-fulfilling prophecy described in the previous section, but two findings cast doubt on some of the steps. The research literature at least in Britain does not suggest that African Caribbean pupils have lower academic self-concept. This may therefore not be one of the mediating factors. Secondly in study 2 the levels of on-task behaviour of the African Caribbean pupils were comparatively high. This could suggest either that the effect is not mediated by lack of effort, or alternatively that the higher levels of on-task behaviour are a direct response to the higher levels of teacher reprimand, and represent a strategy to avoid this, rather than evidence of high motivation and effort.

Hypothetically teachers may have low expectations of African Caribbean pupils (as evidenced by the literature) based on stereotypes, or even on social (but not academic) behaviour on school entry. These may result in them putting pupils in lower ability groups than would seem appropriate from their attainments, and giving less challenging work. Secondly teachers may transmit attributions of failure based

on low ability through statements to pupils. Mediated by pupil self-talk (Burnett 1999) pupils may then view themselves as less in control of their own learning outcomes, and effort levels may decline leading to a decline in performance. Even without pupil perceptions and effort changing, lower attainments may result from being given less challenging work, less opportunities to learn and moving through the curriculum more slowly.

4.8.2 Teacher-pupil interactions in the primary school classroom

Levels of exclusion from primary schools are generally low, and factors involved may differ from secondary exclusions with a higher likelihood of emotional difficulties preceding primary exclusions (Hayden 1997). Parents and pupils in study 1 mostly reported that the problems leading to exclusion began in secondary school. There are, nevertheless, differences in teacher interactions with African Caribbean pupils in primary schools which may be a distal factor or "set the scene" for exclusions from secondary schools.

A number of studies including study 2 have found higher levels of teacher negative feedback to African Caribbean pupils for social behaviour. Some studies have also reported teacher perceptions of poorer behaviour amongst African Caribbean pupils in primary school. Evidence from study 2 is that with the exception of calling out to the teacher, behaviours do not differ significantly between African Caribbean and White pupils in key Stage 2. There are a number of interpretations of this data. Firstly that behaviours differed at school entry due to home-school discipline differences and that teacher are responding to a lasting "label" rather than actual behaviours. Secondly that as reported by Connolly (1995) African Caribbean pupils

are involved in more playground fights and that this leads to generalisation of teacher reprimands to other situations. Study 2 does not provide evidence on playground behaviour. A third possibility is that teacher negatives are more frequent in response to pupils calling out more frequently, since the two are significantly correlated in study 2, this is a distinct possibility. African Caribbean pupils may tend to call out more in class as a result of differences in cultural style and more frequent use of "call-response" style of verbal interaction within the family. Finally that teacher negatives result from stereotypes they hold of African Caribbean pupils, for which the research literature provides supportive evidence.

The evidence appears to give more support to a possible combination of teacher stereotypes of African Caribbean pupils' behaviour, combined with a response to higher levels of calling out to the teacher, leading to more teacher negative feedback for social behaviour. A balance of general factors e.g. interactions between ethnic group and social class in the formation of stereotypes may make the effect greater for pupils from Black Caribbean and Black Other than Black African ethnic groups.

4.8.3 Teacher-pupil interactions in the secondary school classroom

In secondary school the potential for teacher-pupil conflict is greatly increased. There are a larger number of teachers interacting with pupils who they do not know as well personally, unlike the situation in primary schools. In primary school "expectations are modified in the light of contrary evidence derived from personal contact" (Short 1985) and there are more opportunities for teachers to disconfirm stereotypes, treat pupils as individuals and make "exceptions" of particular pupils.

Additionally as pupils grow older they are likely to become more assertive and more likely to challenge teacher authority especially as a result of perceived injustice.

As pupils enter adolescence a higher proportion of African Caribbean pupils are likely to become part of anti-school sub-cultural groups, which frequently use "Black cultural markers" to assert group identity. The effect of this may directly increase exclusions as clothes, hairstyle etc are contrary to school rules. "Cool pose" and belonging to oppositional groups are also likely to confirm teacher stereotypes of African Caribbean pupils.

4.8.4 What the teacher brings to the situation

There is clear evidence that some teachers hold stereotypes of secondary aged African Caribbean pupils as disruptive, defiant, aggressive and threatening. Such teachers are likely to feel particularly threatened by groups of adolescent Black pupils with anti-school attitudes.

As in primary school, teachers use more negative feedback for social behaviour with African Caribbean pupils, and this now takes the form of extra control and criticism, and closer monitoring in order to intervene early and prevent escalation of troublesome behaviour. This may contribute to disciplinary systems which exclude African Caribbean pupils more rapidly and for less serious offences (Blyth and Milner 1993). Some teachers also have behaviour management styles which involve confrontation in front of the class, and often "loss of face" for the pupil.

Figure 15: Model of teacher-pupil interactions which may contribute to exclusions of African Caribbean pupils from secondary school

Some teachers:

SOCIAL

Negative stereotypes in society

Pupil "cool pose" oppositional identity

Limited training/ experience of behaviour management

COGNITIVE

Low expectations of work and behaviour for Black pupils

Need to intervene early to prevent escalation

Need to assert discipline/ authority

Anxiety about "losing control" of class

BEHAVIOUR

More negative and controlling statements

Confrontation with pupils in front of the class

Teacher-pupil conflict increases risk of exclusion

Some pupils:

BEHAVIOUR

"Cool pose"

Challenging, defiant, answers back

COGNITIVE

Oppositional identity

Pupil sensitivity to lack of respect, injustice

Pupil perception of teacher unfairness

SOCIAL

Peer pressure

Racism in society and school/ lack of role models

History of Black oppression

Awareness of teacher stereotypes and experience of teacher negatives

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It is interesting to speculate why Black teachers also give more negative feedback for social behaviour to Black pupils. Some possible explanations derived from study 2 and the literature are responses to differing pupil behaviour (e.g. calling out to teacher), Black teachers subscribing to similar stereotypes to White teachers, or Black teachers actively preparing pupils for a society in which they may have to try harder to achieve success.

4.8.5 What the pupil brings to the situation

African Caribbean pupils bring their history of experience of teacher negative feedback for behaviour through primary school, and consequent perceptions of relationships with teachers. They may also bring a particular sensitivity to injustice and lack of respect, especially in relationships with power differences, possibly deriving from the Black history of oppression by White peoples, and transmitted through family and community discourse. This feeling may be exacerbated by racist effects in contemporary society, e.g. greater difficulty for young Black people to find jobs, media representation of Black people and injustices such as high levels of "stop and search" from police.

Many pupils sometimes perceive teachers as "unfair" (Miller, Ferguson and Byrne 2000). However Black pupils (and parents) are more likely to perceive that some teachers are unfair, and single them out for blame. These perceptions appear to be based what is actually happening in the classroom, but may be strengthened by sensitivity to injustice. As a result of such perceived injustice, African Caribbean pupils may become more likely to subscribe to adolescent anti-school sub-cultural

groups, and to develop an oppositional identity. Such groups are often maintained by strong peer pressure.

African Caribbean pupils may be more likely to perceive injustice and lack of respect, and more sensitive to power gradients in relationships, which increases the likelihood of classroom confrontation with teachers who have a confrontational style of behaviour management, in order to avoid "loss of face" in front of peers. Either the pupil may immediately answer back or use defiant/non compliant non-verbal communication perceived by teachers as "insolence". Alternatively they may re-direct their angry feelings or re-assert themselves later with peers, which could result in some exclusions for aggression towards peers. An interesting finding is that excluded African Caribbean pupils are less likely to be lower attaining than excluded White pupils (OFSTED 1996), possibly suggesting that disruptive behaviour may be more in the nature of active challenge than a response to having difficulty with work.

These pupil factors may reinforce the stereotypes held by some teachers, as well as making pupils more likely to get into trouble because of their "attitude".

4.8.6 Effects of individual differences

The findings of study 1 and the literature suggest that it is with a minority of teachers only that African Caribbean pupils have difficulties. This minority may be teachers who either hold negative stereotypes of African Caribbean pupils, or those who have particularly confrontational behaviour management styles. General literature on self-fulfilling prophecies (e.g. Brophy 1983) also show that it is a minority of teachers who have have major expectation effects on students.

Correspondingly, only around 18% of Black young people in Sewell's 1997 study had developed strongly rebellious or oppositional identities in school. This may result from particular factors in those pupils' temperaments, social and family background and school history.

However when this minority of teachers interact with this minority of pupils, as is likely to happen in secondary school, results may be explosive interactions and a spiral towards exclusion. There is support for this view from the literature. Blyth and Milner (1996) concluded from their study that there were very small numbers of identifiable "vulnerable" staff and pupils whose interactions under some circumstances, led to conflict, student misbehaviour and issuing of Pupil Referral Forms (PRFs). In particular some members of staff issued proportionately more PRFs to Black pupils.

4.8.7 A possible "spiral of causation" in school

The situation represented in Figure 15 appears likely to arise as a result of the course of a pupil's educational history. In primary schools, teachers who may hold negative stereotypes of African Caribbean pupils meet pupils who may be less orally inhibited and call out more because of family interactional styles. This combination may result in teachers giving more negative feedback for social behaviour to African Caribbean pupils. This in turn leads pupils to view their relationships with teachers increasingly negatively and be increasingly sensitive to "teacher unfairness". By secondary phase, exposure to a larger number of teachers increases the chance of interacting with teachers who have a confrontational style. At the same time, some pupils as a result of earlier educational experiences as well as factors in the wider society e.g. racism

and socio-economic disadvantage, are sensitised to unfairness and lack of respect,

and become increasingly likely to subscribe to oppositional groups and also

increasingly likely to challenge teachers with a confrontational style. Such opposition

and confrontation can lead rapidly towards exclusion.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of findings

5.1.1 Findings from the literature

There are a number of general factors which may contribute to disproportionate

exclusions of African Caribbean pupils, one of which is on average that African

Caribbean families are more likely to experience socio-economic disadvantage.

However studies which controlled for socio-economic status found that this was not

the only reason for higher exclusions. Racism and racist effects in society and school,

including peer racism, and lack of positive representation of Black people, is another

factor. Again this would be assumed to affect many minority ethnic pupils, although

some aspects may be specific to African Caribbean pupils.

Factors specific to African Caribbean pupils include on the one hand, teacher

stereotypes and low expectations of learning and behaviour, and more teacher

negative feedback for social behaviour to Black pupils of all ages. On the other hand,

there is the history of Black oppression by White peoples which may lead to

sensitivity to injustice, possibly stricter and more physical home discipline, elements

of African Caribbean cultural style e.g. "call-response" and the development of

adolescent sub-cultural groups with oppositional identities using Black "cultural"

markers.

The above factors lead to conflict between some pupils and some teachers, with pupils perceiving injustice and lack of respect, and teachers finding apparent confirmation of their expectations.

5.1.2 Findings from study 1

Unique features of study 1 were that, unlike previous studies, direct comparisons were made between African Caribbean and White groups of excluded pupils. These revealed that parents from the African Caribbean group were significantly more likely than White parents to view the exclusion as unfair, and significantly more likely than White parents to view discipline in secondary school as poor.

Issues were raised from qualitative data about teacher "unfairness", singling out for blame, excessively severe sanctions and "lack of respect", and about teacher-pupil conflict with a minority of teachers especially those with confrontational styles of classroom management. Parents and pupils from the African Caribbean group also raised issues about some incidents of peer racism, a lack of Black role models and a Euro-centric curriculum. Unclear home-school communication was cited as a problem, as was failure to listen to pupils' views.

Secondly, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected in a structured way, and a wide range of factors considered. These features reduce the possibility of effects of researcher bias in comparison with previous ethnographic studies and other studies collecting perceptions of Black excluded pupils only.

Finally, study 1 made direct links between pupil and parent perceptions and the exclusions, i.e. the outcome measure of educational disadvantage. Study 1 did not however attempt to corroborate parent and pupil views with teacher views or evidence from direct observation.

5.1.3 Findings from study 2

Foster (1992) challenges existing studies of teacher interactions with African Caribbean pupils on the basis that teacher attitudes may be a result of the actual observed behaviour of students and unrelated to their ethnicity. There have been few quantitative structured observational studies in the research literature, with most using ethnographic methodology. Evidence from interview and discourse analysis has been used in relation to development of oppositional groups in secondary schools, but none of the studies have provided observational evidence of pupil behaviour.

Study 2 collected quantitative observational data in order to make comparisons of pupil behaviour alongside teacher-pupil interactions. Data was collected for Black pupils with a matched White sample as well as a representative White sample. The observational tool was specifically designed for this purpose. Only a study of this type has the necessary rigour to answer questions such as those raised by Foster. Hathiwala-Ward and Swinson (1999) and Callender (1997) have both conducted quantitative observational studies showing that teachers gave more negative feedback for social behaviour (or reprimand) to Black than White pupils. The first was a relatively small scale study, and the second observed Black teachers only. Neither attempted to measure actual pupil behaviour.

Study 2 found that there were more teacher negatives for social behaviour to African Caribbean pupils in the "individual" observation condition, and more teacher "other" statements to African Caribbean pupils in "whole class" observation condition. Regarding pupil behaviour, the African Caribbean pupils called out more to the teacher than learning-behaviour match group, and also had higher levels of on-task and lower levels of off-task behaviour than the learning-behaviour match group.

The teacher negative feedback would have been predicted from the research literature, but no predictions could be made about pupil behaviour because of the lack of existing evidence. These findings have therefore been interpreted in the context of African Caribbean cultural factors and responses to teacher reprimand.

5.2 Further investigations needed

5.2.1 Future studies which could clarify findings and give greater insight into mechanisms

Although in study 1, the sample size was small, and data was not corroborated from teacher perceptions and direct observation, findings are mainly as predicted by the literature. It would be useful to further investigate the reasons that African Caribbean parents viewed discipline in secondary school as poorer than White parents. Findings could give insight into the issue of possible discipline differences in African Caribbean families which may affect pupil behaviour in school.

Secondly, investigation of the "minority of teachers" who are perceived as particularly unfair or confrontational would help to focus intervention. This

investigation would require a large scale study e.g. in several secondary schools observing the same classes with different teachers.

A great deal of insight into the issues could be gained by repeating study 2 in Key Stages 1, 3 and 4. This could answer the following questions:

- Key Stage 1: Do African Caribbean pupils behave differently in a way which may reflect home-school discipline differences. If so this behaviour (although diminished by Key Stage 2) may have left children with a "label" which leads to more teacher negatives.

- Key Stage 3: Is there corroborative evidence for what parents and pupils perceived in study 1?

- Key Stage 4: Does pupil behaviour reflect the development of "cool pose" and adolescent oppositional groups?

Study 2 found mean teacher ratings for African Caribbean pupils' learning and behaviour were (not significantly) poorer for African Caribbean pupils although behaviour did not differ significantly from the White representative sample. Teacher ratings would merit a larger scale study and comparison with National Curriculum results. If teacher ratings differed significantly, although pupil behaviour and attainments did not, may indicate the operation of stereotypes.

Longer observations of pupil behaviour in different settings e.g. practical lessons and the playground could give insight into differences in behaviours which were recorded at very low levels in study 2. An example would be aggressive behaviour and the study could answer questions as to whether African Caribbean pupils have more

playground fights (as reported by Connolly 1995) which may lead teachers to give more negatives for behaviour in other situations.

Finally studies could further investigate the findings on on-task behaviour and the mechanism of self-fulfilling prophecies. On-task behaviour could be correlated with amount of work produced to see whether it represents increased effort, or is simply a way of avoiding teacher reprimand. Analysis of samples of teacher-pupil discourse for attributional statements, and a further examination of pupil academic self-concept could clarify possible mechanisms of self-fulfilling prophecies.

5.2.2 Studies to investigate the wider area

Further studies could usefully investigate Black teacher-Black pupil interactions and the reasons for more negatives for social behaviour in this case. This could have implications for use of teacher stereotypes as an explanation.

Comparison could be made between schools which disproportionately exclude African Caribbean pupils and those which do not. Useful features to compare would be "incorporateness" of school ethos, proportions of Black pupils and record on promoting racial equality. The aim would be to identify and share good practice.

Comparisons could also be made with successful Black groups. For instance, comparison of Black African with Black Caribbean/Black Other groups in localities where Black African pupils are higher attaining and lower excluded. Again this could identify factors promoting success, and development of these promoted in order to support other Black pupils.

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Finally it may be useful to further develop the observational tool used in study 2 to enable its application in other contexts. The observation schedule would need to be modified by including time sampling of seeking/receiving help and removal of this from "other" interactions in the event sampling. Norms could also be developed for various groups e.g. by age and gender.

5.3 Pointers for action for schools

5.3.1 General strategies

There are some general strategies that schools should adopt to promote racial equality. All schools are now required to have a racial equality policy under the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000). This policy should include monitoring attainments and exclusions by ethnic group and setting "inclusive" targets to address differences, i.e. targets which reduce inequalities over time. Such monitoring will raise awareness of particular issues affecting minority ethnic pupils in that school e.g. disproportionate exclusions of Black pupils.

Dealing with racist incidents is another vital aspect of implementing a racial equality policy. Incidents should be dealt with quickly and effectively and appropriate procedures developed. This has the potential to reduce exclusions which may result from Black pupils responses to ongoing peer racism and harassment. All reported incidents must be recorded so that a baseline is produced against which the school can aim to reduce incidents.

African Caribbean parents and pupils are concerned about the Euro-centric nature of

the curriculum and lack of positive role models in schools. Even given the constraints of the National Curriculum, action can be taken to ensure that global perspectives and Black and minority ethnic role models are represented in all areas of the curriculum and in resources used (not just sport and music). Additionally some curricular areas e.g. Citizenship, can be used to explore issues of injustice and racism with pupils.

5.3.2 Strategies specific to reducing the educational disadvantage experienced by African Caribbean pupils

Important aspects of such strategies are that they are based on a rationale from the research literature, they are ethically sound, and effectiveness is evaluated wherever possible. Strategies which could be regarded as ethically unsound are those which locate the problem "within child, family or culture" and seek to change, for instance, parenting styles. It is also important to aim to change factors which are amenable to change, and which are likely to have a positive impact on the dynamics of the system. In this context, changing teacher behaviour is key, since this carries the possibility to have a positive impact on many pupils. In general, good practice for African Caribbean pupils is likely to be good practice for other pupils as well.

Strategies to reduce exclusions of African Caribbean pupils should aim to reduce the spiral of teacher negatives and pupil resistance. This could be addressed through training staff to improve awareness of the equal opportunities issues involved and of possible effects of "self-fulfilling prophecies". There are a number of reasons to suppose that a "learning about other cultures" approach may not be beneficial. This makes a faulty assumption that everyone in an ethnic category shares a common

culture, it may trivialise people's cultures by reducing it to simple elements, and also there is no firm evidence that "knowing" leads to liking, respect or empathy. Training to develop openness, begin to challenge personal stereotypes in a "safe" environment and learn ways of challenging racism and stereotypes expressed by others is probably more helpful.

Another staff training initiative to directly address issues raised by African Caribbean parents and pupils is in positive behaviour management strategies. This should aim to help teachers reduce teacher-pupil conflict, alter the balance of positive and negative feedback especially for behaviour, defuse potential conflict, and address issues with pupils in private, not in front of the class.

Lack of clear home-school communication and parental involvement in secondary schools was another issue raised in study 1. Letters home need to be clear and jargon free, and more informal access to teachers in secondary schools available. There should be early parental involvement for pupils with behaviour difficulties and systems for positive feedback to parents. Also involving the local community in schools is not only good practice generally, but can provide role models in the form of local successful Black people, and even the possibility of mentoring for pupils at risk of disaffection.

The issue of pupils' not feeling that they are listened to can be addressed as part of good behaviour management systems, but also more specifically through mechanisms such as school councils, pupil advocacy approaches and peer mediation. Pupils should have ways of voicing views and concerns, and also be involved in

decision making processes in school e.g. through pupil working groups. There may

also be a role for training pupils in ways of dealing with racism and de-escalating

conflict, and this could form the basis for developing peer mediation in school.

Of relevance to African Caribbean pupils who adopt "Black cultural markers" to

assert group identity, is that these often contravene school rules. School rules e.g. for

dress and hairstyle should be examined to ensure that there is no inadvertent racist

effect, and changed if this enables avoidance of clashes over trivial issues.

5.4 The potential role of educational psychologists

5.4.1 Research

Educational psychologists are the main group within Local Authorities who have

relevant training and experience in conducting research. Further studies in this area

such as those detailed in section 5.2 could usefully be undertaken by educational

psychologists either as part of a specialist role, as a Local Authority project, or in

conjunction with educational psychology training institutions.

Findings from such research could be used to inform local and national policy and

strategies.

5.4.2 Developing an evidence base

A number of approaches have been trialled to improve attainments and reduce

exclusions of Black pupils. For some e.g. an after-school "manhood development"

programme (Harvey 2001), "Afro-centric schooling" (Davis 2001) evidence on

effectiveness is either equivocal or incomplete. Other programmes have however

been positively evaluated including mentoring schemes, supplementary schooling,

pupil advocacy and conflict resolution and mediation schemes (Weekes and Wright

1998).

New approaches require thorough evaluation, including of the conditions under

which they are most likely to be successful. Educational psychologists are

experienced in rigorous evaluation, and can thus usefully contribute to an evidence

base of effective interventions. This can include lower key approaches within schools

as described above.

5.4.3 School systems work

Educational psychologists can support schools with policy development in relevant

areas e.g. Racial Equality Policies, Behaviour Policies, Bullying Policies, and also in

sharing good practice. They can also act as a "critical friend" to schools for instance

in order to facilitate the Index for Inclusion process. Such support for schools to

develop an inclusive ethos (in the broadest sense of the word) helps to promote racial

equality.

Educational psychologists can offer INSET to schools on relevant topics, and support

the development of consistently applied whole school behaviour systems. Procedures

for dealing with racist incidents, for instance derived from bullying approaches, can

be developed and evaluated. Input to Initial Teacher Training courses would also be

a valuable initiative.

Particular focuses for INSET relevant to exclusion of African Caribbean pupils are:

- Raising awareness of stereotypes and their effects

- Challenging racism and stereotypes

- Individual differences in pupil behaviour and possible reasons

- Teacher-pupil interactions in the classroom and their effects

- Positive behaviour management, being fair, being sensitive to pupil differences, avoiding confrontation

- Getting the views of pupils

- Setting up mentoring and mediation schemes

Examples of relevant work done in Midshire include developing a Local Authority booklet to guide schools in dealing with racist incidents, INSET on racist incidents, developing Racial Equality Policies, and issues affecting African Caribbean pupils, and joint work on an anti-racist circle time strategy for use in primary schools.

5.4.4 Work relating to individual pupils

Educational psychologists have a key role in preventing exclusions and it is important for schools to involve them sufficiently early to be able to make a difference for pupils through consultation and agreed actions. Professional values need to emphasise promoting inclusion and racial equality, and preventing exclusions for the overall benefit of society.

As part of the Educational Psychology Service Racial Equality Policy, there should be clear guidelines for EP work with pupils from minority ethnic groups. Service

practice should be monitored in terms of requests for involvement, reasons and outcomes by ethnic group.

Some areas in which EPs can be particularly effective are in ensuring parental involvement and promoting home-school partnership. EPs during consultation can investigate a possible racist dimension to learning and behaviour difficulties and challenge racism, racist assumptions and stereotypes when they are encountered.

5.4.5 Concluding remarks

Educational psychologists generally have well-developed interpersonal skills and are well placed to address sensitive and contentious issues, and to constructively challenge schools and others. However additional training may be necessary in order to do so effectively. Bolton and M'gadzah (1999) found low confidence amongst EPiTs in challenging inequality. It is to be hoped that more time will be available to address these important training issues as a result of the move to three year training.

Within services it is helpful to have an educational psychologist with a relevant specialism to take a lead on these issues, and support other psychologists by keeping abreast of current research as well as having involvement in training and induction of psychologists. This would give EPs the opportunity to lead the drive against individual, institutional and cultural racism and turn psychology round from a history of legitimising racism (Owusu Bempah and Howitt 2000) to a key role in promoting racial equality.

As parents in this study pointed out, exclusion denies pupils access to education thus reducing their life chances. It is intended that actions taken to reduce exclusions of African Caribbean pupils will also have the effect of promoting racial equality in schools and in society. At a wider level such actions have implications for reducing the disadvantage which Black people experience, and for addressing other forms of social injustice, inequality and educational disadvantage. In this way these studies can make a contribution to breaking the vicious circle of exclusion and social disadvantage affecting many families in Britain, and promoting a more inclusive society.

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Appendix 1: Interview schedule

PARENT INTERVIEW

School history from age 5

1

2

3

4

View of current school and most recent/ key primary school

<div align="right">Secondary</div>

<div align="center">Primary</div>

- Do you feel welcome in school and involved in school life?

Comment

- Do you feel that school values cultural diversity?
  (Values pupils' different cultural backgrounds - presents positive views of people from a variety of cultures)

Comment

- How does your son get on with other pupils?
  (Prompt racism/ bullying – if so examples/ how dealt with)

Comment

- How does your son get on with teachers?

Comment

- What do you feel about the curriculum?
  (The content of what is taught in lessons)

Comment

- What do you feel about teaching methods?
  (The way the teachers teach/ present lessons)

Comment

- What do you feel about discipline?
  (How the school manages pupils' behaviour – sanctions and rewards used)

Comment

- What educational level would you like to see your son reach?
  (1-5)

Comment

- Tell me three of the good/ best things about school
- Tell me three things which could/ should be better

Strengths	Improvements
1	1
2	2
3	3

The exclusion

- When did things begin to go wrong in school

Comment

- What was the reason for X's (most) recent exclusion

- Do you feel the exclusion was fair?

Comment

General information

- Who lives in your house?

- How did you get on in school? (parent being interviewed)
  (1-5)

  Comment

- Do you work/ if so what job do you do
  (Most recent job if not currently working)
  (1-5)

  Comment

PUPIL INTERVIEW

View of current school and most recent/ key primary school

Secondary Primary

- How do you get on with other pupils?
  (Prompt racism/ bullying – if so examples/ how dealt with)

  Comment

- How do you get on with teachers?

  Comment

- What do you feel about the things you learn in school?

  Comment

- What do you feel about how the teachers teach?
  (The way they present lessons)

  Comment

- What do you feel about discipline?
  (How the school manages pupils' behaviour – sanctions and rewards used)

  Comment

- Do you like school?

  Comment

- Which subjects do you like best?

- Which subjects do you not like?

- What do you want to do when you finish your GCSEs
  (1-5)

  Comment

What job or career might you like?

- Tell me three of the good/ best things about school
- Tell me three things which could/ should be better

Strengths	Improvements
1	1
2	2
3	3

The exclusion

- When did things begin to go wrong in school

Comment

- What did you get excluded for? (most recent exclusion)

- Do you feel the exclusion was fair?

Comment

About myself

I'm going to make a statement, and I want you to say whether you completely agree, quite agree, agree a bit or don't agree at all

I do well at my work	(I don't do well at my work)
I find work easy	(I find work difficult)
I have lots of friends	(I don't have many friends)
I find it easy to make new friends	(I find it hard to make new friends)
I like the way I look	(I don't like the way I look)
I usually behave well at school	(I don't usually behave well at school)
I usually feel happy with myself	(I often don't feel happy with myself)
I wish I could be different (If so in what way?)	(I don't wish I could be different)

SCORING

Scoring for general questions:

2 = yes/good
1 = undecided/fair/don't know
0 = no/poor

Educational level:

1 = Less than 5 GCSE s/ leave as soon as possible
2 = 5 or more GCSE s
3 = Further education/ college course (not A-level or equivalent)
4 = A-levels or equivalent
5 = Degree level or equivalent

Parent's job:

1 = Unskilled manual/ factory
2 = Semi-skilled manual, care worker, lunchtime supervisor
3 = Office, general non manual, LSA, retail assistant, skilled self employed
4 = Professional/ business lower, bank cashier, retail manager, financial administrator, PR
5 = Professional/ business higher

About myself:

4=completely agree
3=quite agree
2=agree a bit
1=don't agree at all

Appendix 2: Letter to families and briefing notes

Letter

"Dear (parent)

I am an educational psychologist working for Buckinghamshire, and am carrying out a project on exclusions from schools. I am hoping to find out more about pupil and family views on the reasons for exclusion, with the aim of looking at ways of reducing the numbers of pupils excluded from school.

I would like to visit and talk to you and your son about his recent exclusion. This visit would take about one and a half hours and could be arranged at your convenience. The content of the conversation would be confidential, and data would be represented anonymously in the project report.

I would be most grateful if you would be willing to take part in this project, and I hope it will contribute to preventing exclusions in Buckinghamshire schools. I will contact you again shortly to find out whether you and your son are willing to participate, and if so, to arrange to meet.

Thanks for your help, and please feel free to contact me if you wish to find out more about this project.

Yours sincerely

Notes for briefing prior to interview

General
- Introduction
- Role
- Reasons for project

Project
- Looking at factors involved in exclusions
- Ethnic comparisons
- No direct benefit for family concerned
- Aim to help reduce exclusions in future

What will happen
- Visit between one and one and a half hours
- Talk to parents and pupil individually
- Questions on school, general background and the exclusion

Other
- Completely anonymous - no names used
- Confidential - won't share with school or others except as part of general report
- Don't have to answer questions if don't want

Check if parents or pupil have any questions

Appendix 3: Quantitative and statistical data

Comparison of ratings of African Caribbean and White groups

Key: AC = African Caribbean group
       W = White group
       1 = primary school
       2 = secondary school
       MW U = Mann Whitney u values
       MW sig = Mann Whitney U Test 2 tailed significance level

Themes to compare	AC mean	AC SD	W mean	W SD	MW U	MW sig
Parent views						
Welcome 2	1.125	0.835	0.875	0.835	26.5	0.540
Welcome 1	1.250	0.886	1.750	0.463	22.0	0.223
Diversity 2	0.750	0.886	1.250	0.463	20.0	0.171
Diversity 1	0.875	0.641	1.375	0.744	19.5	0.152
Peer relationships 2	1.375	0.744	1.250	0.707	28.5	0.687
Peer relationships 1	1.500	0.756	1.375	0.744	28.5	0.680
Staff relationships 2	1.375	0.518	1.250	0.463	28.0	0.602
Staff relationships 1	1.625	0.518	1.500	0.535	28.0	0.626
Curriculum 2	1.000	0.535	1.125	0.835	28.5	0.682
Curriculum 1	1.250	0.707	1.625	0.518	22.5	0.623
Teaching method 2	0.875	0.641	1.000	0.000	28.0	0.537
Teaching method 1	1.375	0.744	1.250	0.463	27.0	0.550
Discipline 2	0.250	0.463	0.875	0.641	15.0	0.045**
Discipline 1	1.375	0.744	1.625	0.518	26.5	0.511
Educational aspirations	4.000	1.309	3.875	0.835	27.0	0.582
Was exclusion fair?	0.250	0.463	1.000	0.756	14.0	0.037**
Pupil views						
Peer relationships 2	1.625	0.518	1.750	0.463	28.0	0.602
Peer relationships 1	2.000	0.000	1.875	0.354	28.0	0.317
Staff relationships 2	0.750	0.707	1.000	0.000	24.0	0.267
Staff relationships 1	1.125	0.354	1.375	0.744	23.5	0.295
Curriculum 2	1.250	0.707	1.250	0.707	32.0	1.000
Curriculum 1	1.500	0.756	1.125	0.835	23.5	0.330
Teaching method 2	1.250	0.463	1.125	0.835	30.0	0.813
Teaching method 1	1.500	0.535	1.125	0.707	26.0	0.480
Discipline 2	0.375	0.518	0.750	0.886	25.0	0.409
Discipline 1	1.500	0.535	1.500	0.756	30.0	0.811
Do you like school 2?	1.125	0.641	1.375	0.744	25.0	0.418
Did you like school 1?	1.500	0.756	1.500	0.926	30.0	0.797
Educational aspirations	3.625	0.744	3.250	0.886	23.0	0.293
Was exclusion fair?	0.375	0.744	1.125	0.835	16.0	0.068*

Themes to compare	AC mean	AC SD	W mean	W SD	MW U	MW Sig
Pupil self perception						
Do well at work	5.500	0.926	5.875	1.126	28.0	0.608
Find work easy	3.750	1.282	4.375	1.996	26.0	0.497
Have lots of friends	8.000	0.000	7.750	0.707	28.0	0.317
Make friends easily	6.500	2.330	7.500	0.926	26.0	0.442
Like way I look	6.750	1.832	6.250	2.252	28.0	0.641
Behave well at school	4.000	1.852	4.125	1.126	31.0	0.911
Feel happy with self	6.250	1.282	6.875	1.246	24.5	0.386
Wish I could be different	5.250	2.121	3.250	2.376	15.0	0.060*
General information						
Parent education	3.125	0.991	2.250	0.886	15.0	0.055*
Parent job	2.500	1.195	3.125	0.835	22.0	0.275

Comparison of total ratings for primary and secondary schools

Group/phase	Mean rating	SD
African Caribbean/secondary	8.286	3.173
African Caribbean/primary	11.643	2.405
White/secondary	9.286	2.199
White/primary	12.000	1.840
Both groups/secondary	8.786	3.643
Both groups/primary	11.822	3.650

Significant differences at the 0.01 level were found between ratings for primary and secondary school in all groups:

Mann Whitney U test 2 tailed significance levels as follows:

	Mann Whitney U value	2 tailed significance level
African Caribbean group	37.0	0.005
White group	32.5	0.002

Appendix 4: Qualitative data

African Caribbean sample – parent comments

Welcome/communication with school

Communication is only about exclusions and behaviour, the home-school link should be better

I'm in school every week – because of his behaviour!

School are happy to accept parents' help – but don't keep us informed

Should talk to parents on their level and involve in decisions about their children

Teachers are always too busy to talk – you have to make an appointment

Should have contact person in school to talk to parents

Letters home aren't clear – they use jargon

I'm only called in when there's a problem

Some of the staff are very good, but it's mostly behaviour things

School doesn't involve the parents much

I'd like to be involved but there's no time

Diversity

I don't see it – maybe for Asians but not black pupils – black kids don't exist

It's just a show – they don't really understand people's backgrounds

It's lip service, they don't invest in it and the teachers don't really understand

Relationship with peers

There are gangs and bullying in school

There are quite a few black pupils and all the pupils mix well

There was some minor racism but teachers dealt with it firmly and promptly

Relationship with staff

He was picked on by one teacher in primary – labelled as having behaviour difficulties – this led to a bad reputation with the head, he was labelled as having SEN and it held him back

Good with some teachers but bad with one or two

Some teachers can handle him and get the best, with others it's conflict

Problems with one teacher in particular because of views about black people

Some of the staff are confrontational, but some are more fun and nurturing

Teachers don't respect black pupils so the pupils don't respect them

He's picked on by some teachers

Curriculum

Useful to know, but pupils can't relate to it – they're switched off
History is rubbish – there's no black history and so on
Some things are relevant some aren't
There should be more black and Asian history, history makes black people feel insignificant
It's a government imposed system – there aren't enough life skills
It's difficult to get him to see why he needs it – and history is difficult

Teaching methods

He should have homework and doesn't, there's a lack of progress – he's bright but the teachers don't care, more help should be there for pupils who need it
Staff aren't experienced enough, pupils aren't well motivated
They aren't using their brain – it's just copying
They're not really learning a lot – the teachers are rubbish – they don't care
They do try and make it as interesting as possible – given the curriculum
He doesn't get help when he needs it – he gets ignored
The teachers sometimes get frustrated and give up

Discipline

There isn't any discipline – only exclusion
I object to pupils being sent out of lessons for minor things – they miss work
No such thing – pupils are noisy, trying to keep up with others, too many pupils in school
The discipline is rubbish, pupils get away with murder, they don't respect the teachers
Pupils get labelled as disruptive
There are lots of detentions and suspensions for silly reasons
Discipline needs to be firmer – not just rely on exclusions – they should have more chances as well
They get away with far too much – even not turning up for detention, and cheek – he wouldn't at home – they're not tough enough – they should be sent to the head

Educational aspirations

I'd like him to go to University
I'd like him to go to college, better still University
As much as possible
He's not really academic – he can't stand school
He's an intelligent boy but not working to his potential
That's his choice – work or college
I'd like him to do A-levels but I don't think he will
I'd love to see him get as far as he can – go to college or University

Fair exclusion?

Another pupil did to him first, staff pick on him because been in trouble before
A bit heavy handed
Too heavy handed
Other pupils started it then blamed him
He gets the blame and admits to things he hasn't done
He was labelled as naughty – now he gets the blame
He's big and obvious – he takes the brunt
The letter was too strongly worded
There were worse incidents with others, the teacher was too harsh

Exclusion general

Should reduce exclusions
Exclusion doesn't work
Shouldn't exclude so readily for silly things
He missed a week's school
Detentions would be better – I don't agree with exclusions – they brag to friends

Other comments

School should treat black pupils with more respect
Pupils have stereotyped ideas about black people and have made remarks to me
Need teacher training to provide more positive view of black people and get
awareness – teachers come from a narrow background
There's peer pressure among black kids not to work
There aren't enough black teachers
School should be less demanding and more respectful
They should listen to the pupil and not take the teacher's side all the time
There was some racism from another child's mother – it was sorted by the school

School strengths

None
Facilities
Teachers try hard
Location
Good art department, lots of facilities and activities
Good standard of teaching
Understanding headteacher
Close by
Some of the teachers are nice and done best
Sports facilities
Presentation of the school to other people (like the uniform)

African Caribbean sample – pupil comments

Relationship with peers

Only 1 pupil I don't like
I sometimes have problems with name calling
I'm quite popular but some of the others annoy me

Relationship with staff

Mostly OK, some have grudge against me, they stare at me, give me unfair detentions, there's a particular one I don't like
I only like a couple – the others are annoying
I like some of teachers
Teachers give me work I can't do and I get stressed
Not very good with some of them
Some teachers are OK, but some have a rule for me and a rule for others – I get in worse trouble
I have problems with some teachers – they blame me for things I don't do

Curriculum

There's lots of unnecessary work in History – I don't need that

Teaching methods

When I finish the work, there's no extra so I get bored and talk
The teachers shout too much
2 of the lessons are boring
Some of the lessons should be more exciting
Teachers try to make things interesting
I get help with Maths and reading

Discipline

I accept if I've really done bad but there are stupid rules and the punishment's too much (like for talking)
Teachers should give us a chance if we do something bad
They're too strict
It's too extreme - break detention would be better
I'm not happy – sometimes another boy starts it and I get caught – it's too much for a small thing
People take advantage of the teachers and mess around – they can't do anything about it

Educational aspirations

Footballer
Do computer design, football player
Car mechanic
DK
Footballer
Do A-levels DK then
Go to college in USA – do computer studies
Athlete

Fair exclusion?

Another boy got me into trouble
I don't think I should have been excluded cos others do worse and don't get excluded
Other people do the same thing and don't get excluded
Others were doing the same but I got excluded

Other comments

Need better sports equipment
Should have more sports equipment
Pupils should have more say in school
The lunches should be better
There should be better sports facilities and lunches
There is litter and rats in school
I shouldn't be so mouthy

School strengths

Being with my friends
Drama, basketball
Some of teachers
Youth club, PE
My friends
Get an education
PE is good
Can't think of any
Some of the subjects, some of the teachers, my friends
Break and Fridays
Break and lunch
Being with my friends
Seeing my friends
Playing basketball and messing around

White sample – parent comments

Welcome/communication with school

There's been lots of contact and rapport
My wife used to deal with that but I can't get to school easily because of my disability
I feel very welcome
I can't get out easily because of health problems
No we aren't welcome – they think the children are grown up and they don't need parents – we're just in the way – I feel shut out except when he misbehaves – should be more welcome and get invitations into school
The teachers could be more polite to parents – there's a lack of communication - like about options
I feel welcome when I go in, but I'm not involved a lot
My work makes it awkward – more flexibility in school would help – the head doesn't speak to parents

Diversity

There aren't many ethnic minority pupils
I don't see why we should have to have their festivals in school, they should celebrate Christmas and things if they live in this country
I don't really know – there aren't many pupils from other cultures
Not really

Relationship with peers

There was some bullying from gangs, but when he retaliated he got told off
He has been bullied – I don't think it was dealt with fully or effectively

Relationship with staff

Some staff don't have experience to handle problems – he inadvertently antagonised some teachers – one teacher was sarcastic to him and refused to have him in class
His attitude is stroppy – he answers back
There are a couple of teachers he doesn't get on with – there are clashes, - he had a reputation as a trouble maker in middle school so he used to get the blame
Some are OK, some aren't – they shout and blame him
Staff feel he's rude and easily distracted

Curriculum

I don't know much about it
It's very shallow and thin

He doesn't discuss it

Teaching methods

Very mixed, some teachers are good but some are inexperienced, there are lots of new staff and some of the better ones are leaving
Their expectations are too low
They do trips to back up the teaching – that's a good thing – secondary school is more competitive than primary
There's a lack of continuity and commitment

Discipline

Dreadful except in one department
There's no discipline – time off (exclusion) isn't a punishment, detentions would be better
It's quite good, they reward them for good things, but there's too much onus on the parents, teachers don't always listen and they're quick to blame
It's very strict now, but it used to be lax – there's too much exclusion for silly things
A passing impression suggests it's chaotic – the school does use rewards – there are discipline problems like loss of control of the class by the teacher
They get a Mars bar if they're good

Educational aspirations

I want him to be happy, give 100% and make the most of his life
I'd like him to stay on but he's not studious and he struggles in some subjects
I don't want him to do heavy work like me – I'd like him to do electronics but I don't think he will
As much as he can but I think he'll leave as soon as possible
I'd like him to go to college or stay on at school, but I don't know if he will
DK – stay on into the sixth form
I'd like him to go to college but I don't think he will
He wants to be a vet

Fair exclusion?

Staff misinterpret his direct approach as cheeky – the other boy was messing around, but the teacher didn't realise and blamed him. It should have been a process – not just sudden
It was fair to be punished but not excluded – the pupils who egged him on to do it weren't punished
Exclusion was a bit over the top for what he did
The way it was dealt with was wrong – the school were very unsympathetic towards me as a parent and I felt angry and upset
It's difficult because they had different views (son and teacher) it would have been better to sort it out that day
He shouldn't have done it but it wasn't right to exclude him

The school response was inappropriate – there was no prewarning just a call from the headteacher. He was provoked by another pupil and blamed by the teacher so he got angry. The teacher should have listened and looked at the whole situation
They always look at him – he's got a name and they blame him when things go wrong

Exclusion general

Exclusion is not a good sanction
He would be happy with exclusion – it's not a punishment
Exclusion isn't punishing – the kids don't mind it – it's bad for the parents though
They should discuss it with the pupil and use something else – not exclusion

Other comments

There are no canteen facilities
Staff training is inadequate
Staff turnover is high
School's no fun any more
There are too many holidays
Be more responsive and more willing to do something to help
Uniform is too expensive
Teachers should set a good example by showing more respect
There are too many pupils for the size of the school and no lockers so they have to carry their bags all day

School strengths

The staff are mostly caring and approachable
It's a happy environment
It's on the internet
The school communicates well and provides a good education
Teaching is good and there's a good relationship with most pupils
There are good sports facilities and most of the other pupils are nice
Discipline is better now, and there are good clubs at lunch time
SEN provision, sports – the form tutor system

White sample – pupil comments

Relationship with peers

I was bullied in primary school, but not now
I get on well with some, not others
I mostly get on well with other pupils
I'm usually popular in school

Relationship with staff

Some are OK, some don't care and treat me like rubbish – teachers treat pupils with
no respect – they don't give you a second chance if you're naughty
There are some teachers I don't like
I get on well with some but not with others
Some are OK, some aren't
I don't like some of the teachers – others are alright
I get on with them some of the time
I prefer the ones who are laid back, have a sense of humour, who say nicely about
behaviour – not the ones who go for blood
Some of them have a go at me for no reason – they don't ask you to calm down – just
shout straight away

Curriculum

I think most of it is good except Algebra and German
It's not interesting, it's hard and quite boring
History is really interesting but not Maths
I've done it all before (at previous school)
I try hard with my work

Teaching methods

It's not really interesting
I don't understand some subjects
Some lessons they explain well, but others they don't
They talk to us but we don't get chance to talk back
They usually make it interesting by having discussions and things

Discipline

We get detentions, but it doesn't work – it's a waste of time
It's too strict

Some of the things aren't really bad, I can understand (sanctions) if it was serious –
the teachers don't give you chance to explain – they think it's rude if you say
something
Yes – it's good
They don't deal with pupils, they make them stand outside so they can't learn

Educational aspirations

Do drama at college or be a beauty therapist
DK
Get a job ASAP – be a lorry driver or mechanic
I'm not sure – maybe business or IT
I'd like to do a course in the sixth form – maybe be a vet or go into the film business
No idea
Get a good job like being a lawyer – I'm not sure
Go to University – I want to be a vet

Fair exclusion?

I didn't do much
No – the other boy beat up the teacher and didn't get excluded, I did less than that
and got excluded
No – the other person started it and he didn't get excluded
I felt embarrassed the way it was done
I didn't do what the school said I had

Other comments

School should have better facilities for CDT, and a better science lab and toilets
The timetable's too complicated and the toilets should be better
Lessons should be shorter – about 45 minutes each
There's litter on site and the toilets need improving – they get vandalised
The teachers' attitude and the work

School strengths

Drama studio, games facilities
One teacher I like
The food's good, so are the sports facilities
My friends and the sports facilities
The canteen and facilities are good
Sports, social life, friends, lunchtime clubs, the teachers are friendly
Sports facilities

Appendix 5 Learning and behaviour ratings for class

CODING CATEGORIES

Name of pupil
As on register

Sex
M or F

Ethnic group (self defined – office data)
BAN   Bangladeshi
BLA   Black African
BLC   Black Caribbean
BLO   Black Other
CHI   Chinese
IND   Indian
PAK   Pakistani
TRA   Traveller
WHI   White
AOG   Any other group

Attainments rating

1 = very good
2 = good
3 = average
4 = poor
5 = very poor

Behaviour rating

1 = very good
2 = good
3 = average
4 = poor
5 = very poor

For both attainments and behaviour, I would expect most pupils to be 2,3, or 4
1 and 5 would be exceptional e.g. very able or having statement of SEN

Appendix 6: Sample behavioural observation definitions and schedule

DEFINITIONS OF BEHAVIOURS

Pupil behaviour – 10 second time sample

Appropriate/on task
Look at work/ board/ speaker, do work as asked read/ write/ draw etc, evidence of on task thought e.g. using fingers to do maths
Ask relevant question in appropriate way e.g hand up
Answer question in appropriate way
Seek help appropriately (hand up, queue)
Do as instructed e.g. line up
Conversing with teacher

TOOT
Talking to peer when should be doing something else – normal conversational distance, same table or next to and low volume, listening to peer during interaction, exchanging gestures to peer during interaction

OOS (inappropriate)
Out of seat when should be seated – except e.g. leaning over table to access work etc

Off task (other)
Fiddling with object (other than interfering)
Fidgeting in seat
Looking out of window or in irrelevant direction – no inference what thinking – assume off task

Pupil behaviour – event sample

Call out/gesture to teacher (V or N)
Non aggressive and distance over greater than normal conversational distance (other than hand up)

Defiant/non compliant (V or N)
"Cheek" teacher, challenge, answer back
Silent refusal, "insolent" expression

Call out/gesture to peer (V or N)
Non aggressive and distance over greater than normal conversational distance i.e. not at same table, or loud enough to hear words at 3m+ away

Aggression to peer (V, N or P)
Verbal, gesture, expression, physical – apparent aim to cause hurt, offence, intimidation

Interfere with peer or equipment
Disturb through physical contact, "clowning" etc
Take others equipment
Inappropriate use of equipment – other than fiddle, fidget

Teacher interaction with pupil – event sample

Positive for behaviour (V or N)

Negative for behaviour (V or N)

Positive for work (V or N)

Negative for work (V or N)

Other – question, comment (V or N)

Key:

Verbal = one utterance
Non verbal = physical gesture e.g. thumbs up, facial expression e.g. "corrective" stare
Other = neutral event e.g. give instruction, ask question, answer question, offer help, begin conversation (rest will count as pupil on task)

PUPIL CODE   DATE   TIME

Pupil behaviour – 10 second time sample

Appropriate/on task						
TOOT						
OOS (inappropriate)						
Off task (other)						

Pupil behaviour – event sample

Call out/gesture to teacher (V or N)						
Defiant/non compliant (V or N)						
Call out/gesture to peer (V or N)						
Aggression to peer (V, N or P)						
Interfere with peer or equipment						

Teacher interaction with pupil – event sample

Positive for behaviour (V or N)						
Negative for behaviour (V or N)						
Positive for work (V or N)						
Negative for work (V or N)						
Other – question, comment (V or N)						

Teacher – to include other school staff. Each column 1111 = 5

Appendix 7: Model letter to schools and parents

Dear (name of Headteacher)

I am an educational psychologist based in Amersham, currently undertaking a study as part of a doctoral degree in Educational Psychology. I am looking at pupil behaviour and interactions in primary school classrooms, and its relevance for differential rates of exclusion of pupils from different ethnic groups from secondary schools. I hope that the study can contribute to reducing exclusions of minority ethnic pupils from secondary schools.

The study consists of classroom observation in years 4-6. The time commitment needed from staff is minimal, consisting of completion of a class checklist by the teacher (10-15 minutes total) and agreement for me to observe the class. Data from the study will be collated across a number of schools, and schools and teachers involved will be kept anonymous.

In appreciation for your involvement, I am happy to offer the school a session of INSET on a mutually agreed topic at a time convenient to you. I hope you will be willing to participate in this study, and I will call you shortly to discuss this.

Yours sincerely

Dear Parent/carer

I am an educational psychologist based in Amersham, currently studying for a doctoral degree in Educational Psychology. As part of this work, I am undertaking a series of observations in primary school classrooms. These will last for approximately 1 hour each. There will be no direct involvement with individual pupils in the class, and all data will be kept confidential. Results will be presented anonymously.

If you have any objections to your son/daughter being present during class observation, I would be grateful if you could inform the school before ---.

Yours sincerely

Appendix 8: Comparison of pupils who called out to the teacher and those who did not

African Caribbean pupils

Total number who called out at least once to the teacher 12 pupils (28.6%)
Total number who did not call out to the teacher 30 pupils (71.4%)

	Pupils who called out Mean rank	Pupils who did not call out Mean rank	Mann Whitney U value	2-tailed significance level
On task	20.5	21.9	168.0	0.738
TOOT	23.4	20.8	157.5	0.525
OOS	21.2	21.7	176.0	0.864
Off task	22.0	21.3	174.5	0.876
Call out P	22.2	21.2	171.5	0.786
Aggressive	21.0	21.7	174.0	0.527
Interfere	22.0	21.3	174.5	0.801
Positive work	22.3	21.2	170.5	0.474
Negative work	22.8	21.0	165.0	0.114
Positive behaviour	21.5	21.5	180.0	1.000
Negative behaviour	24.6	20.3	142.5	0.160
Other	23.1	20.1	161.0	0.550
Teacher rating (L)	18.6	22.7	145.5	0.311
Teacher rating (B)	26.7	19.5	118.5	0.073

White pupils

Total number who called out at least once to the teacher 18 pupils (20.0%)
Total number who did not call out to the teacher 72 pupils (80.0%)

	Pupils who called out Mean rank	Pupils who did not call out Mean rank	Mann Whitney U value	2-tailed significance level
On task	51.7	44.0	537.0	0.262
TOOT	51.2	44.1	545.0	0.292
OOS	42.7	46.2	597.0	0.428
Off task	37.2	47.6	498.0	0.129
Call out P	61.3	41.6	364.0	0.000**
Aggressive	45.5	45.5	648.0	1.000
Interfere	51.3	44.1	544.5	0.087
Positive work	49.3	44.6	580.0	0.164
Negative work	46.0	45.4	639.0	0.799
Positive behaviour	45.5	45.5	648.0	1.000
Negative behaviour	49.1	44.6	583.5	0.187
Other	58.4	42.3	415.5	0.005**
Teacher rating (L)	49.1	44.6	583.5	0.486
Teacher rating (B)	47.5	45.0	612.0	0.708

** differences which reached significance at 0.01 level or better

Appendix 9: Spearman's rho correlation test for study 2 data

		On task	TOOT	OOS	Off task	Call out teacher	Defiant
On task	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed						
TOOT	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.493 0.000*					
OOS	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.156 0.074	0.210 0.015*				
Off task	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.734 0.000*	-0.070 0.427	-0.130 0.138			
Call out teacher	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	0.067 0.442	0.097 0.266	-0.066 0.453	-0.097 0.268		
Defiant	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.026 0.764	0.126 0.152	0.189 0.030*	-0.124 0.155	0.138 0.115	
Call out peer	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.206 0.018*	0.238 0.006*	0.180 0.039*	0.084 0.338	0.254 0.003*	0.084 0.337
Aggress.	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.026 0.764	-0.005 0.958	0.219 0.012*	0.000 1.000	-0.047 0.593	-0.008 0.931
Interfere	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.093 0.288	0.143 0.101	0.171 0.051	0.023 0.796	0.131 0.134	-0.036 0.684
Positive behav.	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed						
Negative Behav.	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.009 0.921	-0.024 0.786	0.175 0.045*	0.050 0.566	0.204 0.019*	-0.035 0.693
Positive work	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	0.033 0.709	-0.091 0.302	-0.041 0.638	.0.008 0.928	0.116 0.185	-0.025 0.776
Negative work	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	0.023 0.794	-0.105 0.231	0.015 0.862	0.078 0.374	0.061 0.486	-0.017 0.844
Other	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	0.122 0.164	-0.058 0.510	0.050 0.568	-0.175 0.044*	0.237 0.006*	-0.062 0.479
Learning rating	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.219 0.012*	0.090 0.305	0.111 0.205	0.211 0.015*	-0.007 0.936	-0.114 0.195
Behav. rating	Correl. coeff. Signif. 2 tailed	-0.119 0.174	0.022 0.806	0.242 0.005*	0.065 0.461	0.124 0.155	-0.126 0.151

		Call out peer	Aggress	Interfere	Positive behav.	Negative behav.
On task	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
TOOT	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
OOS	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Off task	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Call out teacher	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Defiant	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Call out peer	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Aggress.	Correl. coeff.	0.166				
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.058				
Interfere	Correl. coeff.	0.303	0.229			
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.000*	0.008*			
Positive behav.	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Negative Behav.	Correl. coeff.	0.174	-0.035	0.106		
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.046*	0.693	0.227		
Positive work	Correl. coeff.	0.077	-0.025	-0.035		-.0113
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.382	0.776	0.692		0.195
Negative work	Correl. coeff.	0.096	-0.017	0.132		-0.079
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.274	0.844	0.130		0.370
Other	Correl. coeff.	0.140	0.126	0.122		0.104
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.111	0.151	0.165		0.236
Learning rating	Correl. coeff.	0.188	0.117	0.011		0.229
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.031*	0.181	0.900		0.008*
Behav. rating	Correl. coeff.	0.284	0.126	0.145		0.354
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.001*	0.151	0.097		0.000*

		Positive work	Negative work	Other	Learning rating	Behav. rating
On task	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
TOOT	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
OOS	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Off task	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Call out teacher	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Defiant	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Call out peer	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Aggress.	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Interfere	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Positive behav.	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Negative Behav.	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Positive work	Correl. coeff.					
	Signif. 2 tailed					
Negative work	Correl. coeff.	0.250				
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.004*				
Other	Correl. coeff.	0.328	0.175			
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.000*	0.045*			
Learning rating	Correl. coeff.	0.068	0.062	-0.023		
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.436	0.479	0.792		
Behav. rating	Correl. coeff.	-0.068	0.166	0.132	0.341	
	Signif. 2 tailed	0.439	0.057	0.132	0.000*	

* significant at 0.05 level or better
Positive behaviour - no interactions in individual condition

Appendix 10: Study 2 inter-observer reliability ratings

Teacher-pupil interactions whole class condition

Observer 1

	African Caribbean	White
Positive work	4	7
Negative work	0	0
Positive behaviour	0	0
Negative behaviour	0	3
Other interactions	5	13

Observer 2

	African Caribbean	White
Positive work	5	7
Negative work	0	0
Positive behaviour	0	0
Negative behaviour	0	4
Other interactions	6	12

Total observations: 66
Total observations in agreement: 62
% observations in agreement 93.9%

Teacher-pupil interactions and pupil behaviour individual pupil condition

Observer 1

OBSERVATION	1	2	3	4	5	6
On task	29	20	16	20	19	25
TOOT	0	0	11	1	8	2
OOS	0	0	0	0	0	0
Off task	1	10	3	9	3	3
Call out teacher	0	0	0	0	1	0
Defiant	0	0	0	0	0	0
Call out P	0	0	0	0	1	0
Aggressive	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interfere	0	0	0	0	0	0
Positive work	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negative work	1	0	0	0	0	0
Positive behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negative behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	2	0	0	0	2	0

Observer 2

OBSERVATION	1	2	3	4	5	6
On task	28	20	15	22	17	24
TOOT	0	0	9	0	10	3
OOS	0	0	0	0	0	0
Off task	2	10	6	8	3	3
Call out teacher	0	0	0	0	1	0
Defiant	0	0	0	0	0	0
Call out P	0	0	0	0	1	0
Aggressive	0	0	0	0	0	0
Interfere	0	0	0	0	0	0
Positive work	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negative work	0	0	0	0	0	0
Positive behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Negative behaviour	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	2	0	0	0	2	0

Total observations: 373
Total observations in agreement: 352
% observations in agreement 94.4%

University College London

Assignments submitted for the Continuing Professional
Development Doctorate in Educational Psychology (D.Ed.Psy.)

**Assignment 1: ADHD three years on: a causal
modelling framework**

**Assignment 2: Developing an LEA response to the
needs of children of refugees and asylum seekers**

Assignment 3: Anti-racist dialogues in education

**Assignment 4: Reconstructing an educational
psychologist: building on strengths and developing
new directions**

Name: Suzanne Sivakamy Iyadurai

CONTENTS

ASSIGNMENT 3: ANTI-RACIST DIALOGUES IN EDUCATION

ASSIGNMENT 4: RECONSTRUCTING AN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST: BUILDING ON STRENGTHS AND DEVELOPING NEW DIRECTIONS

University College London

Doctoral Programme for Practising
Educational Psychologists
(DEdPsy)

Professional Practice Assignment 1

Submitted in part fulfillment of the requirements for
the Continuing Professional Development Doctorate
in Educational Psychology (DEdPsy)

Name of Course Member: **Suzanne Sivakamy
Iyadurai**

Title of Assignment:

ADHD Three Years On: A Causal Modelling Framework.

Core curriculum area to which this assignment topic relates:

Psychological Assessment and Intervention

Date submitted: **21.8.00**

Signed:

University College London

Continuing Professional Development
Doctorate in Educational Psychology

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE ASSIGNMENTS

Submission for Examination

Name: Suzanne Sivakamy Iyadurai

Number and title of Assignment: 1. ADHD Three Years On: A Causal Modelling Framework.

Section of the BPS Core Curriculum for Professional Training in Educational Psychology to which this assignment relates:
Psychological Assessment and Intervention

Submission Statement

I confirm that:

1. This submitted assignment is my own work; and
2. I have read and acted upon the guidelines for avoiding plagiarism contained in the DEdPsy Handbook

Course Members Signature: .... *Date:* 21.8.00

Consent Statement (optional)

I authorise the Department of Psychology to make a copy of this assignment available for public reference at the discretion of the Course Director.

(Please note that copies of examined work may be retained for up to five years for University quality assurance purposes).

Course Members Signature: .... *Date:* 21.8.00

ADHD THREE YEARS ON: A CAUSAL MODELLING FRAMEWORK

SUMMARY

The aim of this paper is to present an update of research findings on ADHD since the publication of "Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD): A Psychological Response to an Evolving Concept" (British Psychological Society (BPS) 1996) using the information contained in it as a starting point. Since then, research in this area has proliferated, with over 1000 new articles listed in the PsycLIT database alone. For this reason, as well as my own areas of interest, I have limited the scope of the paper to a consideration of research relating to theoretical explanations of causes of ADHD.

The development of ADHD appears likely to result from complex dynamic processes and multiple interacting causes. These may include a child's biological and cognitive predispositions and environmental factors e.g. within-family factors, early experiences, classroom environment etc. which eventually give rise to behaviours which are perceived to be a problem (BPS 1996).

I have chosen to conceptualise these interactions according to a "causal modelling" framework (cf Frith 1995) in which interactions between biological, cognitive, behavioural, and environmental factors at all three levels, can be represented. This provides a clear and powerful way of understanding causation of a complex difficulty, and an opportunity to look at the "whole child" in his/her context.

Possible implications for intervention are indicated at all three levels, and relevance to practice in educational psychology discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Is the term ADHD meaningful?

Historically, a group of children with restlessness and attention difficulties was first reported by a paediatrician, Frederick Still, in 1902. Since then, terminology has changed from "Minimal Brain Dysfunction" in the 1950s and 60s, through "Hyperactivity" in the 70s and 80s to the current term ADD (Attention Deficit Disorder) and ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder). The reported incidence has also increased over time to the current levels, averaging around 0.5-1% of the school age population in the UK and more in the USA (BPS 1996).

There has been debate amongst educational psychologists since the term ADHD was introduced in the early 1990s as to whether it is appropriate to use such a label, which assumes that ADHD can be picked out as a distinct disorder amongst the spectrum of attentional and behavioural difficulties which exist amongst children. This is exemplified by the arguments put forward by Reid and Maag (1997). The issue has been further highlighted by the use of medication as a treatment for ADHD. This in some sense presupposes that there is an underlying disorder, rather than a "ragbag" of behaviours with a variety of possible explanations. In the latter case, it may appear inappropriate and unethical to "label" large numbers of children, and give them long term medication in order to make their behaviour fit the possibly unrealistic demands of modern society and the education system.

The BPS report (1996) although accepting the term ADHD, cautions about its use for a large and heterogeneous group of children, stressing the likelihood of multidimensional explanations of such difficulties, and recommends its use only when impairments are significant and distressing, and alternative explanations have been thoroughly investigated. The subsequent BPS AD/HD Draft Guidelines for Successful Multi-Agency Working (1999) states that "there is a powerful body of research evidence to support the validity of the condition".

I would argue that the weight of recent research evidence such as is presented in this paper, increasingly points to the existence of a developmental disorder characterised by severe difficulty in inhibiting dominant behaviours which results in inattention, overactive and impulsive behaviours. This would constitute a narrower definition of ADHD, excluding other subtypes (such as "predominantly inattentive") and also similar behaviours which result from other causes such as emotional trauma, ineffective parenting and ineffective behaviour management in the classroom.

Support for this position would include:
- Evidence for a coherent theoretical explanation involving biological and/or cognitive mechanisms
- Evidence that the behaviours defining ADHD are specifically linked by such mechanisms
- Evidence that these behaviours are not better explained in other ways
- Evidence of differential effects of particular interventions with children with ADHD rather than other attentional or behavioural difficulties.

Definition of ADHD:

ADHD is currently defined at a behavioural level by the presence of 3 core sets of

symptoms relating to inattention, hyperactivity and impulsivity. These must be of early onset and persist over time, present in more than one setting, causing academic and/or social impairment and be inappropriate for the developmental level of the child. The two main sets of criteria used for identifying ADHD are found in:

- International Classification of Diseases - 10th Edition (ICD-10): World Health Organisation (1990)

- Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV): American Psychiatric Association (1994)

These criteria are included as Appendix 1.

The lower incidence of ADHD in the UK than the USA mentioned above, may be partly explained by the greater use of ICD-10 criteria in the UK, which are stricter, particularly regarding persistence, pervasiveness and co-morbidity.

Subtypes of ADHD:

DSM-IV criteria differentiate between predominantly inattentive and hyperactive/impulsive or combined types of ADHD. There is considerable evidence to suggest that there may be at least two separate categories of disorder with different causes (Lahey, Applegate, McBurnett, Biederman, Greenhill, Hynd, Barkley, Newcorn, Jensen, and Richters 1994, Quay 1997, Barkley 1998). "Inattentive" ADHD may be related to attentional/input problems only, whereas in "hyperactive/impulsive" ADHD the problem appears to be primarily with behaviour inhibition i.e. output, and attentional problems are secondary. Barkley (1998) justifies the separation of subtypes with the following points:

- "Attention" is poorly defined in the original model, and children with hyperactive/impulsive ADHD can attend well under some circumstances

- Disinhibition is the first feature to appear in infants, attentional problems are

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secondary

- Children with "inattention" only respond less well to methylphenidate (Ritalin)

- Links have been noted between hyperactive/impulsive disorder and later antisocial behaviour, but no such link has been noted with the predominantly inattentive disorder

- Separating subtypes represents a move towards theoretical understanding rather than purely descriptive view

For the purposes of this paper, I have only included research pertaining to predominantly hyperactive/impulsive ADHD, referred to by Barkley as "Behavioral Inhibition Disorder".

A continuum or a category?

There is general agreement in the research that we are looking at a continuum from average to severe difficulty in one or more dimensions. All individuals will exhibit hyperactive/impulsive behaviour to a greater or lesser degree under particular circumstances, with ADHD at an extreme end (Gjone, Stevenson and Sundet 1996, Levy, Hay, McStephen and Wood 1997).

However, intervention has to start at some point along the continuum, and deciding when severity is sufficient to constitute a "disorder" differs according to which criteria are used and how they are interpreted. There remains some tension between the concept of a continuum of difficulty and use of a "categorical" treatment e.g. psychotropic drugs such as Ritalin.

Developmental aspects

Since control of attention and behavioural inhibition develop through the course

of childhood as neurological maturation takes place, ADHD has sometimes been regarded as a problem of delayed neurodevelopment (BPS 1996). For this reason many practitioners would have reservations about diagnosing ADHD in children of preschool age, although mean age for onset of symptoms appears to be 3-4 years with a range of 12-18 months to 6+ years (Barkley 1998).

However, evidence suggests that although behaviours associated with ADHD change from infancy to adulthood, the difficulty persists. At adolescence hyperactivity and impulsivity may be less obvious, but some difficulties e.g. problems with sustained attention are still reported (Brown 1998). 80% of people diagnosed as having ADHD report related difficulties, albeit reduced, 10 years later (Barkley 1998).

High levels of comorbidity are reported in the literature (Tannock1998) with 50-80% of children with ADHD also meeting criteria for other disorders e.g. oppositional defiant disorder, conduct disorder, mood disorders, anxiety disorders and specific learning difficulties. In adolescence and adulthood, ADHD is associated with a risk of underachievement, social isolation and difficulties with relationships, drug and alcohol abuse, criminal behaviour and various psychopathologies, as well as reduced life expectancy.

Issues of behavioural definition relating to studies of biological and cognitive functioning:

There are many possible confounding factors which make it difficult to directly compare studies in the literature, some of which are:

- clinical definitions of ADHD are on the basis of behavioural "symptoms", but causation of similar hyperactive and impulsive behaviours may differ between individuals and there may be more than one type of ADHD as mentioned

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above

- different studies use different criteria to define their "ADHD" groups

- behavioural manifestations differ from childhood through adolescence to adulthood and also by gender, so child and adult studies, and male and female studies may not necessarily be directly comparable

- effects of comorbidity, for instance highly anxious children with ADHD respond less well to stimulant medication and have a greater risk of side effects (Tannock 1998).

OBJECTIVES

- To present an update of research findings on ADHD since 1996 within a causal modelling framework

- To provide evidence of a biological-cognitive axis underpinning the behavioural symptoms of ADHD

- To give pointers from the research literature which may have important implications for assessment and intervention

- To indicate ways in which the causal model may be relevant for educational psychology practice regarding ADHD

LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYSIS

ADHD at a behavioural level

Since ADHD is behaviourally defined, it seemed important to start with a discussion of behaviours observed before going on to look at possible correlates at

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biological and cognitive levels which will make up the causal model.

Barkley (1998) sums up the three main areas of difficulty as:

- Apparent attentional difficulties including poor sustained attention, distractibility, lack of persistence and low production of work (however able to attend in some situations e.g. to TV, video and computer)

- Overactive and hyperresponsive behaviour with difficulty in regulating rate, amount and forcefulness of behaviour to meet demands of situation, excessive speech

- Impulsivity as a primary aspect of the difficulty, shown as a problem in inhibiting dominant responses, lack of self regulation and lack of ability to defer gratification

He reports that children with ADHD appear to perform better with immediate, highly salient consequences, frequent feedback, novel presentations, supervised tasks, and earlier in the day. They appear to be relatively insensitive to errors and there is perseveration of responding in some situations. Performance is poorer with partial reinforcement schedules and there are particular difficulties with repetitive, uninteresting, effortful and unchosen tasks, and with shifting from contingency based to rule based behaviour.

Brown (1998) highlights the area of difficulty as impairment in management of attention, poor organisation, planning and sequencing of tasks and time, including difficulties with:

- organising/starting work
- sustaining attention to task/avoiding distraction
- sustaining energy and effort leading to inconsistent, rushed, unfinished work
- managing interfering affect leading to discouragement and frustration

- utilising working memory

Goldstein, S.(1998) reports particular difficulty in focusing on classroom tasks, managing inhibition, responding to consequences and keeping emotions in check. Barkley (1998) and Brown (1998) both reported additional difficulties with motor control and sequencing, mental computation and estimation of time periods, with Brown highlighting particular impairments in organising, integrating and prioritising information and actions, and the need for higher levels of motivation in order to perform satisfactorily.

Both Barkley (1998) and Sonuga-Barke (1998) reported "delay aversion" i.e. that performance is poor in situations with delay periods. Finally, numerous other studies link ADHD with higher levels of receptive and expressive language disorders (Goldstein, J. 1998).

There appears to be a broad consensus amongst researchers and practitioners over the range of behaviours and associated difficulties observed in children with ADHD in that in addition to the core symptoms of inattention, hyperactivity and impulsivity, there are difficulties with:
- organising and planning
- motor control and sequencing
- different responses to reward and consequence contingencies
- control of attention, effort and emotion
- delay aversion
- mental computation
- time period estimation
- links with speech and language difficulties

ADHD at a cognitive level

Executive function

Much of the evidence suggests that ADHD is not primarily a difficulty of the attentional processes, but of aspects of "executive function". However there are important issues in that a definition of executive function not fully agreed, neither is it clear how tests of executive function used by researchers map onto the areas of executive function under discussion. Additionally, impairment in executive function tests are not specific to ADHD, and are found in a wide range of disorders e.g. autism and specific learning difficulties, although the profile of impairments may differ (Pennington and Ozonoff 1996).

Definitions of executive function offered include:

- The "management centre" of the brain, enabling self regulation i.e. changing short term behaviour to change likelihood of longer term consequences and:
- Those forms of self directed action, often covert, which the individual employs in self regulation; things we do to change behaviour to maximise future outcomes (Barkley 1998).
- The ability to maintain an appropriate problem solving set for the attainment of future goals (Pennington and Ozonoff 1996)
- Central control processes which connect, prioritise and integrate other functions, the management function of other functions, like the conductor of an orchestra (Brown 1998).

Despite the varied descriptions and definitions, there is wide agreement on a range of tasks which test executive functions, such as planning, "set shifting", working memory, inhibition and fluency. Houghton (1998) found evidence of executive function (EF) deficits in a large scale study of children with ADHD in Australia

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using Stroop, Wisconsin card sorting, Tower of London and two other EF tests. The Stroop and Wisconsin tests gave significant differences between "combined ADHD" and control groups. These differences were not found with the "inattentive" group. In a review by Pennington and Ozonoff (1996), 15 of 18 studies reviewed found evidence of executive function impairments across a total of 40 out of 60 measures. They found the tests best at discriminating ADHD were the Stroop test, Matching Familiar Figures test and the GDS vigilance test.

Such differences have also been found with preschoolers. Hughes (1998) studied 40 prechoolers rated above the 90th percentile on a hyperactivity rating with 40 controls, matched for age , sex, race and social background, and found impairments in performance on adapted executive function tests, poorer understanding of emotion and higher levels of antisocial behaviour.

Behavioural inhibition hypothesis

Barkley (1998b) took the theoretical position (based on behavioural evidence) that the underpinning deficit in ADHD is in behavioural inhibition (i.e. inhibition of dominant responses, interruption of ongoing ineffective responses and protection from distraction). Behavioural inhibition supports the development of four other important executive functions which are thus impaired in ADHD. The four functions he describes as impaired are responsible for shifting behavioural control from external to internal information, and the delays apparent in this shift result in poor control of goal directed motor behaviour, greater control of behaviour by immediate than longer term outcomes and a reduced ability to plan and control by internalised rules and information. The apparent "attention deficit" was thus a deficit in goal directed persistence which requires inhibition and intact working memory in order to develop.

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The four affected functions are:

- Non verbal working memory which develops from external senses to internalised sensory representation (visual and other). These are held in mind to control later response, and organise behaviour over time using past events to inform future actions

- Verbal working memory which develops from outer directed language to self directed language to covert verbal thought, and underpins the development of language and rule based moral reasoning

- Self regulation of affect, motivation and arousal, the internalisation of drive and motivation and maintenance across time in order to propel task performance

- Reconstitution which develops from external play to internal play with ideas, this function can take behaviour and sequences of ideas apart and reassemble them to produce novel behaviour and ideas, leading to verbal and behavioural fluency

Sargeant (1998) cites evidence from numerous studies including several of his own, which offer "robust support" for the response inhibition deficit hypothesis, however deficits in response inhibition found were not uniquely related to ADHD, for instance being found also in children with conduct disorder (Oosterlan, Logan and Sargeant 1998).

Working memory hypothesis

Brown (1998) viewed behavioural inhibition as one of several impairments in children with ADHD, but not necessarily the underpinning or most important one. He highlighted a reduced working memory capacity as a key aspect of the difficulties children with ADHD experience. He defines working memory as the aspect of short term memory which holds and manipulates information, drawing

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from both the environment and relevant long term memory to guide actions. Its function enables integration of relevant information from past and present to guide future prediction, and it is required for self regulation and planning because it bridges gaps in event-response outcome contingencies (i.e. enables valuing of future over immediate consequences).

Other functions for which working memory is of key importance are "multitasking", time estimation and performing mathematics, all of which are frequently areas of difficulty for children with ADHD. Brown's view is that a combination of factors related to executive function, in varying degrees could produce the wide range of difficulties apparent in ADHD.

Motivational impairment hypothesis

It would appear possible that deficits seen in ADHD could be accounted for by poor motivation, in that performance is worse on "repetitive, effortful and unchosen tasks", and that children with ADHD can attend well under some circumstances, and performance is improved by experimenter presence during tests. However Sargeant's studies (1998) do not support a motivational impairment hypothesis, in that reward and response cost contingencies were ineffective in remedying response inhibition deficits in children with ADHD (although some improvements were noted, particularly in the "reward" condition), and also that self reports of motivation did not differ between children with ADHD and those in the control group. Sargeant also noted that impairments were greater with tasks which make large demands on working memory rather than "automatic processing" tasks such as prepulse inhibition of the startle eyeblink, where children with ADHD were not found to be slower than controls.

Delay aversion hypothesis

Sonuga-Barke (1998) and Sonuga-Barke, Saxton and Hall (1998) cited evidence
from a range of studies of inhibition e.g. using the Stop Signal Paradigm, a
situation in which children with ADHD usually perform more poorly than other
children (Rubia, Oosterlan, Sergeant, Brandeis and van Leeuwen 1998). He
introduced elements including increased length of trial after errors, or short
latency of response, and his results indicated:

- in some circumstances children with ADHD can wait, even when this requires
  inhibition

- children with ADHD sometimes don't wait, preferring immediacy even when
  waiting does not require inhibition

- they definitely won't wait when it increases delay

- shorter intervals between stimuli have a positive effect on performance

He interpreted this with the hypothesis that children with ADHD are "delay
averse". They will act in such a way as to avoid, escape or minimise delay, and
may have poor time estimation. This could also be used to explain the overactivity
of such children as they may be attempting to modify the perceived delay by
creating their own stimulation. Sonuga-Barke suggested possible links between
this finding and that of poor behavioural inhibition and executive function deficits
through developmental pathways, including environmental factors. Two examples
follow.

Example 1
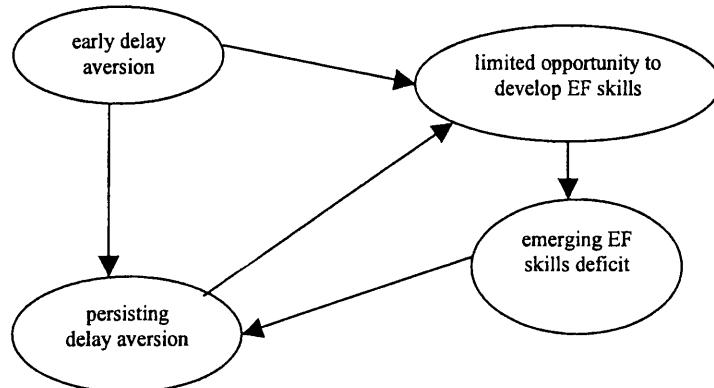
Example 2
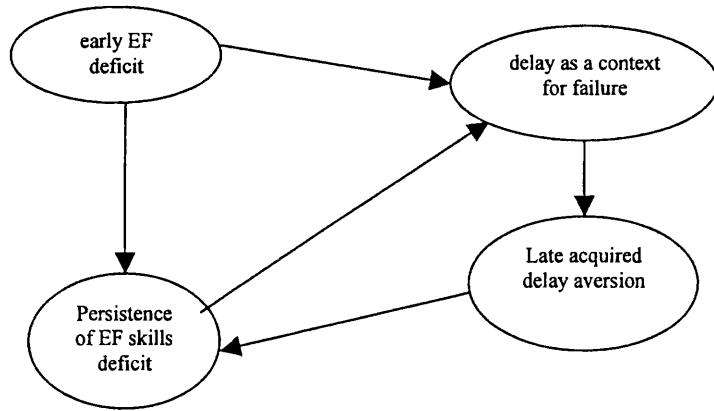
Interactions between emotion and other cognitive factors

Children with ADHD show an increased incidence of mood disorders and anxiety, which continues throughout life (Tannock 1998). There is also evidence that they are more susceptible to the effects of adverse life circumstances (Goldstein, S. 1998). It is difficult to unpick experimentally whether problems with mood and emotion lead to difficulties with attention and behavioural inhibition or vice versa. In the developmental course of ADHD, the first difficulties noted are usually in inhibiting behaviour (Barkley 1998) followed by sustaining attention, with mood disorders following later and in some people only. This would suggest that either the difficulties with behaviour inhibition causes the mood disorder, or that some

other factor gives rise to both. There is evidence that in some instances problems with attentional processes may initiate, exacerbate or serve to maintain emotional problems (Wells and Matthews 1994). The evidence that children with ADHD have greater difficulty in managing interfering affect when performing tasks requiring sustained attention (Brown 1998) may result more from the difficulty in inhibiting dominant responses than a direct effect of emotion on attentional processes.

Summary

As with behaviour, there is a broad consensus regarding difficulties experienced at a cognitive level, although with several differing hypotheses as to how these come about. There is considerable evidence of impaired performance on tests of executive function, deficits in behavioural inhibition, and also of aspects of working memory, which could account for many of the observations at a behavioural level. There is also the issue of delay aversion, which may or may not be linked to executive function deficits. It may be the case that there are differing theoretical explanations at a cognitive level for differing types or causes of ADHD behaviours. For instance the key disorder in hyperactive/impulsive ADHD may be behavioural inhibition deficits, whereas in predominantly inattentive ADHD working memory difficulties may be the main contributory factor.

Many of the problems noted at a cognitive level are not specific to ADHD, for instance executive function deficits are seen in children with autistic spectrum disorders and poor response inhibition is seen in children with conduct disorder. However, Pennington and Ozonoff's wide scale review (1996) indicates that EF deficits are commonly found in ADHD but not in conduct disorder without ADHD, and that impaired motor inhibition is found in ADHD but not in autism. Oosterlan and Sergeant (1998), found that children with ADHD and disruptive

children had poor response inhibition, but the children with ADHD showed additional wider deficits in cognitive processing. Matthys, van Goozen, de Vries, Cohen-Kettenis and van Engeland, (1998) found differences between boys with conduct disorder alone and those with combined conduct disorder and ADHD, with more response perseveration despite punishment in the combined group than in conduct disorder alone group, possibly implying poorer behavioural inhibition in the combined group.

Overall there appear to be some core EF deficits, and perhaps other more general cognitive difficulties. More work needs to be done in this area to confirm the differences in behavioural inhibition and executive function between children with ADHD and those with other behaviour difficulties, and also to look at mapping of EF tests onto particular areas of EF function and particular types of difficulty.

ADHD at a biological level

Since the best known and documented intervention for ADHD is pharmacological (Ritalin), there may be an implicit assumption that causation is at biological level. However, Ritalin effects are non specific and would improve most people's performance to an extent (Brown 1998 noted higher levels of brain activation and greater alertness in some normal controls after administration of Ritalin in therapeutic doses, Wilens 1998 reported similar effects in normal children but stronger effects in those with ADHD). Evidence for biological causation therefore needs to be examined more closely.

Genetic studies

ADHD is more prevalent in boys at a ratio of 4:1 (BPS 1996). However this may reflect differing adult perceptions of boys and girls behaviour, or a greater degree of biological difference to produce the same level of behaviour in girls, and not necessarily a sex linked genetic explanation.

Many recent family studies show a higher prevalence of ADHD in parents and other relatives of children with ADHD (Tannock 1998), although it is often unclear as to the relative influence of environment e.g. child rearing practices, and genetics.

In 1996, evidence from twin studies was controversial (BPS 1996). However recent comparisons of monozygotic and dizygotic concordance rates (e.g. Silberg, Rutter, Meyer, Maes, Hewitt, Simonoff, Pickles, Loeber and Eaves 1996, Levy et al 1997) suggest heritability estimates ranging upwards from 0.75 as well as similar levels of genetic influence for males and females (Gjone et al 1996, Levy et al 1997).

Nadder, Silberg, Eaves, Maes and Meyer (1998) conducted a large scale study as part of the longitudinal Virginia Twin Study of Adolescent Behavioral Development, with 900 pairs of twins, using evidence from telephone interview with parents and completion of the Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach 1991). Correlation of ADHD symptoms between monozygotic (MZ) male twins was 0.44 and between dizygotic (DZ) male twins was 0.05 (Pearson correlation coefficient). Overall analysis indicated that genetic effects contributed to 61% of variance observed in both boys and girls. "Contrast effects" i.e. treating DZ twins more differently than MZ twins may have contributed to the unexpectedly low correlation in this study between DZ twin pairs, as may rater

contrast and sibling competition effects.

A number of other MZ/DZ studies report similar overall findings, with heritability estimates varying between 0.39 and 0.91. These findings hold true both for sub-clinical hyperactivity symptoms and for extreme scores which meet the diagnostic ADHD category criteria (Thapar, Holmes, Poulton and Harrington 1999). Adoption studies could provide strong evidence of a genetic basis, but few have been conducted. Those which have, tend to support a genetic basis, (Thapar et al 1999).

Research is currently being undertaken at a molecular level into specific genetic loci contributing to trait variance. So far, it has tended to focus on genes linked with dopaminergic (DA) pathways. There is some evidence that the DAT1 dopamine transporter gene, and the DRD4 dopamine receptor gene are implicated in ADHD (Gill, Daly, Heron et al 1997, Swanson, Sunohara, Kennedy et al 1998), but studies have been relatively small scale. As with many other recent findings in genetics, it is highly improbable that a relatively simple gene-behaviour link is involved, and likely that there are multiple genes which interact to predispose an individual to hyperactive/impulsive behaviours.

Evolutionary view
In a sense linked to possible genetic causation of ADHD are recent hypotheses regarding evolutionary development of ADHD. There is little research evidence to back the popular view that ADHD is commonly associated with particular advantages and strengths e.g. creativity, however the point is made from evolutionary psychology that the associated behaviours may have been adaptive under certain circumstances. In particular, risk-taking behaviour may actually have been adaptive and conferred positive advantages at some stages of human

evolution, and risk taking men may have been more successful with women at that time (Goldstein, S. 1998)!

Neuroanatomical studies

Behaviour of children with known frontal lobe and right hemispheric damage through head injury often appears similar to that of children with ADHD (BPS 1996). Links have also been made with perinatal problems and exposure to risk factors during pregnancy (Aitken 1998, BPS 1996).

Advances in brain imaging and scanning techniques e.g. Computerised Tomography (CT), Magnetic Resonance Imaging (MRI), Positron Emission Tomography (PET) and Single Photon Emission Computed Tomography (SPECT) have provided further evidence on brain areas implicated in ADHD. In general, studies have not shown evidence of clinically significant structural abnormalities of the brain (Tannock 1998). However, there is evidence of minor differences in size of brain areas and some unexpected asymmetries, as well as altered patterns of metabolic activity.

Brown (1998b) reported a study of 25 adults with ADHD matched for age and IQ with a control group of 45. PET scans (indicating levels of cerebral glucose metabolism across different areas of the brain) were taken after a 30 minute sustained attention task. The participants with ADHD were found to have 10% lower levels of activity particularly in the frontal lobes, and to require higher levels of stimulation to move from a lower to higher state of brain activation.

The main areas, pathways and networks implicated in ADHD are upwards projections from the midbrain and limbic system to the frontal lobes. Specific structures with altered function include the nigrostriatal region, the basal ganglia

(Goldstein M. 1998), the thalamus, corpus callosum, right caudate nucleus, cerebellum and frontal lobes (particularly right frontal lobe, where activity levels are lower than would be expected, Pennington and Ozonoff 1996). The parietal and temporal lobes may also be implicated but to a lesser extent (Aman, Roberts and Pennington 1998, Oades 1998).

Activity in both the ascending reticular activating system (ARAS) and descending inhibitory pathways is altered (BPS 1996). There is evidence of lower levels of activity in frontal striatal pathways and right caudate nucleus (BPS 1996), and smaller average size of the right caudate nucleus, corpus callosum and right frontal lobe (BPS 1996, Aitken 1998). Brown (1998b) also reported animal studies where hyperactivity and impulsivity have been produced by lesioning the nigrostriatal region which projects upwards through the midbrain to the frontal lobes.

It is noticeable that many of the main areas implicated are rich in dopaminergic neurones, and that abnormalities in function although not usually structure have been found in the frontal lobes and pathways projecting upwards to the frontal lobes.

Neurophysiological studies

Neurophysiological studies have also drawn out some differences in people with ADHD, including frontal electroencephalogram (EEG) abnormalities e.g. unexpected slow wave activity (BPS 1996). Interestingly there are also several consistent findings with regard to event related potentials (the localised synchronised waveform representing brain electrical activity in response to a given event or stimulus). A smaller amplitude wave in response to both auditory and visual targets in the P300 wave has been found, known to be linked with

deficits in cognitive processing and task performance, as well as longer latencies, suggesting slower evaluation of the stimulus (Tannock 1998). These differences suggest problems with central arousal and under reactivity to stimulation. However similar findings have also been reported in people with schizophrenia and autism.

Some hypotheses have been made relating arousal and ADHD, however, the use of "arousal" may be open to differing interpretations depending on whether autonomic nervous system arousal or electrocortical arousal is being discussed, and whether basal arousal level or responsivity to stimuli is considered.

Studies such as those reported in BPS (1996) indicate that children with ADHD tend to show an overaroused CNS before the age of 7 years, but this alters to signs of underarousal over 7 years of age. Other studies have suggested that children with "hyperactivity" have similar resting levels of autonomic nervous system activity, but less reaction to novel stimuli in terms of heart rate and skin conductance changes, and blocking of EEG alpha activity than other children of the same age (Taylor 1994). It may be the case that differences in electrocortical arousal are linked with neuroanatomical differences in the ARAS (see previous section).

The above findings link with findings that children reported as having more general behaviour difficulties have a lower resting heart rate and response to mild stressors (Maliphant, Watson and Daniels 1990), and those with conduct disorder but not ADHD have lower electrodermal activity (Pennington and Ozonoff 1996). Lower resting autonomic nervous system activity or responsivity could be linked with an increase in "stimulation seeking" behaviour. Recent research evidence in this area is limited, and it may prove an interesting area for further investigation,

particularly in terms of possible differences between children with ADHD and other behaviour difficulties.

Neurochemical studies

Pathways implicated in imaging studies such as the frontal lobes and subcortical structures e.g nigrostriatal region and basal ganglia are rich in catecholamines (dopamine and norepinephrine), but results of human catecholamine studies of ADHD are inconclusive (Faraone and Biederman 1998) and differences have not been consistently found between children with ADHD and control children by measuring neurotransmitter metabolites in blood, urine and cerebrospinal fluid (Levy, Barr and Sunohara 1998).

Indirect evidence in humans includes genetic work which implicates dopamine transporter and receptor genes in ADHD, and that methylphenidate (Ritalin) is known, amongst other actions, to increase available dopamine at the synapse, at least partly by blocking reuptake through binding to the dopamine transporter (Volkow, Wang, Fowler, Gatley, Logan, Ding, Hitzemann and Pappas 1998). This evidence has led to the hypothesis that in people with ADHD, there is altered dopamininergic activity, affecting brain systems ranging from the nigrostriatal system which projects from brain stem to the limbic areas, and the system which projects upwards through the limbic area to the prefrontal and other cortical areas. This may thus affect attentional processes, motor function, reward centres and motivation, and finally executive function. There is contradictory evidence in the literature about whether dopaminergic activity levels are increased or decreased overall, or whether effects may vary in different brain areas.

Methylphenidate (Ritalin) and other drugs such as d-amphetamine used to treat ADHD, are generally non specific in their effects, facilitating the action of both

dopamine and norepinephrine, therefore it is difficult to use these to understand precisely the neurochemical mechanisms implicated in ADHD. Attempts to use drugs with more specific mechanisms of action have so far been unsuccessful in producing behavioural improvement (Solanto 1998). There are other complications, for instance a bi-phasic dose-response relationship in many cases, and indications that dopaminergic systems may have excitatory functions in the brainstem and inhibitory functions in the frontal lobes (Brown 1998b). There is also evidence that the effects of stimulants may be mediated through other neurotransmitter systems such as serotonergic, and that behaviours seen in ADHD may result from imbalance between different neurotransmitter systems (Gainetdinov, Wetsel, Jones, Levin, Jaber and Caron 1999).

Summary

There is substantial evidence of a genetic basis for ADHD from studies such as those cited comparing MZ and DZ twin concordance rates. Investigating possible genes involved in more detail has implicated certain dopamine transporter and receptor genes, however any link between genes and behaviour is likely to be complex and mediated by many other factors. Neuroanatomical studies show differences in activity in the nigrostriatal system, limbic areas and frontal lobes in particular, and further differences have been noted in electrocortical arousal and EEG response to presentation of stimuli. Finally, neurochemical studies are inconclusive in terms of specific mechanisms involved, but the effects of drugs such as Ritalin indicate that both dopamine and norepinephrine systems may be involved. It may be the case that alterations in activity in norepinephrine systems are implicated in effects on arousal and attention, with dopamine systems implicated in motor activity and lack of behavioural inhibition (Solanto 1998).

ADHD and environmental factors

Estimates of heritability of ADHD vary from 0.39 - 0.91 depending on study. In most cases this leaves a considerable percentage of variance to be explained by other factors. Environmental factors may operate at various levels from biological to parenting, family dynamics and emotional experiences, but there appears to be far less research evidence in any of these areas.

Reviewing research on the impact of environmental factors on biological mechanisms, Levy, Barr and Sunohara (1998) report although there are some indications that intra-uterine toxins may be a factor in ADHD, there is no strong evidence yet. There is evidence that certain environmental toxins e.g. lead, can lead to distractible and impulsive behaviour. Finally there is little support for the role of food additives in ADHD, although this has been strongly argued by some.

Sonuga-Barke (1998) reported that children who had suffered extreme deprivation for instance in Romanian orphanages showed similar behaviours to those with ADHD, with the key factor appearing to be lack of opportunity for stable attachments (Roy 1983). It is unlikely however, that many children identified as having ADHD would have experienced such adverse life conditions. Goleman (1996) suggested that the emotional environment, particularly adverse life experience, may affect frontal lobe function. This could be mediated by long term effects on catecholamine function, possibly during a critical period of development.

There is other relevant evidence that children with ADHD are worse affected by negative environmental factors at home and school than other children, and tend to have poorer peer relationships and develop low self esteem which may

exacerbate their difficulties (Goldstein, S. 1998).

Woodward, Taylor and Downey (1998) found that children whose parents cope less well with behaviour problems and use harsh and aggressive discipline are approximately 3 times more likely to be rated as hyperactive than a control group matched for parental age and ethnicity. However these findings are correlational and whilst parenting styles may play a causative role, the explanation could be parental response to their child's hyperactivity. This area needs considerably more investigation since clearly some of the parents with hyperactive children did not cope poorly and have harsh discipline, and in many instances only one sibling of several is affected.

Broader environmental issues include increased environmental demands of modern society in terms of family breakup, changes in society, pace of life etc. which may exacerbate problems which underlie ADHD and other difficulties (Goldstein, S.1998). Secondly there are constantly increasing demands and expectations within the classroom and educational system which may unduly pathologise difficulties which would previously have been accepted. Cooper (1997) notes that children with ADHD may be placed at greater risk because "schools are often intolerant of behaviours and social styles that fall outside of a fairly narrow band".

Summary

A complex interaction between possible biological causation and environmental factors may exist including:

- Evidence of a genetic basis for ADHD
- Evidence that an adverse early environment can lead to hyperactive and impulsive behaviours

- Evidence of links between parenting style and hyperactivity in children

- The possibility of a cycle of negative interaction between predisposition and environment, with children's behaviours causing family difficulties, and parents less able to cope

- Greater likelihood that parents and siblings of children with ADHD may have similar difficulties themselves for genetic reasons resulting in different parenting styles

- Evidence that children with ADHD are less able to cope with adverse life circumstances

- Factors in modern education and society which may increase the apparent incidence of ADHD

DISCUSSION

The causal model

The causal model on the following page is a diagrammatic attempt to integrate some of the main findings on ADHD and to link factors at different levels into a possible chain of causation. It is a conceptual tool, reflecting my interpretation of the evidence at present.

Cognitive-behavioural links

There is a large body of evidence indicating executive function deficits in people with ADHD (Pennington and Ozonoff 1996, Barkley 1998, Brown 1998, Sergeant 1998, Houghton 1998) These include severe difficulty in inhibiting dominant behaviours (Barkley 1998), and deficits in working memory (Brown 1998), and possibly selective attention. Mood disorders are commoner in pupils with ADHD, possibly because the cognitive deficits noted result in poor regulation of affect

Biological

genetic basis general

DA receptor/transporter genes

altered NE function

altered DA function

low arousal and electro-cortical response

altered activity in brainstem, limbic system, frontal lobes

Cognitive

EF deficits

behavioural inhibition deficits

difficulty with motor control

selective attention problems

poor planning

mood disorders

working memory deficits

need for higher stimulation

Behavioural

poor sustained attention

poor organisation skills

poor time estimation

impulsive

difficulty with social skills

clumsiness

delay averse

overactive

distractible

Environmental

perinatal risk factors

exposure to toxins

illness/injury

extreme emotional deprivation

harsh parenting styles

demands and challenges in society

educational system demands

linked with a heightened response to environmental stresses (Goldstein, S. 1998).

These result in the behaviours which are used to define ADHD. Pupils are distractible because of difficulty in persisting with tasks when there are other competing, perhaps novel and interesting stimuli to attend to. Under some circumstances with highly stimulating tasks and high frequency, salient rewards e.g. computer games, they do appear able to attend for long periods. Overactivity includes restlessness, fidgetiness, excessive speech and movement for a given situation, and may result from problems with inhibiting motor activity and regulating rate, amount and forcefulness of behaviour to meet the demands of the situation. Impulsiveness may result from difficulty with inhibiting dominant responses, and with deferring gratification, i.e. planning action on the basis of longer term consequences, which may also be linked with delay aversion.

Other behaviours seen in pupils with ADHD may also be explained by these cognitive deficits e.g. poor planning, organisation and time estimation as a result of working memory deficits, clumsiness due to poor inhibition of motor behaviour. Difficulties with social skills may result partly from an impulsive style of responding, and partly from poor regulation of mood.

Biological-cognitive links
Looking at the biological-cognitive axis, there may be a biological basis for the cognitive deficits discussed in terms of altered dopaminergic (DA) function leading to changes in activation of the nigrostriatal system, parts of the limbic system and cortical areas, mainly the frontal lobes, which are known to be involved in both executive functions and behavioural inhibition (Pennington and Ozonoff 1998). Tannock (1998) reviewed many brain scan studies which showed reduced activity in the frontal lobes.

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A secondary strand may be alterations in norepinephrine (NE) systems (Solanto 1998), which are more generally distributed and are implicated in electrocortical arousal, which may explain the reduction in electrocortical responsiveness to stimuli reported by Tannock (1998). This at a cognitive level could mean a need for a higher level of stimulation in order to maintain optimal activation, and deficits in selective attention. In this context it is interesting to note that as yet, only drugs which have effects of both dopamine and norepinephrine activity e.g. Ritalin, d-amphetamine have been found effective in ADHD, and not drugs with a more specific action.

Finally, some of the more recent molecular level genetic studies e.g. Gill et al (1997) and Swanson et al (1998) are beginning to make links with genes responsible for dopaminergic function.

ADHD as a developmental disorder

I would argue that the research presented in this paper, including the strong evidence for heritability, the biological-cognitive-behavioural links, the early onset and persistence of difficulties throughout life (Barkley 1998), point to ADHD as a developmental disorder. Having said that, I would also question the use of the term "disorder" since although the behaviours reported in ADHD do appear to cause problems, both for the person with ADHD and others, there is evidence that ADHD represents the extreme end of a continuum of overactive and impulsive behaviours (Gjone et al 1996), rather than a disorder in the medical sense.

ADHD appears to form part of a spectrum of attentional and behavioural difficulties with multiple causative factors. There is evidence distinguishing it from attentional difficulties without impulsivity, such that these no longer seem to

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2/6/03

With Compliments   Dear Jay

Further to our e-mails; your's dated
20 May, I enclose 2 DEdPsy Theses of:-

Astrid Gregor
Suzie Iyadurai
for storage.

Kind regards
Helen Hoster

be related in terms of causation, response to intervention or outcomes (Barkley 1998). There is some evidence too of differences between ADHD and other behaviour difficulties in that the key features of overactive and impulsive behaviour may exist without other problems such as defiant or antisocial behaviour. Pupils with ADHD have poor behavioural inhibition, but this is combined with wider deficits in cognitive processing including executive function, which is not found in pupils for instance with conduct disorder alone (Pennington and Ozonoff 1996, Oosterlan and Sergeant 1998, Matthys et al 1998).

Interactions with environmental factors

I would argue that there is likely to be a core disorder with a biological-cognitive causative axis, but there may be many instances of distractible, impulsive and overactive behaviours with mainly environmental causation resulting from emotional trauma (Sonuga-Barke 1998), ineffective or overly harsh parenting (Woodward et al 1998), and perhaps ineffective behaviour management in the classroom. It would be naive to underestimate the effects of environment on behaviour, either in terms of environmental causation of such behaviours, or the effects of adverse environment in exacerbating the behaviours, or favourable environment in ameliorating them. However I would also view it as naive to reject possible genetic/biological causatory factors in behaviour difficulties. Because of these complex interactions between "within child" and environmental factors, it is essential to undertake thorough investigation and assessment of such difficulties.

Increases in incidence of ADHD

An aspect of ADHD causing general concern is the apparent increase in incidence over the past few decades. There are several possible reasons for this, including increased public and medical awareness of ADHD, and a move from using the stricter ICD-10 criteria to DSM-IV in the UK. Other possible reasons are the

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increased pace of life and exposure to social problems e.g. family breakup, which may exacerbate the difficulties of people with a predisposition to ADHD. However, more worrying is possible over-identification of ADHD, in a context of general increases in behaviour difficulties, and a less tolerant education system. This may mean that many young people without a biological-cognitive causative axis for their difficulties are being prescribed long term psychotropic medication.

CONCLUSION

Objectives of paper

In this paper, I have presented an update of research findings on ADHD within a causal modelling framework, and provided some consistent, and some more controversial evidence of a biological-cognitive axis underpinning the behaviours associated with ADHD. I have also discussed the relatively small amount of evidence which exists differentiating between ADHD and more general behaviour difficulties.

In the following sections I will be indicating the relevance to educational psychology practice including pointers from the research for good practice in assessment and intervention, emphasising those interventions which may be particularly effective for pupils with ADHD.

Relevance for practice in educational psychology

Research on ADHD continues to proliferate, and it is therefore important for educational psychologists to remain abreast of current developments, and their possible implications for assessment and intervention. It is also important for us to have a shared understanding with others, since multiprofessional assessment and

intervention involving medical colleagues, support services, school staff, parents and pupils would appear to be in the best interests of the pupil, and be more effective in terms of consistency and outcomes. Many LEAs have now developed guidelines for a multiprofessional response to ADHD.

Assessment

The purposes of assessment may be perceived as threefold:

- To inform intervention
- To provide a baseline for evaluating effectiveness of intervention
- To contribute to a possible diagnosis of ADHD

Because of the need to distinguish ADHD from other behaviour difficulties especially if medication is to be considered, it seems wise to begin from a stance of disproving ADHD.

Lyon (1998) gave an extensive report of good practice in assessment including use of behaviour records, scored observation and checklists with staff and parents, in order to investigate the nature and extent of difficulties. Consultation with staff, parents and pupil regarding family and school history, the history of the difficulty and strategies used, gives an opportunity to investigate other possible explanations for the difficulty. Finally, computerised continuous performance tests which measure attention and impulsiveness are sometimes used. However these have the attendant problem of sensitivity to administration procedures and require a clear protocol, which most do not have at present.

Indicators of possible ADHD would be meeting the diagnostic behavioural criteria (Appendix 1) across different settings, plus difficulties which had an early onset, have persisted over time, are inappropriate to developmental level and impair social or academic functioning. Finally and most importantly is that there are not

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better alternative explanations for the behaviours. Diagnosis of ADHD is ultimately a medical decision since drugs may be prescribed.

Pointers for intervention

ADHD behaviours appear relatively resistant to classroom behaviour management and parenting strategies, but there is some evidence of interventions which whilst they may be helpful for many pupils, are particularly effective for those with ADHD. A key feature as with all intervention is involving pupil and parents as well as school staff, and achieving a consistent approach.

Behaviour management interventions are well documented in the literature, and have been shown to be effective, particularly in combination with drug treatment. However, long term change is seldom apparent when behavioural or drug interventions are ended (Wilens 1998). It would seem appropriate to use behavioural interventions as a first course of action before drug treatment is tried, and also in conjunction with drug treatment, which can provide a "window of opportunity" to implement behaviour management and other interventions, in order to effect a longer term change.

Behavioural approaches:

Research suggests that pupils with ADHD are relatively insensitive to consequences, having particular problems with partial reinforcement schedules, and delayed reinforcement which involves planning and taking into account later consequences (i.e. valuing future over immediate rewards - Brown 1998). They have more difficulty than others in staying on task with effortful, repetitive and unchosen tasks, difficulty in abstracting a general rule from contingencies (Barkley 1998c), and their responses tend to perseverate despite errors and punishment (Matthys et al 1998). As reported previously they also have difficulty

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with organisation skills.

These features suggest that use of immediate, highly salient rewards, and short tasks, possibly timed, with breaks between (allowing movement), and frequent feedback will help. In general pupils respond better to positive reward than procedures such as response cost (Sergeant 1998). Negative reinforcement is not generally helpful (Goldstein, S. 1998b). Tasks themselves require a high level of interest, novelty and stimulation, with low stimulation from the external environment. This has implications for teaching method and content as well as classroom seating and displays. Tasks presented through IT are useful in this context.

Cognitive approaches

In general, cognitive approaches such as "stop-think-do" have generalised poorly from the situation in which they are taught to the classroom (Barkley 1998). There is some evidence that pupil involvement in target setting and self monitoring/cued self reflection approaches are helpful. Teaching the pupil strategies e.g. attention skills, social skills, organisation skills, behavioural regulation e.g. anger management, to compensate for their difficulties may help, as may more general approaches to raise self esteem if required. DuPaul, Ervin, Hook and McGoey (1998) trialled class wide peer tutoring, and found that pupils with ADHD showed increased on task behaviour, reduced off task behaviour and 50% had improved performance in literacy and numeracy during the procedure.

Biological level interventions

Drug interventions are widely used including methylphenidate (Ritalin), d-amphetamine and also tricyclic antidepressants e.g. Imipramine. Evidence from drug studies (Wilens 1998) indicates:

- Action is non specific - most effective drugs increase available dopamine, and also alter norepinephrine activity

- Drugs used will also have similar effects on other people, but much more pronounced in people with ADHD

- 70 - 80% of children respond to Ritalin (in controlled studies, comparing with placebo using symptom rating checklists) with the best response from children with combined type of ADHD

- Improvements in learning and behaviour (60% of pupils with ADHD given Ritalin showed significant improvements in academic attainments over one term, also improved attention, short term memory, social judgement and peer cooperation, better family relationships, reduction in impulsivity and hyperactivity)

- Lower activation levels in frontal lobes measured by PET scan is normalised after administration of Ritalin.

- No evidence of critical period where drug use may enhance development of brain systems enabling the person to stop taking it, they may need drug management for life

Other methods which may impact on a biological level use "neurofeedback". This is a training procedure using EEG biofeedback. I am only aware of one study using this technique in a school. Boyd, Campbell and Wyoming (1998) trained 6 boys between 13 and 15 years old using 20 half hour sessions of biofeedback. They found post training improvements in both inattention and impulsivity scores, and suggested that the procedure may replace or reduce the need for medication in some cases. However it is intensive and complex to implement in a school setting.

Possible areas for further work:

Useful areas for future research would further inform the biological-cognitive

model of ADHD or be relevant to assessment and intervention.

At a biological level, more work on the molecular genetic basis of ADHD is needed, including investigation of possible genes implicated in norepinephrine as well as dopamine systems. Drug studies with regard to neurotransmitter systems may give insight into the involvement of norepinephrine and its relation to the arousal hypothesis. Further work on neurofeedback as an alternative to drug treatment would also appear to be justified.

At a cognitive level, fine grained tests of executive function sensitive to ADHD, and more specific profiles of deficits in ADHD, could contribute both to theoretical investigation and to assessment methods. There needs to be more research looking at effectiveness and generalisability of cognitive interventions, and possibly projects to train attention and social skills for young children entering school in view of the increasing incidence of ADHD, as well as specific cognitive interventions to help develop behavioural inhibition.

Finally, further clarification of environmental factors which may produce distractible, overactive and impulsive behaviours is needed. This, for instance, could follow on from the Woodward et al (1999) study, and use a longitudinal approach to uncover more about causation. This type of study would be important in preventing over-identification of ADHD.

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APPENDIX 1

DSM-IV and ICD-10 Criteria

DIAGNOSTIC AND STATISTICAL MANUAL OF MENTAL DISORDERS
Fourth Edition - American Psychiatric Association, 1994 (DSM-IV™)

DIAGNOSTIC CRITERIA FOR ATTENTION-DEFICIT / HYPERACTIVITY DISORDER (AD/HD)

A. EITHER (1) or (2)

(1)   six (or more) of the following symptoms of **inattention** have persisted for at least 6 months to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with developmental level:

Inattention
a)   Often fails to give close attention to details or makes careless mistakes in schoolwork, work or other activities.
b)   Often has difficulty sustaining attention in tasks or play activities
c)   Often does not seem to listen when spoken to directly
d)   Often does not follow through on instructions and fails to finish schoolwork, chores or duties in the workplace (not due to oppositional behavior or failure to understand instructions)
e)   Often has difficulty organising tasks and activities
f)   Often avoids, dislikes or is reluctant to engage in tasks that require sustained mental effort (such as schoolwork or homework)
g)   Often loses things necessary for tasks or activities (e.g., toys, school assignments, pencils, books, or tools)
h)   Is often easily distracted by extraneous stimuli
i)   Is often forgetful in daily activities

(2)   six (or more), of the following symptoms of **hyperactivity-impulsivity** have persisted for at least 6 months to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with developmental level :

Hyperactivity
a)   Often fidgets with hands or feet or squirms in seat
b)   Often leaves seat in classroom or in other situations in which remaining seated is expected
c)   Often runs about or climbs excessively in situations in which it is inappropriate (in adolescents or adults, may be limited to subjective feelings of restlessness)
d)   Often has difficulty playing or engaging in leisure activities quietly
e)   Is often 'on the go' or often acts as if 'driven by a motor'
f)   Often talks excessively.

Impulsivity
g)   Often blurts out answers before questions have been completed.
h)   Often has difficulty awaiting turn.
i)   Often interrupts or intrudes on others (e.g., butts into conversations or games)

B.   Some hyperactive-impulsive or inattentive symptoms that caused impairment were present before the age of 7 years.

C.   Some impairment from the symptoms is present in two or more settings (e.g., at school [or work] and at home).

D.   There must be clear evidence of clinically significant impairment in social, academic or occupational functioning.

E.   The symptoms do not occur exclusively during the course of a Pervasive Developmental Disorder, Schizophrenia, or other Psychotic Disorder, and are not better accounted for by another mental disorder (e.g. Mood Disorder, Anxiety Disorder, Dissociative Disorder or a Personality Disorder.

Code based on type:
    F90.0   **Attention-Deficit / Hyperactivity Disorder, Combined Type:**
          if both Criteria A1 and A2 are met for the past 6 months
    F98.8   **Attention-Deficit / Hyperactivity Disorder, Predominantly Inattentive Type:**
          if Criterion A1 is met but Criterion A2 is not met for the past 6 months
    F90.0   **Attention-Deficit / Hyperactivity Disorder, Predominantly Hyperactive-Impulsive Type:**
          if Criterion A2 is met but Criterion A1 is not met for the past 6 months

Coding Note: For individuals (especially adolescents and adults) who currently have symptoms that no longer meet full criteria, "In Partial Remission" should be specified

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F90 Hyperkinetic disorder

Note: The research diagnosis of hyperkinetic disorder requires the definite presence of abnormal levels of inattention, hyperactivity and restlessness that are pervasive across situations and persistent over time and that are not caused by other disorders such as autism or affective disorders.

G1. *Inattention.* At least six of the following symptoms of inattention have persisted for at least 6 months, to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with the developmental level of the child:

(1) often fails to give close attention to details, or makes careless errors in schoolwork, work, or other activities;
(2) often fails to sustain attention in tasks or play activities;
(3) often appears not to listen to what is being said to him or her;
(4) often fails to follow through on instructions or to finish schoolwork, chores, or duties in the workplace (not because of oppositional behaviour or failure to understand instructions);
(5) is often impaired in organizing tasks and activities;
(6) often avoids or strongly dislikes tasks, such as homework, that require sustained mental effort;
(7) often loses things necessary for certain tasks or activities, such as school assignments, pencils, books, toys, or tools;
(8) is often easily distracted by external stimuli;
(9) is often forgetful in the course of daily activities.

G2. *Hyperactivity.* At least three of the following symptoms of hyperactivity have persisted for at least 6 months, to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with the developmental level of the child:

(1) often fidgets with hands or feet or squirms on seat;
(2) leaves seat in classroom or in other situations in which remaining seated is expected;
(3) often runs about or climbs excessively in situations in which it is inappropriate (in adolescents or adults, only feelings of restlessness may be present);
(4) is often unduly noisy in playing or has difficulty in engaging quietly in leisure activities;
(5) exhibits a persistent pattern of excessive motor activity that is not substantially modified by social context or demands.

G3. *Impulsivity.* At least one of the following symptoms of impulsivity has persisted for at least 6 months, to a degree that is maladaptive and inconsistent with the developmental level of the child:

(1) often blurts out answers before questions have been completed;
(2) often fails to wait in lines or await turns in games or group situations;
(3) often interrupts or intrudes on others (e.g. butts into others' conversations or games);
(4) often talks excessively without appropriate response to social constraints.

G4. Onset of the disorder is no later than the age of 7 years.

G5. *Pervasiveness.* The criteria should be met for more than a single situation, e.g. the combination of inattention and hyperactivity should be present both at home and at school, or at both school and another setting where children are observed, such as a clinic. (Evidence for cross-situationality will ordinarily require information from more than one source; parental reports about classroom behaviour, for instance, are unlikely to be sufficient).

G6. The symptoms in G1-G3 cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, academic, or occupational functioning.

G7. The disorder does not meet the criteria for pervasive developmental disorders (F84.-), manic episode (F30.-), depressive episode (F32.-), or anxiety disorders (F41.-).

Comment
Many authorities also recognize conditions that are sub-threshold for hyperkinetic disorder. Children who meet criteria in other ways but do not show abnormalities of hyperactivity / impulsiveness may be recognized as showing *attention deficit;* conversely, children who fall short of criteria for attention problems but meet criteria in other respects may be recognized as showing *activity disorder.* In the same way, children who meet criteria for only one situation (e.g. only the home or only the classroom) may be regarded as showing a *home-specific* or *classroom-specific disorder.* These conditions are not yet included in the main classification because of insufficient empirical predictive validation, and because many children with sub-threshold disorders show other syndromes (such as oppositional defiant disorder, F91.3) and should be classified in the appropriate category.

F90.0 Disturbance of activity and attention
The general criteria for hyperkinetic disorder (F90) must be met but not those for conduct disorders F91.-).

F90.1 Hyperkinetic conduct disorder
The general criteria for both hyperkinetic disorder (F90) and conduct disorders (F91.-) must be met.

F90.8 Other hyperkinetic disorders

F90.9 Hyperkinetic disorder, unspecified
This residual category is not recommended and should be used only when there is a lack of differentiation between F90.0 and F90.1 but the overall criteria for F90 - are fulfilled.

University College London

Doctoral Programme for Practising
Educational Psychologists
(DEdPsy)

Professional Practice Assignment 2

Submitted in part fulfillment of the requirements for
the Continuing Professional Development Doctorate
in Educational Psychology (DEdPsy)

Name of Course Member: **Suzanne Sivakamy
Iyadurai**

Title of Assignment:

**Developing an LEA response to the needs of children of refugees and
asylum seekers.**

Core curriculum area to which this assignment topic relates:

**The Profession of Educational Psychology and its
Context**

Date submitted: **31.3.01**

Signed:

University College London

Continuing Professional Development
Doctorate in Educational Psychology

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE ASSIGNMENTS

Submission for Examination

Name: Suzanne Sivakamy Iyadurai

Number and title of Assignment: 2. Developing an LEA response to the needs of children of refugees and asylum seekers.

Section of the BPS Core Curriculum for Professional Training in Educational Psychology to which this assignment relates:
The Profession of Educational Psychology and its Context

Submission Statement

I confirm that:

1. This submitted assignment is my own work; and

2. I have read and acted upon the guidelines for avoiding plagiarism contained in the DEdPsy Handbook

Course Members Signature: S. Iyadurai **Date:** 31.3.01

Consent Statement (optional)

I authorise the Department of Psychology to make a copy of this assignment available for public reference at the discretion of the Course Director.

(Please note that copies of examined work may be retained for up to five years for University quality assurance purposes).

Course Members Signature: S. Iyadurai **Date:** 31.3.01

DEVELOPING AN LEA RESPONSE TO THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN OF REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS

SUMMARY

Children of refugees and asylum seekers may have particular needs within the education system, which should be met in order for them to experience social inclusion, and achieve their full educational potential. In the context of increasing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in Britain, and current government policy of dispersal, it was felt important to set up a team in Buckinghamshire to respond pro-actively in making provision for the needs of children of refugee and asylum seeking families.

This paper cites results of a survey of similar teams in other LEAs, and describes the setting up of the Buckinghamshire team, with a rationale for methods to be used by the team. A case is made for allocating educational psychologist time to such teams, by highlighting possible useful contributions of educational psychology to this field of work.

A background to issues and legislation currently affecting refugees and asylum seekers is given, with a consideration of the difficulties they face, and possible social, psychological and educational effects of these difficulties. Evidence from the research literature on good practice in supporting refugee and asylum seeker pupils in school is discussed, both in terms of general support and more specific

interventions. Finally, the "Circle of Friends" approach is given as an example of

an intervention which could be usefully adapted and trialled with refugee pupils,

and effectiveness evaluated.

INTRODUCTION

Definition of a refugee

The term "refugee" refers to someone who has been granted refugee status by a

host country because of "a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of

race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political

opinion" (1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees). Other

international laws such as the European Convention on Human Rights, can be

used to protect people who have fled from armed conflict and who are not covered

by the terms of the 1951 UN Convention. Asylum seekers are people who have

crossed international borders in search of safety and refugee status.

For the purposes of this paper the terms "refugee" and "refugee children" have

been used to cover families and children (accompanied or unaccompanied) who

have legal status as refugees under the terms of the 1951 UN Convention, as well

as those who are seeking asylum, appealing against an asylum decision, or those

whose application for asylum has been refused, and who have stayed illegally in

Britain.

Historical, political and legal contexts

There are around 19 million refugees in the world at present (Rutter 1998) who have fled from their countries because their religion, political beliefs, ethnic group or way of life puts them in danger of arrest, torture or death. A further 27 million people have fled their homes and are displaced within their home country. Most refugees, around 80% of the total, live in economically poorer countries, however a proportion has also fled to the industrially developed countries of the north such as Britain. Approximately half of all refugees and displaced people are children.

Most refugees today are fleeing from armed conflicts, which involve civilians, including 27 ongoing major civil wars. Thus to address the issue of refugees and asylum seekers, international and local political action is required in the form of conflict resolution, diplomacy and disarmament. Without this, actions taken by countries to prevent the entry of asylum seekers or to deport them after arrival, will inevitably lead to danger and suffering for large numbers of people.

Context at a national level

The arrival of refugees in Britain is not a recent phenomenon and dates back at least to the 16th century, with the arrival of Huguenot refugees in East London. This has continued since, with the arrival of Eastern European Jews in London in the latter part of the 19th century, and the many refugees through the periods of the 1st and 2nd world wars. Since 1970, the most numerically significant groups of refugees have been from Uganda, Cyprus, Vietnam, Iran, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Nigeria, Zaire, former Yugoslavia, and Kurds from Iran, Iraq and Turkey. Recent

estimates indicate that around 63,000 refugee pupils are attending British schools and colleges (iNexile 2000).

Figures show that there have been large increases in numbers of asylum seekers over recent years from 4389 in 1985 to 29,930 in 1996 (Rutter 1998), and more than 70,000 in 1999 (Bright and Wazir 2000). Monthly averages for asylum applications for the year 2000 were 6,146, and there was a backlog of 85,165 unresolved cases in June 2000 (iNexile 2000). However a much smaller percentage of asylum seekers are now granted refugee status or exceptional leave to remain, from 81% in 1985 to 18% in 1996, (Rutter 1998). Exceptional leave to remain (ELR) is granted at the discretion of the Home Secretary. It does not confer the same rights as refugee status, and requires renewal at intervals. Over the last 10 years, restrictions on access to Britain for asylum seekers have also increased, including imposition of visa requirements, and sanctions in the form of fines, against carriers (e.g. airlines, shipping companies) bringing asylum seekers to Britain. The recent Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 further tightens the restrictions, increasing carrier fines, ending automatic entitlement to benefits, and allowing for dispersal on the basis of available housing.

If asylum (as refugee status or ELR) is refused, an appeal can be made. If this appeal is lost, there may be further recourse to the Appeals Tribunal or even a Judicial Review, however ultimately the asylum seeker may be asked to leave voluntarily or be deported. A proportion also stays on illegally.

Context at a local level

By July 2001, there were approximately 120 asylum seekers, supported by Buckinghamshire and other Social Services Departments, living in Buckinghamshire, including 29 families, and 5 unaccompanied children. This represents a steady increase since September 1999 from 36 asylum seekers including 3 families. The use of temporary accommodation for asylum seekers and resulting mobility, and the ongoing placement of asylum seekers supported by Social Services from other areas, makes comprehensive collection of data difficult. To date, requests for direct support in schools have been made for less than 14 children in total.

Introduction of the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) from April 2000 meant that financial support for new applicants who are accepted as destitute, will be provided by central government, which will also arrange regional dispersal and accommodation. This is leading to an increase in numbers of asylum seekers outside areas such as London and Kent. Given the policy of dispersal throughout the UK, it was felt important to be proactive, and to have appropriate support mechanisms for schools in place as soon as possible.

A team, the Minority Ethnic and Traveller Achievement Service (METAS) was set up from 1st April 2000, funded by the Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Grant (EMTAG). This consisted of a team leader, four consultants (Monitoring, Assessment and Training, African-Caribbean, Social Inclusion and Early Years) as well as a team of Traveller Teachers and Learning Support

Assistants and clerical support. A part time (0.4 fte) Refugee Education Teacher has been in post from September 2000. A Specialist Educational Psychologist (Children's Rights) was also appointed on a 0.5 fte basis to work in close liaison with the new team. These posts are funded directly by the LEA, and the rest of the EMTAG funds devolved to schools according to a set of criteria.

LEA survey

A survey was conducted of LEA responses to the needs of refugees and asylum seekers during the Summer Term 2000, to provide possible models for setting up the new team. The survey was sent out in the form of a brief questionnaire to all 150 LEAs in England, to identify how many already have teams to meet the needs of refugee pupils and the constitution of these teams, including which teams have an attached educational psychologist (see Appendix 1 for data).

A 53.3% response rate (80 LEAs) was obtained. From these, the following findings were noted:

- 25.0% had a specific refugee education team

- 8.8% had an ad hoc response when a number of refugees arrived

- 3.8% had a multi-agency team with some representation from education

- For many LEAs there was no specific team, but needs of refugees were met by more general teams e.g. Minority Ethnic and Traveller Team, Multicultural Education Team, Social Inclusion Team, Equality Support Team.

- Only 5% of LEAs (4 teams) had educational psychologist time allocated to work with refugees, although a further 5% had time for planning/liaison work

with the refugee team. 2.5% had "emergency time" (e.g. critical incident time) available for work with refugees/refugee teams.

Most refugee education teams consisted of refugee support/education teachers, varying in number from one to seven. Other professionals involved were:

Education Welfare Officers (4 teams)

Social Workers (4 teams)

Family Liaison Officers (3 teams)

Early Years Workers (2 teams)

Education Officers (2 teams)

Further Education Staff (2 teams)

Youth and Community Worker (1 team)

Education Adviser (1 team)

Health Visitor (1 team)

Voluntary Organisations (1 team)

Clinical Psychologist (1 team)

Contact names were requested to enable sharing of good practice between teams. Facts relevant to setting up the Buckinghamshire team were the range of other professionals involved in responding to the needs of refugee pupils, highlighting the importance of developing multi-agency responses. Only 4 LEAs had educational psychologist time allocated to work with refugee teams, however in this paper, the argument will be made that educational psychologists have a key role in meeting the needs of refugee pupils.

OBJECTIVES

The following sections outline some of the evidence from psychological and other literature regarding the needs of refugee children, and good practice in meeting those needs, which can be drawn upon in setting up an LEA response. Specific objectives of the paper are:

- To provide a context and background information on refugees and asylum seekers

- To discuss the evidence on particular needs of children of refugees and asylum seekers

- To relate approaches used to meet these needs to evidence from the psychological research literature and from good practice in other teams

- To describe the process of setting up a team to respond to the needs of children of refugees and asylum seekers and outline a rationale and framework for service delivery which would be of use to similar teams in other LEAs

- To discuss the rationale for adaptation of an intervention for promoting inclusion (Circle of Friends) to meet the needs of refugee pupils

- To outline the role of the educational psychologist in helping to meet the needs of refugee pupils

LITERATURE REVIEW

Problems facing refugees

In many cases, refugees have fled to this country after experiencing extreme stress

and loss. On arrival they are often further disadvantaged financially as a result of

legal restrictions, because of responses of local communities, because of policies

of dispersion, due to temporary accommodation and resulting mobility, through

lack of competence in English, lack of social support and factors within the

education system. Despite this, many refugees have high aspirations, value

education and go on to build successful lives for themselves and their families.

Much of the literature on refugees both from the government and LEAs refers to

the "problem" of refugees. However historical evidence suggests that far from

being a problem, refugee communities have significantly enriched this, and other

countries, both culturally and economically. Examples are the Jewish refugees of

1933-1939, 16 of whom went on to win Nobel prizes (Rutter 1998), Ugandan

Asians many of whom have built highly successful businesses, and the political

and economic dominance of the USA in the world, many of whose population

were originally refugees.

The presence of refugee pupils in school does not constitute a problem for the

education system although it may reveal problems within it (Jones and Rutter

1998). Refugee pupils bring many benefits to the classroom, presenting

opportunities and bringing global perspectives to the curriculum which can enrich

the learning and understanding of everyone working there (Hyder 1998). For

instance, political issues, promotion of peace and resolving conflict, and issues of

loss and change can be explored (Bolloten and Spafford 1998). It could be

concluded that "refugees are not a problem, although many problems face

refugees".

Problems resulting from previous experiences

Most refugees, adults and children, will have experienced losses and stressful

experiences in their country of origin, such as being forced to flee from their

homes, and loss of family members and/or friends as a result of death and

disappearances. Many will have witnessed fighting, destruction and violence and

experienced stressful journeys to safety. Refugee children may have experienced a

change of carer, an important factor for risk of psychological distress (Richman

1998). In some cases, children will also have participated in armed conflict.

Rutter 1998 reports a study conducted by Maksoud in 1992 which found that in a

sample of 2200 Lebanese refugee children:

90.3% had experienced shelling or combat

68.4% had been forcibly displaced from their home

54.5% had experienced grave shortages of food, water etc

50.3% had witnessed violent acts/ murder

26% had lost family and/ or friends

21.3% had been separated from their families

5.9% had been injured

3.5% were victims of arrest, detention, torture etc

0.2% were forced to join militias

These children have been exposed to severe stressors, and experienced losses and denial of basic needs such as food and shelter, safety and security, loving relationships, and health and education provision. The effects may be varied, depending on length and severity of experiences, the child's interpretation of events, availability of support from family and other sources, and factors such as age, sex, and level of resilience. They may include depression, anxiety, fears, bereavement reactions and grief, and symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (Yule 1998).

Problems faced in the new context

Uncertainty and economic difficulties

Fewer and fewer asylum seekers are eventually recognised as refugees under the terms of the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. The result of this is stress due to uncertainty about the future, and possible deportation to face life threatening situations in the country of origin. Refugees also experience financial, housing and language problems in Britain.

Financially, refugee families often face drastic cuts in living standards. Many have been well educated (a recent survey suggested that more than a third of refugees had a degree or professional qualification – Hinsliff, Summerskill and Islam 2000), and were relatively affluent at home. Under the terms of the 1999 Asylum and Immigration Act, new applicants are not entitled to Welfare Benefits, but must apply to the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) for support with accommodation and essential living needs. The package offered is equivalent to around 70% of Income Support levels. Those awaiting appeals against asylum decisions will also enter this system from September 2000.

Housing is another issue, with no consistent government policy on reception and resettlement and few direct support services, most of these being non-governmental or voluntary (Rutter 1998). In particular, the restricting of access to permanent public sector accommodation has led to use of temporary accommodation such as reception centres, Bed and Breakfast accommodation, and private housing companies. The resulting mobility has adverse effects on the family and the children's education. Housing provided is often of a poor standard with lack of facilities for children to play and do homework (Power, Whitty and Youdell 1998).

On arrival 70% of adult refugees speak little or no English. This makes it more difficult to access services and advice, and to become involved in their children's education. Stress due to denial of access to family reunion, certainty of immigration status, decent housing and welfare benefits, as well as repeated

changes of home and school, is leading a process of "retraumatisation" in Britain

of asylum seekers who have faced severe human rights violations at home (Rutter

1998). This makes it harder for them to rebuild their lives, and their children's

educational careers.

Loss of social and cultural networks

At present 85-90% of refugee families remain in the London area, although this is

changing as a result of recent government policy which promotes "cluster

dispersal", aiming to rehouse 6000 asylum seekers in each region of Britain.

However many areas away from London are poorly prepared in terms of services

available e.g. legal advice, interpreters and community organisations, and

accommodation is often of a very poor standard (Bright and Wazir 2000).

Currently many families are opting to remain in London, often in very

overcrowded conditions with support for living costs only from NASS. Dispersal

programmes were used with the first wave of Vietnamese refugees in 1980-1984,

but within two years of arrival, many had moved again to cities with an existing

Vietnamese community, and the programmes were acknowledged to have been a

mistake (Rutter 1998).

Moves away from a familiar community, language, environment and culture, and

the support provided by these, are likely to compound the experiences of refugees

and may result in "culture shock", with time required for adaptation possibly being

longer, the greater the difference between host culture and culture of origin (Baker

1983). There may also be loss of identity, characterised as "cultural bereavement"

(Richman 1998), and lowered self esteem resulting from changed status in the community. Parents may find adaptation to a new culture harder than their children, sometimes leading to intergenerational conflicts (Hodes 2000).

Unaccompanied children

In 1998 nearly 3000 unaccompanied minors arrived in Britain and 3 –5% of total refugee numbers consist of unaccompanied children. By definition, they are under 18 years old, and not accompanied by parents or carers with parental responsibility. They are often looked after by older siblings, family friends or (sometimes distant) relatives (Williamson 1998). They face similar difficulties to other refugees and asylum seekers, but are a particularly vulnerable group with additional risk factors (Sourander 1998).

In particular they may need close relationships with caring loving adults, contact with family at home and familiar culture, links with sympathetic professionals who take care to listen and explain, and links with other children in a similar situation (Williamson 1998). Younger unaccompanied children appear to adapt more easily to a new family, and proximity of families and children with the same language and culture helps adaptation (Richman 1993). Even when family support is not available, schools can provide a strong and protective sense of community (Young Minds 1994).

Responses of existing local communities

Refugees who have come to economically developed countries such as Britain

face particular problems, including being made to feel unwelcome by government, sometimes hostility from the local population, and restrictions of their rights which makes it harder for them to rebuild their lives. At present it appears that this is being exacerbated by a climate of disbelief engineered by politicians and sections of the media, exemplified by anti refugee remarks made by members of the government about refugee crime and "floods of bogus claimants", and by negative coverage in the media as frauds, benefit cheats, and even "human refuse" (Observer 2000 and Rutter 1998). The restriction of access to welfare benefits has meant that many refugees are now supported by local Social Services Departments further fuelling public antagonism. (Rutter 1998), although the introduction of NASS may alleviate this.

Effects of anti refugee feelings and racism may be doubly damaging for people who have already fled violence and oppression (Jones and Rutter 1998).

Problems faced in the education system

Refugee pupils may have particular difficulties and needs in the education system resulting from a combination of factors. There may be issues of admissions and changes of school in common with other mobile populations, as well as racism and bullying, and the effects of having English as an additional language. In combination with the emotional difficulties experienced by some refugee pupils, this puts refugee pupils as a group at serious risk of underachievement. Some of these issues are further discussed below.

Education history

Refugee pupils may have a history of partial attendance or non attendance of school due to closure in times of war and conflict, and also because of repeated moves to seek safety (Jones and Rutter 1998). This may be exacerbated by temporary accommodation in Britain resulting in further changes of school. Finally the education system in the country of origin may differ greatly in terms of curriculum, expectations (often higher) and discipline from the system in Britain, requiring pupil adaptation.

Schools admissions

Temporary accommodation with resulting mobility, and the need for mid term admissions results in refugee pupils being more likely to be directed by the LEA to unpopular and sometimes "failing" schools (Jones and Rutter 1998, Power, Whitty and Youdell 1998), since these schools tend to have vacant places. This results in a school which has a higher proportion of refugee pupils, possibly providing more support for newcomers in the short term, but also more likely to have stretched resources. Thus this aspect of admissions procedure effectively discriminates against refugee pupils.

Another aspect to this is that schools appear to be deliberately turning away refugee pupils so as not to lower their places in performance league tables, thus making the schools less attractive in the education market place (Ghouri 1998, Lodge 1998). However, evidence suggests that many refugee students can be very successful eventually, despite lack of advice and support (McDonald 1998).

Staff attitudes and responses

Issues faced by refugee children are given little coverage, either in initial teacher training, or school INSET, and many school staff fear that they lack the skills to respond appropriately to the needs of refugee children.

The key to an appropriate response is that like all children, refugee children are individuals. Whilst it is true that many refugees have experienced multiple and/ or prolonged stressors, the effects are far from predictable (Yule 1998), and some may show few adverse consequences. Others may have had little or no experience of direct persecution.

It is also important for teachers not to assume that refugees and asylum seekers are a homogeneous group, since they are from diverse cultures, with a wide variety of social backgrounds and previous experiences even within a national group (Rutter 1998). It is important to be aware of and deal with issues where there are two groups of children in school from the same country but different factions in a conflict e.g. Turkish and Kurdish (Lodge 1998) or Sinhalese and Tamil children from Sri Lanka.

Some teachers may have stereotypes of refugee children as traumatised and disturbed, requiring disproportionate amounts of teacher time and attention. Teachers may also have low expectations of refugee pupils (McDonald 1998), in common with other pupils from ethnic minority groups. This may be due to lack of competence in English, and result in placement in inappropriate year groups, or

"low ability" groups (Jones and Rutter 1998).

Finally, teachers may not be aware that refugee children may find it difficult to talk about their experiences, because of emotions elicited (Yule 1998), or because of (well founded) mistrust of authority, or fear of disclosure to immigration authorities.

Peer responses

Case studies and pupil feedback suggest that many refugee pupils in schools face hostility, bullying, racism and rejection from peers in school (Jones and Rutter 1998, Richman 1998, LBG 1994). Pupils report feeling isolated from their peers and unable to join in because of lack of English.

Acquiring English as an Additional Language

"Every night I would go home and pray to God I would learn more English. I couldn't speak to anyone and I couldn't understand" (quote from an Ethiopian girl – Lodge 1998). The issues facing refugee pupils are similar to those regarding other pupils with English as an additional language. However refugee pupils enter the British education system at any age, and often with little or no previous experience of English. For pupils entering secondary schools, in particular, their lack of competence in English may lead to frustration at being unable to understand or communicate in class, at low expectations and assumptions of limited achievement, often despite educational success in their home country, and at being compelled to rethink aspirations for higher education and careers in this

light. Many refugee pupils have struggled against the odds, increasing their hours of work to achieve acceptable grades and working for years longer to achieve higher qualifications (McDonald 1998).

Psychological and emotional issues resulting from the experiences of refugee children

All of the above problems faced by refugee families and children contribute to increasing the risk of social disadvantage, mental health problems and underachievement in the educational system on a long term basis. Many refugee children in Britain may be predisposed to psychological distress, and some studies have suggested that up to 40% may have psychiatric disorders, mostly depression, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and other anxiety related difficulties (Hodes 2000). Evidence on this is described below, as well as issues of risk and resilience.

There is, however, debate in the literature about the appropriateness of using diagnostic categories and interventions derived from Western psychiatry and psychology, which has an individualistic rather than sociocentric focus (Bracken 1998), and reduces the collective aspect of political violence to an individual with "symptoms".

Mental health and emotional issues
It is well documented that the experience or fear of violence, killing and torture,

and the family disruption leading to becoming a refugee, increase the risk for psychological distress and disorder (Hodes 2000). The main difficulties reported in the research literature are symptoms related to PTSD. Thabet and Vostanis (1999) found at least mild PTSD reactions in 72.8% of a sample of 239 children who had experienced war in Palestine, and moderate/severe reactions in 41% of them. PTSD symptoms typically include distressing recurring recollections of events, such as intrusive thoughts, flashbacks and disturbed sleep (Yule 1998). Children may avoid stimuli connected with events experienced, for instance running in fear from the sound of aeroplanes and finding it very difficult to talk about their experiences. They may also show signs of increased physiological arousal, alertness to danger and fearfulness.

Issues have been raised about cultural relevance of PTSD questionnaires developed in Western countries, as well as culturally determined expressions of distress and concepts about suffering (Richman 1993). Substantial evidence exists regarding symptoms of PTSD occurring across many cultures in response to extremely stressful events (Hodes 2000), but this says little about the meaning attributed to the symptoms, or whether psychotherapeutic interventions used in the West are appropriate to people from other cultures. Use of labelling indicating abnormal states has also been criticised on the basis that refugees are showing a normal response to an abnormal situation (Hodes 2000). Additionally, refugees may present with problems they would have had even if not refugees.

Studies have also reported anxiety and depression, behaviour difficulties and

attentional difficulties amongst refugee children, as well as premature awareness

of mortality, and separation difficulties (Linley 2000). Hodes (2000) reports

elevated rates of overanxious disorder, depression, conduct disorder, aggressive

and antisocial behaviour, deliberate self harm and eating disorders in adolescent

refugees.

Ajdukovic and Ajdukovic (1993) reported a higher incidence of stress reactions in

Croatian refugee children whose mothers were having difficulty coping and were

distressed. The most common manifestations were eating disorders, sleep

disturbances and nightmares, and physical symptoms e.g. stomach ache, breathing

problems. They also exhibited separation fears (17.2%), situational fears (9.1%),

aggression (9.7%), withdrawal (7.2%), hyperactivity (5.6%) and concentration

difficulties (10%).

Pardekooper (1999) reported significantly higher levels of headaches and other

somatic symptoms, fearfulness and aggression in a group of 193 Sudanese refugee

children in Uganda as compared with local Ugandan children. The children also

reported memories of traumatic experiences, worries about the future and suicidal

thoughts. He suggested that their problems may be attributed both to prior

traumatic experiences, and also to their difficult daily circumstances.

In the case of unaccompanied refugee children, Sourander (1998) found that half

of a sample of 46 unaccompanied refugee minors in Finland had behaviour

difficulties as evaluated by the Child Behavior Checklist. Specific emotional

symptoms noted were related to PTSD, depression and anxiety.

Signs of distress in school often go unrecognised, but include difficulties with attention and memory, irritability and aggression, fears and separation anxiety, preoccupation and repetitive play. Other signs may be eating disorders, physical symptoms such as headaches and stomach aches and bedwetting particularly in younger children (Young Minds 1994). Signs in preschool age children in addition to the above may be restlessness and overactivity, lack of energy, sadness or withdrawal, and clinging or avoidance with adults (Hyder 1998). For some children, stress reactions can continue for many years after the event(s).

Factors increasing risk or vulnerability

Level of exposure to war and violence is only one factor related to mental health of refugee children. Intensity, suddenness and duration of the experience are the most important aspects of this, with children exposed to lower levels of conflict over a long period appearing to adapt and "normalise" the experience (Elbedour, Ten Bensel and Bastien (1993).

Other predictive factors (Hodes 2000, Elbedour et al 1993) are individual vulnerability, mental health problems and poor coping of parents, lack of other social support, and negative peer relationships which predict poor social adjustment and low global self worth (Almqvist and Broberg 1999).

Bolloten and Spafford (1998) identified the following factors from the research

literature as increasing risk

- Loss of close family especially main carer

- Loss of other family members through death and particularly disappearance

- Separation from family

- Bereavement and interrupted mourning

- Violence directed towards the children themselves

- Witnessing killing and/or atrocities

- Fear and uncertainty during flight

- Parents who are depressed and/or anxious themselves, and unable to respond to their children's emotional needs

- Additional stressors in current environment

Evidence suggests that greater harm comes from an accumulation of risk factors (Hodes 2000).

Resilience and factors supporting resilience

The term "resilience" describes some people's ability to cope with and manage adversity, and even thrive under difficult and challenging conditions. Rutter (1985) views the resilient person as having self esteem and confidence, a repertoire of social problem solving approaches and a sense of self-efficacy.

One important dimension contributing to resilience consists of within child factors, including security of attachment, social competence and confidence (Fonaghy and Target 1997), and temperament. Young Minds (1994) cited a positive personality disposition as being linked with the resilience of refugee

children. Melzak (1996) added to these having an active problem solving approach to difficulties, being able to make sense of problems experienced, and being able to mourn and use other natural healing processes. Evidence on the effects of age and gender appears inconclusive (Elbedour et al 1993).

Another important dimension consists of family and home factors. Hodes (2000), Elbedour et al (1993) and Almqvist and Broberg (1999) identified parents as a key protective for refugee children, as well as other family members especially if their mental health is good and they are coping well. Young Minds (1994) reported increased resilience associated with a supportive family milieu and a supportive family community. Social supports beyond the family e.g. the wider community with the same language and culture are also protective and support the resilience of refugee pupils (Bolloten and Spafford 1998).

Schools can also boost resilience by acting as a secure base, improving self esteem, and facilitating relationships with peers and adults, particularly when the educational environment provides structure, normality and positive experiences. Recent studies have highlighted the importance of schools in mitigating the effects of trauma and boosting self esteem of refugee pupils (Elbedour et al 1993). Positive peer relationships predicted emotional well being in refugee children, sometimes more powerfully than stressors which had been experienced (Almqvist and Broberg 1999).

Finally moral, religious and political belief systems that can guide and support, or explain and help integrate experiences, are helpful in supporting resilience.

Richman (1993) reported studies of Palestinian children suggesting that nationalism and "political fight" acted as a buffer against depression and anxiety in a war situation. And Elbedour et al 1993 cite political and ideological commitment as helping recovery from trauma.

For refugee children, the degree of stress exposure and other environmental factors interact with children's own resilience and coping skills in predicting psychological health (Almqvist and Broberg 1999).

ANALYSIS

Meeting the needs of refugee pupils in the education system

School is often a major source of stability and community contact for newly arrived refugee families. For the children it may represent a return to normality. Appropriate support within the education system is therefore a key element in supporting both families and children. Strategies to support refugee children should aim to reduce the effects of risk factors, and to enhance resilience and protective factors, in addition to addressing particular difficulties faced, and meeting particular needs. The following approaches represent good practice for working with most refugee pupils. Many of these ideas are described in greater detail in the booklets "Refugee Education Handbook" (LcaS 1999) and "Helping Refugee Children in Schools" (The Refugee Council 1998).

Admission and induction

Admissions need to be addressed at the level of LEA policy to ensure equal opportunities (Power, Whitty and Youdell 1998). School funding should be sensitive to fluctuating numbers, and access to transport, free school meals and uniforms provided as required. The Educational Welfare Service may be able to address these needs. Parents may need positive proactive help and advice to find school places.

Refugee children are more likely to start school mid term and to move more often from school to school, making it difficult for them to establish peer relationships, and exposing them to isolation and bullying (Young Minds 1994). This makes the induction process particularly important in establishing a reassuring and positive welcome. Induction will consist of welcome of children and parents to the school, providing relevant information and preparation of staff and pupils.

Promoting home-school-community links

Links with other members of same community e.g. living in a locality where there are other members of the same community, culture and religion are important supports for refugee families. Communities are resources of adults who can complement the care of traumatised parents (Melzak 1996). Schools can promote social relationships in the community and help to raise the awareness of the local population about refugees, their reasons for flight, and danger faced in their country of origin.

Schools also need to welcome refugee parents and encourage their involvement in

school life. This is likely to require use of interpreting and translation services.

Some schools have invited parents in to provide expertise on certain topics, an

initiative valued by refugee pupils in school (Melzak and Warner 1992).

Homework clubs are particularly helpful to refugee pupils, some of whom may

live in Bed and Breakfast accommodation (Power, Whitty and Youdell 1998).

Finally, schools can act as centres for local community organisations which

provide support and advice to families, help to access services e.g. healthcare and

legal advice, provision of English language classes and supplementary schools to

maintain refugee culture and language.

School systems

Research evidence cited above suggests that schools are able to provide a secure

and predictable environment which will support the resilience of refugee pupils.

This can be supported by school policy e.g. equal opportunities, antiracist and anti

bullying policies and guidelines for their implementation.

Issues such as valuing cultural diversity, human rights, loss and change, conflict

resolution and bereavement can be addressed through the curriculum, drawing on

the presence and experience of refugee pupils (Jones and Rutter 1998).

Staff awareness and training

Many school staff have had little or no contact with refugees, and may feel that they lack the skills to meet the needs of refugee pupils. Training for all staff is needed to raise awareness of issues affecting refugees (Bolloten and Spafford 1998) and improve confidence and skills in meeting the needs of refugee pupils, including supporting pupil self esteem, and getting feedback from pupil perspectives. This training should include addressing these issues as part of initial teacher training.

Peer support

For many refugee children, current life circumstances including peer relationships and exposure to bullying, are of greater or equal importance in adjustment than previous exposure to violence (Almqvist and Broberg 1999). Thus it is important to raise awareness and empathy in peers, and encourage understanding and sympathetic attitudes, as well as opposing hostility and addressing racist bullying (Jones and Rutter 1998).

Implementation of "buddying", peer mentoring and befriending schemes has been found to be beneficial for refugee pupils (Power, Whitty and Youdell 1998). These could result in pupil accreditation. In class, it is important to provide opportunities for collaboration with peers to develop social skills and friendships.

Issues of culture and language

Refugee pupils will need similar approaches to other pupils with English as an

additional language, however many are disadvantaged by very limited prior

experience of English, even if entering at secondary level. They will need

sufficient language support to fulfil their academic potential using bilingual

teaching materials and strategies in the classroom (Jones and Rutter 1998), and

understanding of initial silence and the process of developing bilingualism.

Use of familiar language, writing and pictures, and encouragement to use pupils'

first language in class is supportive, and links can be made with other pupils with

the same language and culture if possible. If interpretation and translation is

needed, it is important to ensure that interpreters used are culturally as well as

linguistically acceptable.

For refugee children, the school is usually the main introduction to the new culture

and has an important role in supporting development of a bicultural identity

(Richman 1998). Use of multicultural resources, with realistic and positive images

which value diversity, opportunities to contribute in class, and validation of

pupils' linguistic and cultural heritage is also important for maintenance of

cultural identity.

Meeting particular needs of individual refugee pupils

Teachers are often struck by the extent of the resilience shown by refugee children

and the personal, family and community resources which refugees develop. Many

refugee pupils will not have special educational needs resulting from emotional and behavioural or learning difficulties. However for those who may have, schools should follow the usual procedures of their SEN policy and the Code of Practice. It is important for the school to be aware of the social and family situation of the pupil e.g. if they are an unaccompanied minor (Williamson 1998). Staff should also be aware of the higher risk of mental health problems amongst refugee pupils (Yule 1998), observe for signs of distress, and monitor and refer onwards if necessary, e.g. to educational or clinical psychologist, mental health team or refugee advocacy group. Aspects of intervention with particular relevance to refugee pupils are outlined below.

Use of key worker/ adult mentor

Identifying a key worker or adult mentor who is familiar and acceptable to the refugee pupil can encourage communication despite possible reticence and mistrust, can contribute to a safe and reassuring experience in school, a feeling of being recognised and valued and an opportunity to build relationships (Hyder 1998). This may be a member of school staff or external mentor e.g. from a LEA scheme.

Mentoring provides an opportunity for children to share worries, without pressure. Staff will need sensitivity regarding when to talk about or when to avoid topics, to be aware of the child's experiences and look for signs of distress (Yule 1998)

Therapeutic activities in school

Most refugee children will not need specialist help (Richman 1998). Therapeutic activities in school may include opportunities for creative expression through verbal and non verbal activities such as music, dance, drama, art, work on feelings, story telling and autobiographical work. Young children may benefit most from play activities.

Emotional indicators expressed in drawing may correlate with fewer symptoms of PTSD as reported by Magwaza, Killian, Petersen and Pillay (1993) in a study of 148 South African children in areas of violence. This could be as the more traumatised the child, the less they are able to express it through drawings, or that ability to express trauma through drawing is linked with fewer symptoms. However other studies have indicated that structured art therapy does not help reduce symptoms of distress (Yule 2000).

Group and creative activities may provide a good means for dealing with pain and sharing feelings, which is acceptable and supportive for children who are not ready to talk about their suffering. These approaches can be particularly helpful for refugees who are from a less individualistic society than in the West (Richman 1993).

Counselling groups within school facilitated by trained staff can be particularly useful for refugee children (Young Minds 1994). Staff training for this can be provided through a "cascade" model (Linley 2000).

Psychotherapeutic Interventions

Interventions such as Critical Incident Stress Debriefing may not easily be adapted for refugee children with their differing experiences. However where there are natural groupings within communities and schools, small group approaches could be utilised with the aim to share feelings, boost sense of coping and share problem solving. There is little research evidence on effectiveness of such approaches (Yule 1998, Yule 2000).

Other possible approaches for individuals whose problems persist despite other support could utilise Cognitive Behavioural techniques to help make sense of what has happened, and overcome feelings of anxiety and helplessness. Eye movement desensitisation and reprocessing has also been cited in the literature as a possible approach (Linley 2000). Again, there is little evidence on effectiveness of these approaches, and application may be limited by need for language interpretation.

There are contradictory assertions in the literature about the processes of counselling, family therapy and other approaches using a "verbalising and reliving" of experiences. Firstly from the point of view of cultural appropriateness, in cultures with a more "sociocentric" and less individualistic view of life, individual counselling may not only be less acceptable, but may also undermine community concepts which support recovery (Bracken 1998). Secondly, denial may be a useful strategy in the face of severe stress that cannot be evaded (Richman 1993). Many refugees have escaped from terrible circumstances and

want and need to look forward not back (Hodes 2000), and reliving in detail the suffering experienced can be counterproductive, and in some instances sensitise rather than desensitise (Yule 2000). Thirdly, refugee families may also be unwilling to accept referral to a mental health service with its connotations of mental illness, and feel patronised and undermined when told that they are traumatised and need treatment (Richman 1998). Finally, individual therapy ignores the need for justice reparation and addressing issues at a political level.

Community projects which aim to rebuild social structures are often the most effective means of providing support (Richman 1998). These may include self advocacy, practical advice, opportunities to talk in small groups, leisure and educational activities and opportunities to make links with the host community. Counselling services developed by these local refugee organisations, and also by schools are often more acceptable and successful than other forms of psychotherapy.

DISCUSSION

Development of provision for refugee pupils in Buckinghamshire

Setting up the team

The Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Grant (EMTAG) Action Plan has the following key objectives relating to refugee pupils:

- To meet the particular needs of refugee children, through funding devolved to schools, as well as direct ongoing support for education of refugee pupils and coordination of services

- To set up a peripatetic support team for refugee pupils – (currently a 0.4fte teacher as part of METAS). He will provide support on a block basis for a ten week assessment and intervention period after initial entry to school, in liaison with the Learning Support Team and Educational Psychology Service.

- To provide county wide training to raise awareness of needs of refugee pupils

- To produce teaching materials and resource packs in liaison with the Educational Psychology Service for schools to use when refugee pupils first arrive, and information on access to interpreting and translating services

- To monitor attainments of refugee pupils

Other aims of METAS in relation to refugee pupils are:

- To promote multi-agency approaches to supporting refugee families and pupils so that collection of data, assessment and intervention are coherent and co-ordinated. Agencies involved may include Social Services, Health Service, Education Welfare Service, Educational Psychology Service, Learning Support Team, Behaviour Support Team, as well as representation from refugee organisations, Racial Equality Councils, housing associations and the Police.

- To assist in reviewing school policies including equal opportunities, behaviour, anti-racism, multicultural education, bullying, and curricular (including EAL) issues; in the light of the needs of refugee pupils.

- To provide INSET to school staff and other LEA employees on topics such as data collection and monitoring of achievement, promoting home-school-community links and parental involvement (including out of school hours activities), cultural awareness (including anti-racism and addressing teacher attitudes and expectations), and specific needs of refugee pupils and support strategies (including early years intervention training).

- To provide advice and assistance to staff for pupil induction and to support achievement, as well as in class support, preparation of differentiated materials, bilingual support and direct teaching as required.

Possible assets and constraints of the Buckinghamshire initiative

The chief strength of the Buckinghamshire initiative is having a permanent team to respond to the needs of the increasing numbers of refugee pupils in Buckinghamshire, with specific staff time allocated to refugee pupils (in contrast with the 75% of LEAs who did not have this). The team structure enables close links between the four consultants with their specific areas of expertise (as well as general experience in effective support for pupils with EAL), the specialist EP, and the Traveller achievement staff (who can make particular contributions to work with refugee pupils of Roma origin). In addition to shared expertise, the team structure facilitates joint INSET and multi-agency links for addressing the needs of minority ethnic pupils generally as well as refugees, and enables a strategic rather than ad hoc response to refugee pupils. Only 5% of other LEAs had educational psychologist time specifically allocated to work with refugee

pupils, and this allocation is a specific strength of the Buckinghamshire initiative

for the reasons outlined in the following section.

Difficulties and constraints have included problems with appointing suitably

experienced staff to work with refugee pupils. This needs to be addressed through

training as and when suitable courses are available. It would also have been

beneficial for other professionals e.g. Education Welfare Officers to be an integral

part of the team because of their role in promoting home school links, and

facilitating admissions. It has proved difficult to initiate close working with Social

Services Departments, both because of workload, and also funding divisions

between Education and Social Services e.g. regarding interpretation and

translation, and a direct Health Service link has yet to be established. Finally,

clarity regarding the respective roles of staff in relation to refugee pupils is

needed, and this has had to be developed gradually with increasing involvement in

school based work.

The role of the educational psychologist attached to METAS with some

examples

There are a range of areas in which educational psychology has a useful

contribution to make to developing a response to the needs of children of refugees

and asylum seekers, and it would seem reasonable to argue that LEAs should

allocate educational psychologist time to such activities.

Firstly there is a contribution to team building and team problem solving

approaches. Educational psychologists have understanding of group dynamics, conflict resolution and development of high performance teams (cf Tropman 1996) and problem solving approaches such as Synectics. These have proved useful in facilitating a team identity from the previously divided Travellers and Ethnic Minority Achievement Teams, as well as in the process of producing a team brochure.

Experience of systems work in schools e.g. use of Soft Systems Methodology (Checkland and Scholes 1990) is helpful in enabling team work at an organisational level in schools e.g. on policy and its implementation.

Training in research methods, data collection and analysis, can contribute to managing project work in schools and evaluating the effectiveness of strategies to support refugee pupils.

Educational psychologists are in an ideal position to use recent research to inform good practice, and can provide training to the refugee team and to school staff. Current initiatives include INSET on developing a consultation model of service delivery, and assertiveness training to the METAS team, as well as joint INSET to schools with other team members on supporting refugee pupils and anti-racist practice in schools.

Other initiatives benefiting from the contribution of educational psychology have included developing a multi-agency information pack on refugee pupils for

schools, promoting inclusion of refugee pupils, and advice to schools on setting up peer befriending and adult mentoring systems.

Having educational psychologist time allocated to the team enables a rapid response consultation and assessment for individual refugee pupils in school if required, based on culture fair and appropriate assessment techniques, and drawing on experience of psychological assessment and intervention for pupils with EAL and/or emotional difficulties, or issues related to loss and bereavement. The educational psychologist can ensure inclusion of pupil and family perspectives, and promote partnership working between parents, schools and other professionals.

Finally the educational psychologist can facilitate links with the Educational Psychology Service as a whole, enabling METAS to draw on expertise of other psychologists in areas such as loss and trauma, approaches to bullying etc., and also feed back to the LEA on policy level developments e.g. promoting equal opportunities in admissions policies, children's rights etc.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, good practice for refugee pupils has been discussed in the context of meeting particular needs of pupils, resulting from problems experienced in the country of origin, as well as secondary adversity after arrival. The key role of

schools in supporting the resilience of pupils and families has been acknowledged. The set up of a LEA team including staff to support refugee pupils has been described, and a case made for the important role of the educational psychologist in such teams. Finally areas for further development will be indicated, and a rationale for a new approach to meeting the needs of refugee pupils.

A new application of "Circle of Friends?"

"Circle of Friends" was described by Newton, Taylor and Wilson (1996) as an inclusive approach to meeting emotional and behavioural needs. It has been widely used in Buckinghamshire to support inclusive practice and evidence indicates improved social skills, confidence and self esteem for the target child, with reductions in inappropriate behaviour. There may also be positive effects for the pupils involved in the peer support group.

The approach consists of a whole class circle, without target pupil present, in which ground rules are established, and positive aspects and areas of difficulty of the target child elicited. This is placed in the context of the importance of relationships and friendships in our lives by the group leader, encouraging empathy with the target child, and development of possible strategies to support him or her. A small group is then selected from volunteers to continue with weekly meetings, which include the target child, aimed to increase social insight of all pupils concerned and to develop strategies to support the target child.

The Circle of Friends model for relationships in our lives is represented

diagrammatically as four concentric circles, with the outermost consisting of "people paid to look after us", the third being acquaintances, the second close friends, and the innermost, family and intimate friends. This links conceptually with the "relationship web" devised by Baker (1983) with the aim of helping others to understand the experience of being a refugee. Baker comments that for a refugee, the relationship web has been dramatically stripped away, which is a massive threat and challenge to the individual's coping and adaptive strategies. His view is that support for refugees should aim to help rebuild the relationship web in a variety of ways.

According to the Circle of Friends model, most refugee children have come with some of their immediate family, although some are unaccompanied, and other have lost close family members either through death, detention or unavoidable separation, so the central circle although still present is usually reduced. The next circle of wider family, and close friends is almost inevitably missing on arrival. The third circle of social acquaintances is also missing, and the outer circle of people paid to look after the family and children begins to be developed through contacts with agencies such as social services and health professionals, and finally school.

This social dislocation and almost complete stripping away of the two central layers is one of the greatest difficulties that refugee families and children have to face. On this basis, any factors which maintain or "fill in" the circles are likely to increase the family's resilience. I would hypothesize that the Circle of Friends

would be useful in supporting refugee pupils, aiming as it does to populate the close friends and acquaintances circles which have been stripped away from the lives of many refugee pupils.

Areas for development

Further research

There is already a sound research basis for good practice in working with refugee pupils, however more evidence is needed on effectiveness of therapeutic interventions such as Critical Incident Stress Debriefing and Cognitive Behavioural approaches, and possible adaptations for use with refugee pupils and families. Evaluation of educational interventions such as Circle of Friends will also inform future practice.

Roles of LEAs, schools, Educational Psychologists and Refugee Support Teachers

Consideration of these roles in supporting refugee pupils can lead to a better co-ordinated service which effectively addresses many of the issues discussed in this paper. It is helpful for key services to have a named member of staff for refugees and asylum seekers.

LEA role:

- Admissions – address needs of mobile populations e.g. refugees and Travellers in admissions policy, assist parents with uniform, transport and choice of school, direct schools with places to admit refugee pupils

- Inform schools through providing guidance document on meeting the needs of refugee children, publicise how to access support and advice, provide staff training

- Provide resources for interpretation and translation, English for Speakers of other Languages, counselling

- Keep a database of refugee pupils and monitor their educational attainments

- Provide resources e.g. in multicultural resource base for schools to borrow

School role:

- Provide staff training to increase awareness of the effects of being a refugee, understanding of refugee pupils and confidence in meeting their needs

- Address pupil and staff perceptions of refugees

- Implement equal opportunities, anti-bullying and anti-racist policies

- Address refugee issues as part of the curriculum in Geography, History, English, PSHE etc.

- Provide induction and welcome to school for new pupils and their parents, including pupil befriending approaches

- Provide a centre for community groups, after school activities etc.

- Offer sensitive and flexible careers advice

Refugee Support Teacher role:

- Promote home-school-community links

- Provide advice/ support to schools on pupil induction

- Promote parental involvement in schools

- Advice to staff and direct support for pupils with English as an additional language, especially pupils entering Key Stages 3 and 4 with little or no English

Named Educational Psychologist role:

- Input on relevant school policies and their implementation

- Provide staff training in conjunction with other relevant professionals

- Provide consultation and advice to staff on general issues e.g. helping new arrivals to settle in, development of bilingualism, befriending approaches, adult mentoring, loss and grief

- Provide support to staff directly involved with refugee pupils to improve confidence and deal with their own feelings

- Setting up with staff of specific interventions e.g. Circle of Friends

- Assessment of individual pupils as requested, including factors increasing risk and promoting resilience, discussion of strategies and onward referral if needed

- Keeping informed of recent research and known good practice in supporting refugee pupils

- Regular input of EP to multi-agency group co-ordinating services for refugees

- Input to Educational Psychology Service as a whole, including raising the

awareness of colleagues

Final comments

Despite the negative coverage in the media, and hostility of some local communities, with appropriate support, refugees and asylum seekers are of great potential benefit to society and schools. Many refugees have educational and professional qualifications, and high aspirations, and are keen to work and re-build their lives. In schools, the presence of refugee pupils offers a chance to enrich the curriculum and experience of others, to improve existing support systems and resources and to develop good practice which benefits the whole school.

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APPENDIX 1

Results of LEA survey

Data obtained

LEA	Team	EP?	Notes
*Blackpool	SI team	y (0.3)	EALt, ESW etc
Bolton	EAL team	n	ESW
Bracknell	n	n	
Bristol	n	n	
Calderdale	ad hoc	pl/li	EO, SSD, Y+C
Cambridgeshire	n	n	
Cheshire	n	n	
Corporation of L	n	n	v small/contract in
Cumbria	multi-dis	n	Health, SSD, Ed
Darlington	ad hoc	n	
Derby	EM team	n	EO, teachers
Derbyshire	n	n	
Dudley	n	n	
*Durham	EM team	soc inc	Ref tm disbanded
Ealing	n	n	
East Riding	n	n	
East Sussex	EM team	y (little)	Teachers
*Enfield	y	y (0.5)	Fam liaison offs etc
Essex	EAL coord	n	
Gateshead	EM team	pl/li	teachers, SSD
Gloucestershire	EAL team	n	EALts
Hampshire	EOTAS	n	teachers
*Haringey	y	n	7 teachers
Hartlepool	n	n	
Hounslow	n	n	
I of Wight	n	n	
*Kens and Chelsea	y	planned	2 teachers
Kent	y	n	t's, EWOs
*Kingston on T	y	y	Clin psy, equal supp
Lambeth	n	n	
Lancashire	y	crit inc gp	SSD, Y+C, EWS
*Leeds	y	y (0.1)	2 t's, support wker
Lewisham	y	pl/li	EBD teacher, EO
Liverpool	n	n	EALs, EOTAS
Luton	EM team	n	
Merton	y	n	teachers
*Milton Keynes	EM team	partly	
Newcastle on T	Acc/inc tm	n	EM, EWS, LST
*Newham	Late response – not included		

*Norfolk	EAL team	pl/li	
Northumberland	y	n	Adm, EWS
N Tyneside	y	pl/li	EALts, fam supp
N Yorkshire	ad hoc	n	Teachers, ESW, SSD
Nottingham City	n	n	
Nottinghamshire	y	n	blank
Peterborough	n	n	
Plymouth	y	planned	Ref t, EALts, EWS
Poole	EM team	n	
Portsmouth	n	n	
*Reading	Equality tm	n	SSD,
Redbridge	wking pty	y	T's, EMTAT, soc wks
Richmond	y	n	Teachers
Rutland	n	n	
Sefton	n	n	
Sheffield	n	n	
Shropshire	ad hoc	n	Eos, Advisers
*Slough	n	pl/li	Eq servs, EWS, SS,TASS
Solihull	planned	y	LST + others
S Gloucestershire	n	n	
Southampton	y	n	EO, soc cohes tm
Southend	y	pl/li	EALt, LST, Adviser
Staffordshire	n	n	
Stockport	n	n	response as crit inc!
Suffolk	EM team	n	SSD
Surrey	EM team	n	
Sutton	planned	devp gp	ESW, EAL, SEN, EO
Swindon	n	n	EM team, EWS
Tameside	y	n	EMTAT t's
Telford	ad hoc	n	Eos, Advisers
*Torbay	n	n	dispersal area
Tower Hamlets	n	y	EP + interest
Trafford	ad hoc	n	Health, SSD
Walsall	n	n	
Waltham Forest	Late response – not included		
Wandsworth	EM team	n	
Warrington	y	n	SSD
Warwickshire	n	n	
W Sussex	n	n	
Westminster	y	n	ref teacher
Wigan	multi-dis	n	Health, Ed, SSD + others
Wirral	EAL team	pl/li	Teachers, ESW
York	y	n	LS teachers

University College London

Doctoral Programme for Practising
Educational Psychologists
(DEdPsy)

Professional Practice Assignment 3

Submitted in part fulfillment of the requirements for
the Continuing Professional Development Doctorate
in Educational Psychology (DEdPsy)

Name of Course Member: **Suzanne Sivakamy
Iyadurai**

Title of Assignment:

Anti-racist Dialogues in Education.

Core curriculum area to which this assignment topic relates:

Psychological Assessment and Intervention.

Date submitted: **25.1.02**

Signed:

University College London

Continuing Professional Development
Doctorate in Educational Psychology

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE ASSIGNMENTS

Submission for Examination

Name: _Suzanne Sivakamy Iyadurai_

Number and title of Assignment: _3. Anti-racist dialogues in education._

Section of the BPS Core Curriculum for Professional Training in Educational Psychology to which this assignment relates: **Psychological Assessment and Intervention**

Submission Statement

I confirm that:

1. This submitted assignment is my own work; and

2. I have read and acted upon the guidelines for avoiding plagiarism contained in the DEdPsy Handbook

Course Members Signature:...~~Siwduuai~~............. *Date:* 25.1.02

Consent Statement (optional)

I authorise the Department of Psychology to make a copy of this assignment available for public reference at the discretion of the Course Director.

(Please note that copies of examined work may be retained for up to five years for University quality assurance purposes).

Course Members Signature:......~~Siwduuai~~.............. *Date:* 25.1.02

ANTI-RACIST DIALOGUES IN EDUCATION

SUMMARY

Schools have a crucial role to play in combating racism and promoting equal opportunities so as to reduce the disadvantage and discrimination experienced by many people from minority ethnic groups in society. The recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999) give schools specific responsibilities to record, monitor and deal with all racist incidents.

There is ample literature on whole school, curricular approaches and staff training to prevent and reduce racism (e.g. Gillborn 1995, Dadzie 2000, Lane 1999, Commission for Racial Equality 2000), as well as Local Education Authority guidelines on dealing with racism in many areas. However staff may feel ill equipped to deal with specific racist incidents in an effective and appropriate way which will help to reduce recurrence. In particular the procedures for dealing with racist abusers remain untested (Wright 2000).

This paper aims to make explicit links between psychological research and theory regarding the development of racist attitudes, effective practice in related areas such as bullying, and a range of ways of dealing with perpetrators of racist incidents. It is hoped that some of these ideas could be developed by schools into a number of "scripts" for dealing with different types of incident, age groups and

individuals. Such "scripts" could be written down to provide a basis for effective teacher questions and responses during dialogues (i.e. conversations) between teachers and perpetrators, and teachers and victims of racist incidents.

These approaches, although insufficient in isolation, would form a useful part of an overall anti-racist strategy in schools. They could also form a basis for developing scripts to use with other groups such as other members of staff and parents, for dialogues in different settings, and for combating other forms of prejudice and discrimination e.g. relating to sexual orientation or disability.

THE CONTEXT FOR THIS REVIEW

Background

Racism in society and in schools is an important factor which disadvantages many people from minority ethnic groups in terms of employment and education, as well having adverse psychological effects on those who experience it, and destabilising effects on society as a whole.

Schools have an important role to play in increasing mutual understanding and respect, and appreciation of cultural diversity (Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) 2000). Every school, including (or especially) those with few or no pupils from minority ethnic groups, should take action to challenge and prevent racism, and to prepare pupils for life in a multi-cultural society and increasingly global working environment.

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999) recognises the crucial role of

education in combating racism both within schools and the wider society. Three

of the recommendations relate specifically to schools, and add further

responsibilities to the existing legal duty of Local Education Authorities (LEAs)

and schools to demonstrate that they are complying with the Race Relations Act

(1976). The recommendations accepted by the government are:

Recommendation 67: That consideration be given to the amendment of the

national curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in

order to better reflect the needs of a diverse society.

Recommendation 68: That LEAs and school governors have the duty to create and

implement strategies in their school to prevent and address racism. Such strategies

to include:

- That schools record all racist incidents (defined as "any incident which is

  perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person")

- That all recorded incidents are reported to the pupils' parents/guardians,

  school governors and LEAs

- That the numbers and self defined ethnic identity of "excluded" pupils are

  published annually on a school by school basis

Recommendation 69: That OFSTED inspections include examination of the

implementation of such strategies.

Racism and discrimination

The term "racism" encompasses a constellation of negative stereotypes, prejudice

and discrimination (Augoustinos and Walker 1995). Historically, this has been

associated with a fundamental belief in the inherent biological inferiority of races

other than one's own (Katz and Taylor 1988), although recently this has been suggested to have been replaced by "cultural" racism i.e. on the basis of "defective culture" (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 1999). Racism includes all practices and procedures that discriminate against people because of their colour, culture and/or "race" or ethnicity (Lane 1999), whether on an individual, institutional or cultural level. Discrimination implies action or behaviour irrespective of underlying attitudes, however racist views and attitudes (i.e. prejudice) often lead to discriminatory behaviour and practices, that in turn contribute to inequality and social exclusion (Dadzie 2000).

Racist behaviour can take many forms, from direct harassment e.g. racist name calling, physical bullying, to indirect or "institutionalised" racism e.g. discriminatory admissions criteria, allocation to teaching groups. Racist behaviour is often, but not necessarily, directed by the majority ethnic group towards minority ethnic groups in a society, and may result not from ethnic heterogeneity within society per se, but from differences in status and relative power between ethnic groups (Aboud 1988). However prejudice and racism also exists between minority ethnic groups and this may reflect comparative power and economic circumstances (e.g. by people from some minority ethnic groups towards asylum seekers and Gypsy Travellers), or be a response to perceived oppression or being the focus of prejudice and discrimination. Politically, racism can be seen as contributing to perpetuation of existing imbalances of power between ethnic groups within society.

Recent studies have indicated that generally speaking, young people are less racist and have less prejudiced attitudes than adults. For instance in a survey by Roberts and Sachdev (1996), 70% of 12-19 year olds interviewed said they were not prejudiced at all. However 90% of them thought that there was prejudice in society against Asian and Black people. There is also evidence that the level of racist attitudes has decreased over time, for instance from 75% of secondary pupils expressing racist attitudes in a study by Gaine (1987), to around one third in a broadly comparable study by Bath and Farrell (1996).

These findings should not lead to complacency, since there are clearly a sizeable minority of pupils who do hold racist attitudes. Large numbers of pupils from ethnic minority groups (Sinnott 1995, Troyna and Hatcher 1992, Wright 1992, Ross and Ryan 1990) report experiencing racist incidents, sometimes on a daily basis. Research indicates that children from minority ethnic groups are more likely to experience bullying than their white counterparts, and that racist name calling is the most common expression of racism in schools. Although some adults may perceive this as trivial, its impact on children can be profound (Barter 1999). Clearly schools need to develop strategies to deal with these various types of incident as part of an overall approach to combat racism.

It is apparent from work in schools, that many staff, although well intentioned, feel that they lack the skills to adequately challenge racism on a face to face basis (Siraj-Blatchford 1994). This may be due to fear of making matters worse, of demonstrating "political incorrectness", of uncovering their own stereotypes and prejudices, or of conflict with parents.

OBJECTIVES

Much of the current understanding of racism comes from a political or sociological perspective, although it would seem that psychology has a great deal to contribute to the debate, both in terms of understanding, and combating, racism. Psychology as a discipline, has been accused of being ethnocentric, coming predominantly from a white European perspective. Whilst there is evidence for this view (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 1999), I would contend that human similarities in terms of cognitive function and social behaviour, far outweigh differences. Whilst culture has an important role in shaping the details of behaviour, nevertheless there are many universally applicable findings in psychology, including the area of racism, prejudice and changing attitudes and behaviour.

Certainly, in addressing racism as a society, political and sociological insight is essential, however, in addressing racism at the level of individuals and smaller groups, I believe that psychology has an invaluable contribution to make, and that addressing racism at an interpersonal level forms a useful part of larger strategy. For the purposes of this assignment, I have decided to focus specifically on aspects of the dialogue between members of staff and pupils who have perpetrated racist incidents.

Through this I hope to:

- Bring a psychological perspective to effective ways of challenging racism through dialogue with the perpetrator

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- Examine the possible role of age and individual differences in what approach to such dialogue would be effective

- Develop a range of ideas which could form the basis of some "scripts" for challenging racism

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

Attitudes, prejudice and stereotypes

Attitudes

The terms attitude, prejudice and stereotype are sometimes used loosely and interchangeably, and for the sake of clarity it seems important to begin by attempting to define them. McGuire (1985) defined attitudes as "responses that locate 'objects of thought' on 'dimensions of judgement'." Attitudes tend to be relatively stable, enduring orientations towards some aspect of the world, which are influenced by both personality and wider social reference groups. They are generally accepted to have three components:

- Cognitive i.e. knowledge and beliefs about the stimulus object (may be selective in nature)

- Affective i.e. evaluation of, feelings about, the object

- Behavioural i.e. disposition to act or behave towards the object of the attitude in particular ways

These three components may be inconsistent in practice (Augoustinos and Walker 1995).

Attitudes may serve a number of individual functions (Shavitt 1990, Augoustinos and Walker 1995):

1. To aid gaining of rewards and avoidance of punishment, e.g. not smoking in public places, "political correctness" (in some instances). Such attitudes may be relatively labile depending on social context.

2. To express social identity and values, some of these being widely shared. These may also serve to make sense of the social world, locate a person socially and act as a group marker.

3. To maintain self esteem and protect the self by denial of things which are found unacceptable e.g. through hostility such as homophobia and xenophobia. These attitudes may be difficult to change.

Prejudice

Prejudice refers to an attitude whose object is a social group, and it is usually negative in nature. The social group may be defined by ethnicity, gender, social class, sexual orientation etc., and the prejudice is elicited by belonging to the group and not by individual characteristics. For the purposes of this paper I have used the term "prejudice" to refer to negative evaluation of minority ethnic groups, i.e. an "organised predisposition to respond in an unfavourable manner toward people from an ethnic group because of their ethnic affiliation" (Aboud 1988). Although prejudice is sometimes regarded as a characteristic of an

individual, it is a phenomenon generally arising from group processes (Brown 1995).

Although this paper deals with "racism" and "anti-racism", I have also chosen to use the term "ethnic group" in preference to "race" in most instances, since race has increasingly come to be seen as a socially constructed concept containing arbitrary divisions based on physical characteristics. "Ethnic group" attempts to encompass cultural heritage, including a complex of beliefs, languages and traditions, as well as such physical characteristics.

"In-groups and out-groups"

Social behaviour can be located on dimensions of inter-individual and inter-group behaviour. Our social world is generally perceived in categories which are socially constructed and often culture dependent. For each category or group, an individual will belong to some (in-groups) and not others (out-groups). In any given social situation, multiple categorisations are possible. Categorisation of groups used in a given situation varies with a person's habitual disposition, and the relevance or salience of the grouping to the situation.(Brown 1995). In most cases there is a status or power relationship between groups (Augoustinos and Walker 1995).

Social psychological studies of inter-group behaviour, both in experimental investigations and "real life" situations indicate that the structure of the relation between groups in terms of relative status and power generates cognitions, feelings and attitudes which are consonant with that structure (Secord and

Backman 1964). A series of key experimental studies were carried out by Sherif and colleagues (Sherif and Sherif 1953, Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif 1961, Sherif 1966) in boys' summer camps. They found:

- Division into groups, even though on an arbitrary basis, resulted in development of group identity

- Introduction of competition between groups led to inter-group hostility and development of negative stereotypes of the other group

- Introduction of goals requiring co-operation between the groups reduced inter-group hostility

It may have been the case that division into groups per se resulted in "in-group" identity and competitive feelings towards the "out-group" even prior to introduction of actual competition.

A later study (Tajfel, Flament, Billig and Bundy 1971) looked at minimal conditions for discrimination. They found that schoolchildren divided randomly into two groups would discriminate in favour of their own group even if they had no tangible individual gain, and even if it prevented a higher reward going to both groups. The need for group identity and esteem in this instance thus appears more important than the tangible reward. If these experimental findings were relevant to prejudice and discrimination on the basis of ethnic group, conditions are clearly stronger than the minimal level, in that:

- There are physical and/or cultural differences which identify groups

- There may be perceived competition for resources e.g. employment

- There may be a history of hostility between groups, and lack of previous social contact

Social Identity Theory argues that at a social level there is a need for social groups to create and maintain a positively valued social identity, and that this is achieved in comparison to an out-group or groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Thus, people tend to enhance their own social identity by viewing the groups which they belong to positively in contrast to other groups.

There is evidence that people tend to exaggerate within group similarities and between group differences. They also regard "out-groups" as more homogeneous than the "in-group" and have more moderate perceptions of "outliers" i.e. those who differ from the norm within the in-group (Leyens, Yzerbyt and Schadron 1994). Recent evidence suggests that attributions of behaviour may differ depending on group membership. Thus positive behaviour from an outgroup member may be viewed as exceptional or due to the situation, whereas negative behaviour is viewed as dispositional. The converse applies to behaviour of in-group members (Augoustinos and Walker 1995).

In the case of members of low status groups, several strategies may be employed with regard to social identity. Members may leave if this is perceived as possible. They may try to change group status by introducing new comparison dimensions or re-evaluating existing ones (e.g. black consciousness movement). They may look for a new comparison out group, or make intra-group comparisons instead, or they may accept their negative social identity (Augoustinos and Walker 1995). Such in-group devaluation has been found in a number of minority groups. Recent research has also found that for members of minority groups, contrary to the usual out-group homogeneity effect, the in-group may be perceived as more

homogeneous than the out-group (Guinote 2001). This may serve the function of increasing "solidarity" against perceived threat.

Stereotypes

A stereotype can be defined as "shared beliefs about person attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviours, of a group of people" (Leyens, Yzerbyt and Schadron 1994). Stereotypes may be positive or negative, and do not necessarily imply prejudice or hostility, but they are rigid and either excessively or inaccurately generalised. Stereotypes may form part or all of the cognitive component of an attitude i.e. the "belief". In particular negative stereotypes form a part of prejudice.

Stereotyping is a matter of perceiving people in terms of categorial membership, and use of a stereotype assumes that all members of the category e.g. ethnic group, share the attributes embedded in the stereotype, and ignores individual differences.

Stereotypes have been suggested to be held and maintained for both motivational reasons, similar to those which maintain prejudice, and for cognitive reasons. These draw on the ideas of Allport (1954) on the cognitive tendency to simplify by categorisation, and suggest that stereotypes arise directly from categorisation processes (Brown 1995). The process of categorising the social world may protect us from "cognitive overload" and help to organise information, as well as build expectations, which may or may not be appropriate. Some expectations may be

based factually or on direct experience, but others inferred through social processes with little or no direct experience (e.g. from parents, peers, media).

Stereotypes serve to direct attention and guide encoding and retrieval in such a way that more features are noted and recalled which are stereotype consistent than not consistent (Augoustinos and Walker 1995). An extension of the categorisation process is to accentuate the similarities within categories (e.g. that all members of a group exhibit a trait when only some do), and the differences between them i.e. "they are all the same and different from us".

Stereotypes may fulfil a social as well as cognitive function, in that people may employ stereotypes to support and explain their prejudices and racism (Billig 1987). The stereotyper may come to believe that it is the undesirable characteristics of the group which result in their feelings of hostility, thus justifying the social position of the stereotyped group and discriminatory actions of the in-group. Thus stereotypes are both a cause and a consequence of prejudice. Since stereotypes contain expectations of behaviour, they may act as "self fulfilling prophecies" making the expected behaviour more likely to occur, mediated by behaviour of the stereotyper (Augoustinos and Walker 1995).

Politically, stereotypes based on race, ethnicity, gender, religion etc. may serve to maintain discriminatory systems and disadvantage, although there is considerable evidence that change in stereotypes occurs over time in society. Early studies e.g. Katz and Braly (1933) suggested a high degree of consensus about attributes of different ethnic groups given by US students, however later studies suggest that

there has been increasing reluctance over time to attribute stereotypical labels to ethnic groups.

Finally, although most members of a society (including minority group members themselves) are aware of the stereotypes attached to minority groups within that society, they may not subscribe to these stereotypes, may actively inhibit them or may have differing individual stereotypes (Augoustinos and Walker 1995). Although individuals may not subscribe to particular stereotypes, there is a high degree of consensus amongst members of a society (including members of minority ethnic groups) about the content of such stereotypes (Augoustinos and Walker 1995).

Prejudice and discrimination

A "commonsense" view holds that attitudes (i.e. prejudice) would lead to or predict behaviour (i.e. discrimination). However evidence suggests that there is a weak correlation between attitudes and behaviour (Petty and Cacioppo 1981, Augoustinos and Walker 1995), In some cases attitudes and behaviour appear unrelated, and in many, it appears that attitudes follow behaviour.

Attitudes appear to predict behaviours better when the context is specific, when there is greater direct experience of the object of the attitude, when the attitude is stable over time, when reliance on situational cues for behaviour or views of significant others is reduced, and when there is not a strong habitual component to the behaviour (Petty and Cacioppo 1981). Generally attitudes are more likely to

predict behaviour if supported by a congruent in-group norm (Terry, Hogg and McKimmie 2000).

There are several theories concerning the attitude-behaviour link. Cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger 1957) views the holding of psychologically discrepant cognitions as uncomfortable, which motivates the individual to reduce the discrepancy. Thus if behaviour is not consonant with attitude, the attitude may be changed to justify the behaviour. However, if a belief is of key importance to the person, disconfirming evidence may paradoxically strengthen the belief, by causing them to seek (faulty) justification (Petty and Cacioppo 1981).

Self perception theory (Bem 1972) holds that attitudes and behaviour are linked in that we deduce our attitudes by attribution, i.e. we observe our actions, and attribute a corresponding attitude. Finally, the theory of reasoned action (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975) holds that attitudes predict behavioural intentions. Behavioural intentions are the best predictor of actual behaviour, but whether they lead to overt behaviour depends on the norms of the individual and society about appropriateness of the behaviour, whether behaviour is under individual control, and how frequently it has been performed previously. It may be the case that each of these theories has relevance to different circumstances.

Discrimination can be defined as overt actions which treat different ethnic groups differently. Evidence indicates that as with the link between attitude and behaviour in general, holding stereotypes and negative attitudes (i.e. prejudice) towards a group within society does not necessarily imply that the individual will

engage in discriminatory behaviour. Conversely, behaving in a discriminatory

way does not necessarily imply that the individual is prejudiced. However

prejudice generally implies discriminatory behavioural predispositions towards

the group(s) concerned (Leyens, Yzerbyt and Schadron 1994), and higher levels

of prejudice in society will generally result in higher levels of discrimination

overall.

The development of prejudice

Prejudice is a complex social process, so it is naïve to try and reduce it to a

simplistic explanation on the level of individual psychological processes (Milner

1983). Factors at several levels are involved in the development of prejudice

which are discussed in more detail below. Additionally, in order for prejudice

against different ethnic groups to develop, a child needs to be aware of ethnic

differences, and of their own ethnic identity.

Ethnic awareness and self identification

Ethnic awareness refers to the ability to categorise by ethnic group and correctly

assign ethnic labels e.g. above chance score on "point to a person who is a ---".

Awareness of difference per se does not imply negative attitudes and prejudice.

Many children who can identify their own group, nevertheless show preference

for another group. However some schemata have been proposed which explicitly

link development of awareness, self identification and attitude (Goodman 1964,

Katz 1976).

Aboud (1988) performed an extensive review of studies in this area, and drew the following conclusions. By the age of four to five years most US children could point to a Black or White person. Recognition of other ethnic groups, with more subtle physical differences, usually came some years later. With increasing age, children became better at identifying people from different ethnic groups in response to a given label. By seven to eight years old, children had developed perceptions of within group similarity, between group difference, and ethnic constancy. Finally, some older children had a more complex and individual approach to categorisation e.g. by emotional expression etc.

Ethnic self identification is the perceptually and cognitively based knowledge that one is a member of a particular ethnic group, consisting of:

- Being able to describe oneself in terms of relevant ethnic attributes e.g. heritage, language, religion, skin colour

- Knowing one is different in certain ways from members of other ethnic groups

- Having the concept that ethnicity is constant over time, and does not vary with, for instance, changing clothes

Aboud concluded that both white and black children reached almost 100% accuracy in this by the age of six to seven years, and other ethnic groups e.g. Asian, Native American, somewhat later (possibly because visible differences between their own and other groups are less easy to learn to distinguish). Ethnic awareness and constancy developed at a similar age across groups. The generalisation, organisation and constancy required for self identification may be beyond the cognitive capabilities of younger children. Other reviews (e.g. Milner

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1983) have drawn similar conclusions with minor differences in exact ages reported.

Development of ethnic attitudes and prejudice

Aboud (1988) reviewed research on the development of prejudice over a twenty year period in the US, UK and Canada (all White majority societies with generally lower social, political and economic status of minority ethnic groups). She found differences between children and adults in the nature of prejudice. Children did not show all the components of adult prejudice, and the nature of the prejudice in children appeared to reflect age related level of cognitive functioning. In terms of the definition of prejudice given, young children may not be able to reliably categorise by ethnicity, and may lack an "organised predisposition". Their less cohesive behaviour may be shown by less reliable responses, and failure to generalise responses to people from the same ethnic group.

The research indicated that ethnic attitudes were initially acquired between three and five years old. Most four year old white children expressed own group preference and rejection of other groups. Minority ethnic children expressed mixed reactions, with some more negative towards their own group. From four to seven years old, white children became more biased against other groups, and favourable towards their own group, whereas minority ethnic children remained split over their favoured group. The out group attachment of some minority ethnic children was hypothesised to reflect social values rather than self identification (see earlier section on Social Identity Theory).

From seven years old to adolescence, white children in general showed either no change, or a decline in prejudice. Minority ethnic children overall became more positive towards their own group. However Milner's 1983 review indicated that under some circumstances, children will selectively take in information congruent with their early evaluation and thus may become increasingly prejudiced until early adolescence at which stage individual differences become more important in forming evaluations.

There are many issues with the findings from both the awareness and attitude studies. Most of the key studies were conducted in the USA at a time when racial segregation was the norm, and "race" (in terms of "black" and "white"), was likely to be a highly salient marker of social identity. For this reason, their relevance to modern day Britain may be limited, since our identities in terms of race, ethnicity and culture are more complex and pluralistic and less rigidly socially prescribed.

A recent British study (Rutland 1999) found that nationally based prejudice and in-group favouritism were not evident in British school children under 10 years of age. This contrasts with the findings of Boulton and Smith (1993) in naturalistic play settings in Britain. They observed that segregation by ethnic group, as well as expressed in-group preferences, began at around five years of age. However, observed segregation and play preference does not necessarily imply prejudice. In fact Boulton and Smith (1996) reported that ethnicity was seldom mentioned as a reason for liking or disliking peers.

Other issues with such studies pertain to measurement of prejudice in children e.g. "forced choice" as in the classic studies by Clark and Clark 1947, can not distinguish degrees of prejudice or allow "both" or "neither" choices. Ethnic group of experimenter may be another possible confounding factor.

Individual factors in the development of prejudice

Particular personality factors have been linked with prejudice, notably an "authoritarian personality" associated with a "simplistic cognitive style" including intolerance of ambiguity, conventionalism, submission to authority, and projection of aggression, possibly towards minority groups (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford 1950). The methodology of the Adorno studies has been subsequently widely criticised, but the theory has not been wholly overturned. An extension of this approach is Rokeach's theory of dogmatism which relates prejudice to mental rigidity and intolerance (Brown 1995).

Tendency to be prejudiced has also been linked with individual ways of dealing with aggression, with hypotheses related to generalisation and displacement of aggression generated from other sources towards particular groups within society, sometimes referred to as "scapegoating" (e.g. Miller and Bugelski 1948). In some instances this may be a reflection of frustration due to temporary personal and social difficulties (Aboud 1988).

There is little general evidence that gender, socio-economic status or self esteem play a significant role in the development of prejudice (Aboud 1988), although Tajfel (1978) hypothesised that majority group members with low self esteem

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would attempt to enhance their positive identity by stronger identification with their ethnic group. This would predict that individuals who develop other means of establishing positive identity would be less likely to hold racist attitudes. There is evidence however that some adolescents with low self esteem may show more prejudice (Bagley, Mallick and Verma 1979), and Fishbein (1996) reports a correlation between lack of prejudice and greater self acceptance.

In general "personality theories" of prejudice are limited by the ignoring of factors within society and culture which appear to have a much stronger role in general levels of prejudice (Brown 1995). Clearly such ideas are inadequate to explain levels of prejudice in society as a whole, however if prejudice is a function of compliance to the norm, then more conventional (e.g. authoritarian) people who identify strongly with, and conform to the norms of, their social group, are also more likely to be prejudiced (Aboud 1988).

Family factors in the development of prejudice

Adorno et al (1950) viewed prejudice as resulting from punitive child rearing practices, leading to children who avoid expressing their hostility to parents, but displace it onto other groups who are less powerful or different from the parents. This does not explain the reason for particular groups targeted, or the changes in prejudice with age of child, however it does account for the stability of prejudice, maintenance in the face of peer disapproval and tendency to find new targets if the current target is no longer available.

Allport (1954) suggested that children tend to develop attitudes similar to those of their parents. This seems likely since young children have relatively limited sources of information about the world. Much of their early learning both of skills and meanings is from their family, especially parents, complemented later by siblings, teachers and peers. The child's construction of the world may be influenced through explicit teaching coupled with the child's desire for parental reward and approval, and indirect influences such as encouragement of particular experiences and behaviour by parents, identification with parents by children, and social learning/modelling (Bandura and Huston 1961). Clearly parents may share and transmit the attitudes and values of their group, or the larger society, or may differ from these in certain respects.

However, children do not always adopt parents' attitudes. Evidence suggests that attitudes of children of non prejudiced parents bears no direct relation to parents' views, whilst children of prejudiced parents, tend to become more prejudiced from seven years onwards as they assimilate parents' attitudes. Authoritarian parenting alone, without ethnocentric attitudes did not appear to produce prejudiced children, except with some adolescents where the process may have been mediated by low self esteem (see individual factors) (Aboud 1988)

Social factors in the development of prejudice

Whilst theories relating to individual factors may indicate that some people are more likely to be prejudiced than others, they do not explain the reason for the targets of such prejudice. They also, by locating prejudice in the "disturbed" personalities of some individuals, carry dangerous implications for social action

against racism (Milner 1983). It appears likely that ongoing socio-cultural

conditions result in particular prejudices, which affect some people more than

others for individual reasons.

Studies in North America indicate that although ethnic prejudice is still

widespread, there has been a considerable decline over time (Aboud 1988). The

salience (or level of relevance) of any category depends on context (Fiske and

Taylor 1991) and the salience of ethnicity may vary considerably between

different cultures, and over time in a given culture.

The social reflection theory of prejudice views people as adopting attitudes and

stereotypes that correspond to the relative power and status of the groups

concerned. It views children as learning to evaluate groups in similar ways to their

parents through the mechanisms discussed under "family factors". This theory

explains why some ethnic groups are derogated more than others in society, and

the persistence and wide spread nature of prejudice. It would however predict

increasing prejudice with increasing age, and does not explain the findings that

four year olds often have strong prejudices, which decline over time (Aboud

1988).

Prejudice and social cognitive development

Social cognitive developmental theories of prejudice e.g. Katz (1976), predict

qualitatively different types of prejudice at different ages as a result of cognitive

change and development. According to these theories, level of cognitive

development may determine the structure of attitudes, and environmental input may determine the content.

Aboud (1988) proposed stages of development of prejudice which link to an extent with the move from pre-operational to concrete operational thinking proposed by Piaget, and are analogous to some theories of sex role development. Aboud suggested that these stages underpin the qualitative differences observed in prejudice between under sevens and older children. The stages are as follows:

1. Self-focused affective stage. Attitudes are dominated by affective states e.g. fear and happiness. Initial "prejudice" may be an issue of generalising attachment for parents to people who appear similar, and experiencing fear with those who are different or less well known. The apparent preference of some young black children for white groups, may be due to generalisation from parents to other authority figures e.g. white teachers, and also relate to the higher need for approval of young children, resulting in identification with "valued" groups.

2. Group-focused perceptual stage. Attitudes are dominated by perceptions e.g. similarity within and dissimilarity between groups. This may develop from overt physical cues to more subtle ones, and move towards more complex notions of groups, and understanding that people who look different may be similar in other respects.

3. Individual-focused cognitive stage. Attitudes are based on cognitive understanding of the basis of ethnicity, and increasing appreciation of differences within groups and similarities between groups.

Development of prejudice

There is broad agreement between many studies (Aboud 1988, Milner 1983) that children become able to categorise by ethnic group by the age of four to five years when clear physical differences between groups (e.g. colour) are apparent. They are able to identify their own ethnic group and understand that ethnicity remains constant by seven to eight years old. From then to adolescence, children's understanding of ethnicity becomes more subtle and less physically based, and older children are increasingly attuned to recognising within group differences and between group similarities i.e. individual factors.

Development of ethnic attitudes starts from around three years old with white children generally showing own group preference and children from minority ethnic groups showing mixed preference. From seven years to adolescence, white children retain own group preference to varying degrees according to social context (e.g. wider society, parents' attitudes and ethnic mix in school), whereas children from minority groups become more positive towards their own group on average.

Theories of development of prejudice on the levels of society, family, individual and social-cognitive development do not appear to be in agreement in terms of predictions made, and there is contrary evidence for all the main theories (Aboud 1988). Neither social nor family based theories of prejudice explain the qualitative age related changes which appear to occur. Young children in societies with little stratification still show "prejudice" contrary to the predictions of social theories of prejudice. Older children's attitudes are not always similar to their parents', and

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there is little evidence that authoritarian child rearing practices in the absence of parental prejudice, lead to prejudice in children, contrary to family theories of prejudice.

The shifts in ethnic attitude occurring at around seven years old suggest that factors relating to social cognitive development may be playing a part (Aboud 1988). However an interpretation based on stage of cognitive development as well as being overly simplistic, does not explain the variability of the findings, in particular, the direction of preference in under sevens. It seems likely that factors relating to age and level of development, individual and family factors and effects of society and school interact to produce different degrees and forms of prejudice in different individuals.

Although intervention to prevent and reduce prejudice could usefully start with pre-school age children, some of the evidence suggests that the level of cognitive development of children from seven to eight years onwards would make this group more responsive to cognitively based interventions. In this age range without intervention the attitudes of children with prejudiced parents may otherwise become increasingly similar to those of their parents (Milner 1983).

POINTERS FOR INTERVENTION DERIVED FROM

ANALYSIS OF THE LITERATURE

Changing attitudes and behaviour

Interventions could aim to change any of the three components related to attitude.

They could target beliefs and stereotypes (see p.18), the affective component of

attitude i.e. developing more positive evaluations of the object of the attitude, or

behavioural dispositions. However, since evidence suggests a fairly weak link

between attitudes and behaviour, and also that attitude change may follow

behaviour change rather than vice versa, it would appear that changing behaviour

is a good starting point for reducing racist incidents and changing racist attitudes.

Recent campaigns against drink-driving and smoking in public places, appear to

have met with success on this basis, i.e. change the behaviour first, then back up

with information to support attitude change. Such changes are consistent with the

theory of cognitive dissonance, i.e. that people will change an attitude to justify

behaviour thus reducing dissonance, and self perception theory, i.e. that people

deduce their attitudes by attribution to their actions.

In attempting to change behaviour, it is important to understand the reason for the

behaviour. For example in the case of racist name calling, motives such as

"winding someone up" or hurting someone (Troyna and Hatcher 1992), "joking"

with a friend, or as a result of peer pressure may mean that although unacceptable,

the behaviour does not imply underlying racist attitudes. Secondly even if racist

attitudes are present, they may serve different functions for the individual e.g.

utilitarian, expressing social identity, maintaining self esteem (Shavitt 1990).

Attitudes related to maintaining self esteem may be particularly difficult to change (Augoustinos and Walker 1995) as the person may adopt defensive strategies, and habitual behaviours are also resistant to change.

Petty and Cacioppo (1981) have reviewed numerous studies of attitude change. They report that in defined circumstances, attitudes predict behavioural intentions and actual behaviour moderately well. This suggests that despite the known difficulties of directly changing attitude, and the relative impermeability to argument of prejudiced people (Milner 1983), strategies to promote attitude change may be helpful in some circumstances. Some key ways of promoting attitude change are detailed below, with comments following:

- The presenter of the message should be someone who is liked and respected (e.g. an "expert"). Teachers frequently fulfil both conditions.

- The message should address the primary belief supporting the attitude.

- The message should be listened to, comprehended and rehearsed. A clear simple argument, presented in a low distraction environment, and with follow up after a time lapse, may prove effective.

- Use of several arguments to support the message may help.

- Presenting both sides of an argument, but refuting one side may promote longer lasting attitude change.

- Providing an incentive or social reward e.g. approval, makes changes more likely.

- Active participation e.g. through preparing an argument for discussion, role play (especially if improvised and based on sufficient information) is more effective than passive listening in changing attitudes.

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- Several presenters giving the same message, and many people who agree with the position in the social context (conformity effect) promotes change.

- Actions are more effective than words. Teachers should act as role models, both in their expressed attitudes and behaviours.

Issues of racism and prejudice are complex. It should not be assumed that pupils perpetrating racist behaviour necessarily do so as a result of prejudice, or that pupils who do not perpetrate racist behaviour are not prejudiced. However, a broad correlation between the attitudes and behaviour is apparent, both at the level of society and the individual, and attempts to reduce either prejudice or overt racist behaviour are likely to have a positive effect.

"Deconstructing" stereotypes

Stereotypes are difficult to change, being relatively rigid, inflexible and impermeable to new information. People may protect their stereotypes by selectively perceiving information which confirms their beliefs, and filtering out information which threatens them (Milner 1983). They may help to perpetuate their stereotype through the effects of "self fulfilling prophecy" (Snyder, Tanke and Berscheid 1977). They may also see individual group members who do not conform to the stereotype as "exceptions to the rule" (without changing the rule!), referred to as "subtyping" (Weber and Crocker 1983). As a result of this, social contact with the group viewed stereotypically may not necessarily change the stereotype since "subtyping" may occur, or selective perception of information so as to confirm stereotypes. This may have led to failures of "contact" approaches to prejudice e.g. early approaches to "race awareness" training, as well as some

approaches based on "cultural diversity", which may in effect reinforce negative stereotypes.

Although stereotypes are pervasive through society and pernicious in their effects, the scope for changing stereotypes on an individual basis and a short time scale may be limited. Attempts to give contrary evidence, challenge assumptions and deconstruct stereotypes through dialogue with individual pupils, may lead to fruitless debate. It is seldom possible to "prove or disprove" generalised attributes given, and in any event, people's thinking in this area is frequently heuristic rather than based on logic or statistics (Hinton 2000).

There is however evidence that stereotypes of minority ethnic groups held by the majority ethnic group change over time, in a way which mirrors changes in society as a whole (Gilbert 1951, Karlins, Coffman and Walters 1969). Public campaigns have also been shown to lead to less overt expression of stereotypes (Brown 1965). Evidence suggests that:

- Accumulation of contradictory evidence over a period may result in adjustment of stereotypes

- At a social level, widely held stereotypes about particular groups change over time, and both ethnic and gender stereotypes in the UK have shown declines over the past 30 years (Brown 1995).

Reducing bias between groups

Allport's Contact Theory predicts that contact and interaction with members of other ethnic groups is likely to lower levels of prejudice. Evidence suggests that

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this depends on the nature of the contact, as well as relative proportions of individuals from the groups concerned (less prejudice is apparent in USA schools with a 50:50 white/black mix, than those with 90% white pupils, Aboud 1988). Key features of contact likely to reduce group bias and prejudice are equality of status of groups (Fishbein 1996), more intimate and voluntary contact e.g. as friends (Hamberger and Hewstone 1997), contact with common goals, and contact with social and institutional support (Brown 1995).

Since group membership and identification appears to be a universal human need, general strategies to reduce the bias between groups in school may be helpful in reducing hostility even with younger children for whom cognitive based interventions may be less likely to be successful.

Several group strategies may be useful:

1. Encourage cooperation and contact between groups in situations where groups can develop a common superordinate category and form a single group (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman and Rust 1993).

2. Cross categorisation and promoting situations which reduce the salience of ethnic group as a category definition, ensuring that groups working towards a common goal have identities defined in other ways than ethnic group. Evidence suggests that when groupings are formed which cut across existing categories e.g. gender, ethnic group, in group favouritism and out group discrimination can be reduced or abolished (Deschamps and Doise 1978).

3. Ensure that groups are of equal status, if necessary take action to elevate the status of the minority group (Boulton and Smith 1993).

4. Changing in group /out group perceptions by emphasising within group differences and between group similarities has been shown to be effective in reducing prejudice with eleven to twelve year olds (Katz and Zalk 1978).

5. Ensure that the need for positive social identity can be met in other ways than negative feelings towards a perceived out-group based on ethnicity, e.g. individual, family, class, house or team achievements

6. Support individuals in altering "self categorisation" on a dimension to superordinate (e.g. part of humanity), or subordinate (e.g. individual/personal) rather than group level.

Links with development of prosocial behaviour, empathy and moral reasoning

Any intervention to reduce racist behaviour through dialogue with pupils must be pitched at a level appropriate to pupils' social and moral development in order to be effective. There is evidence that even young children from five years on can differentiate between a moral reason for exercise of authority and social conventional reasons, however links between level of moral reasoning and moral behaviour may be weak, sometimes children at an immature level of reasoning behave "better".

Kohlberg (1976) developed a theory of development of moral reasoning with six stages, approximately in parallel with Piaget's stages from amoral to heteronomous morality to autonomous morality.

Preconventional level (moral judgement reasoned in relation to the self)

1. Based on avoidance of punishment, power of authority,

2. Based on concept of rules and fairness when in own or someone else's immediate interest

Conventional level (conforming to and upholding rules expectations and conventions of society)

3. Based on importance of "being good", having good motives, living up to expectations, able to understand others viewpoints

4. Fulfilling social duties and upholding laws – societal viewpoint

Postconventional level (personally evaluated principles and individual judgement)

5. Based on relativity of values and opinions – laws and duties based on the greatest good for the greatest number, recognition that there is sometimes conflict between moral and legal viewpoints

6. Based on universal ethical principles – justice, equality of human rights, respect for human dignity – laws are valid in as much as they rest on such principles

Studies support these stages in that individuals progress through the stages in sequence, although the rate may differ. Later studies have suggested that not all individuals reach the final two stages and they may not do so until adulthood. Whilst the first four stages appear to be applicable across cultures, there is also evidence that the nature of the final two stages may more relevant to industrialised and urbanised cultures.

Related areas are the development of empathy and prosocial behaviour. Studies suggest that children's conceptions of "fairness" develops through middle childhood towards acceptance of considerations of social equality in late

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childhood /early teens (Durkin 1995). Conformity to prosocial peer pressure is greatest at eleven to twelve years, and conformity to antisocial pressure at fourteen to fifteen years. However acceptance of "being different" and "not following others" also increased from fifteen years upwards.

Empathy appears likely to motivate at least some prosocial behaviour. Even babies show some empathic responses to others' distress. As children reach three to four years old, they begin to be able to understand others' feelings and needs may be different from their own, and to label emotions and empathise when told about others' distress. By late childhood empathy becomes more sophisticated and socially embedded, sometimes leading to following moral or political ideologies in adolescence (Hoffman 1987).

The above frameworks may prove useful in promotion of moral reasoning through discourse, in that progression to the next level of reasoning can be facilitated. In particular cognitive explanations of moral reasons and consequences (by parents) enhances the development of moral maturity (Smith, Cowie and Blades 1998), and dialogue with parents and positive reinforcement of socially sanctioned acts, is important in developing prosocial behaviour. In school, whole school values are more effective in promoting moral reasoning and behaviour than a weekly lesson on social and moral issues (Smith, Cowie and Blades 1998). There is also some evidence that peer debate improves levels of moral reasoning.

Links with bullying approaches

There are clear links between bullying and some types of racist incident, and racist bullying could be viewed as a subset of general bullying. However there are also differences in that racist bullying is usually based on ethnic group and often on negative stereotypes, rather than being individual in nature. This may mean that some of the approaches to bullying e.g. Shared Concern and No Blame approaches, which involve direct interaction between perpetrator and victim could be hard to manage sensitively if the perpetrator continued to hold negative stereotypes and prejudiced attitudes.

However, some ideas have been drawn from such approaches (described in Sharp and Smith 1994) in developing scripts for dealing with perpetrators (see discussion).

DISCUSSION: ANTIRACIST DIALOGUES IN EDUCATION

Education and schools are of crucial importance in promoting equal opportunities and combating racism. Intervention to reduce racism and prejudice needs to be wide ranging, and there are already many initiatives in this area. Approaches should include a range of general anti-racist measures such as policies, guidelines, systems for reporting, recording and monitoring of incidents, and attention to the curriculum and ethos of the school.

Highlighted below are some approaches and areas to address derived from psychological research covered in the literature review and analysis. The aim was to cover particular areas which have received less attention in the existing educational literature, such as specific ideas for dealing with perpetrators of racist incidents. No attempt has been made to produce a comprehensive set of strategies for dealing with racism in schools. Such strategies are given excellent and detailed coverage in existing texts such as "Racism and Antiracism in Real Schools" (Gillborn 1995), "Learning for All: Standards for Racial Equality in Schools" (CRE 2000) and "Toolkit for Tackling Racism in Schools" (Dadzie 2000).

General approaches

The curriculum

The curriculum can be used to address racist attitudes both directly and indirectly. Examples of people from a variety of cultures in key areas such as sciences, mathematics, literature and the arts should be given, and in areas such as Geography and RE, equal evaluations should be given to different beliefs and cultures. Coverage of specific areas such as history of human migration, colonialism and imperialism can be used to challenge some majority group beliefs which may contribute to prejudice. Examples would be notions of a "White British race" (since all inhabitants migrated here over time), or reasons why people from other countries and cultures, including refugees, have come to Britain, and the valuable contributions they have made.

A second important consideration regarding the curriculum is to avoid reinforcing stereotypes. For instance highlighting achievements of African Caribbean people only in fields which pertain to their ethnic stereotype such as sport and music. Whilst many schools also wish to promote "valuing cultural diversity", presentation of exotic images may effectively feed into and reinforce ethnic stereotypes.

Since racist attitudes are often founded on a belief in the cultural inferiority of minority ethnic groups (Owusu-Bempah and Howitt 1999), direct challenges to these beliefs can help promote attitude change (Petty and Cacioppo 1981). PSHE can be used to explore moral issues such as human rights, justice, racism and bullying, facilitated by the teacher, and the language with which to challenge prejudice modelled by the teacher in a supportive environment. However evidence suggests that whole school values are more important in promoting moral behaviour than specific lessons (Smith, Cowie and Blades 1998).

Teaching methods

An important area for consideration is use of pupil grouping. Evidence indicates that promoting co-operation between groups of equal status towards superordinate goals reduces conflict (Gaertner et al 1993). When there may be competition between groups, cross categorisation i.e. ensuring that ethnic identity does not form a group marker, and multiple grouping is important. Groups should cut across salient categories such as ethnicity and gender (Deschamps and Doise 1978).

Opportunities for all pupils to develop positive social identity in a variety of ways

is important, so that they are less dependent on identity through ethnic group.

Finally schools should consider ways of dealing with pupil anger, both through

non confrontational styles adopted by teachers, so that less pupil anger is

generated, and by providing legitimate channels for expression of anger, e.g.

complaints system, mediation schemes, school council. This should reduce

possible displacement of anger onto minority ethnic groups (Adorno et al 1950).

Pupil groupwork

Some specific ideas from the research on in-groups and out-groups (Tajfel and

Turner 1979 and others) could be developed to form themes for pupil group work.

This could take the form of activities such as Circle Time, or other pupil groups

set up to discuss and explore issues and facilitated by the teacher. The aim would

be to develop in pupils a metacognitive level of understanding and insight into

social processes as part of a general approach to promote prosocial behaviour.

Issues explored could include individual "profiles", similarities and differences,

likes and dislikes, beliefs and feelings. This could form a basis for emphasising

within group differences and between group similarities across groups (Katz and

Zalk 1978). Older pupils could work on our social identities and the varieties of

groups we identify with, developing ideas of cross category groups and

superordinate (we're all human beings) and subordinate (we're all individuals)

levels of self categorisation.

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Active involvement e.g. role play and preparing arguments for discussion, which could take place during group work in certain lessons, has been demonstrated to be more effective in changing attitude than passive listening (Petty and Cacioppo 1981). These could also nurture pupils' developing sense of "fairness" and justice.

Pupil involvement

Schools have commonly set up staff working groups to promote discussion and develop strategies on various issues including equal opportunities and antiracist initiatives. Since antiracism and dealing with racist incidents directly involves pupils, it would appear that there is a useful role for pupil working groups on the issue (Gillborn 1995).

Other initiatives involving pupils could build on the normal prosocial tendencies of young people, and provide training in peer mediation, befriending schemes, conflict resolution, peer counseling etc. for application in the area of racism and racist incidents as well as the other areas in which these are more commonly applied.

Dealing with racist incidents

Reports of racist incidents should always be taken seriously. Turning a "blind eye" even to "low key" incidents effectively condones racist behaviour (Goleman1996). Reports need to be referred to a named member of staff, and recorded. Parents of perpetrator and victim should be informed and involved, and racism in the class concerned addressed through curricular activities. Both

perpetrator and victim need to have a fair hearing, and to understand the reasons for actions taken by the school. If this does not happen, resentment may result.

Supporting victims

If the incident has a victim(s), support should be offered. This could consist of listening, reassurance that concerns are being taken seriously, counselling approaches, and looking at ways of prevention and dealing with possible future incidents. It is important for the school to create a climate in which victims of racist incidents feel able to report them, and to know that such reports will be followed up. Staff dealing with incidents should be sensitive to the issue of possible retaliation on the part of the victim which may have occurred as a response to prolonged harassment or a series of apparently minor incidents.

All reported racist incidents should be acted on. Depending on the nature of the incident, it may or may not be appropriate to bring the victim and perpetrator together after individual discussion, as in some bullying approaches. This should be given careful consideration since racist incidents are directed to a perceived representative of an ethnic group rather than an individual, and racist attitudes can be intransigent, thereby causing further pain and offence.

Guidelines for discussion with a victim:

- Ensure privacy and a familiar member of staff for discussion
- Listen to the victim and reassure them that the issue is being taken seriously by the school and will be dealt with promptly.

- Make it clear that the perpetrator's behaviour is viewed by the school as racist, that this is unacceptable and the school does not tolerate it

- Avoid excessive questioning about the actual incident and allow silences

- Talk to the victim about his/her feelings regarding the incident

- If appropriate, help to empower the pupil by discussing possible strategies for avoiding future incidents or dealing with them, whilst making it clear that any further incidents should be reported, and in no way is the victim responsible

- Steer victim away from personal revenge or involving others

- Outline what is being done to address the incident

- Follow up with the victim after an agreed time period e.g. one or two weeks and inform him/her of actions taken

- If the victim is very distressed by the incident, further counselling may be indicated. Some victims may need long term support to support their resilience and regain confidence.

Dealing with perpetrators

This area has been focused on for the purpose of the assignment since there is little guidance on dealing with perpetrators of racist incidents in the existing literature. Some clear messages come from the psychological research on behaviour and attitude change, development of prejudice, moral reasoning and related areas, for effective ways of dealing with perpetrators of racist incidents. A range of these are outlined below, focused on dealing with a specific incident which has a victim, and a sample "script" given. Schools could usefully develop guidelines or a number of scripts from a set of principles, to be used for dealing

with a variety of types of incident. Scripts need to be adaptable to circumstances and include racism directed from members of one minority group to another as well as majority group to minority group.

General approaches

1. Attend to school ethos. Children's prejudice shows increase or decrease over time depending not only on parents' views but also those of school and peers (Aboud 1988). Messages promoting equality and opposing racism need to be reinforced in all aspects of school life. Teachers should act as good role models in challenging racism, and be consistent in the messages they give pupils.

2. Explore the nature of the incident with both victim and perpetrator, including possible reasons and attitude of perpetrator. This should be sufficient to promote reflection and give indicators on how to challenge. Age and developmental level of the perpetrator is relevant, since evidence on development of ethnic attitudes (Aboud 1988) suggests that attempts to change attitude may be unsuccessful with children of less than seven or eight years old, at which age "prejudice" is based more on feelings alone.

3. Aim to change behaviour first and foremost. Evidence suggests that racist behaviour does not always follow from a racist attitude, and that changing behaviour may in any case result in attitude change (Augoustinos and Walker 1995). Behaviour change can be promoted through clear rules, application of sanctions, and importantly, rewarding appropriate behaviour. This includes following up on incidents to ensure behaviour change has occurred.

4. If there is evidence of racist attitudes, and the child is old enough to understand, support behaviour change with messages to promote attitude change consonant with the behaviour change, and pitched at an appropriate level for age and development of the child.

5. Evidence suggests that messages to promote attitude change are more effective in the following circumstances (adapted from Petty and Cacioppo 1981). The message is clear, delivered in a low distraction setting, the presenter is liked and respected, more than one argument is used to support message, the primary belief supporting the attitude is addressed, argument on both sides is presented, but one side refuted, incentive for attitude change is given, and the message is used actively by pupil e.g. in discussion or role play.

6. Follow up should take place in order to monitor effectiveness, reinforce the message and reward behaviour change e.g. with social approval.

Practical strategies and sample "script"

If there is more than one perpetrator, it may be most effective to talk to each in turn starting with the "ringleader" as for bullying incidents (Sharp and Smith 1994). The class teacher is probably best placed to conduct the initial interviews with perpetrators because he/she is familiar. Discussion should take place in private (not in front of peers), seated and undisturbed so that full attention is given. The best approach to encourage the pupil to talk and to listen is calm and non confrontational. The teacher should avoid anger, sarcasm or humiliation of the pupil, and label the behaviour, not the pupil (Sharp and Smith 1994).

Questions should be asked one at a time with enough time to think and reply.

Allow silences and avoid "interrogating" or accusing. An initial question could be

along the lines of:

"I hear you have --- tell me about it"

If the pupil denies it, a follow up can be used such as:

"Yes but --- has happened, tell me about it"

Further exploration could include:

"What made you/why did you say/do that?"

If a racist incident appears to have taken place, even if minor, the teacher could

then label the behaviour as racist, and state this is unacceptable, and the school

does not tolerate such behaviour. Racist intent can sometimes be clarified by

attempting to "unpack" loaded words and subtle messages, or by turning a

comment round as though intended for a White pupil.

The perpetrator will also need to be dealt with in terms of disciplining, and taking

action to make behaviour less likely to recur. Sanctions should be implemented

depending on severity of the incident (clear and consistent, following school

policy). These may range from reprimand to police involvement. The pupil should

be informed that the incident will be followed up with them and the victim e.g.

after a week.

The content of antiracist messages given will vary according to the type of

incident, reason for the behaviour, age and development of child. Dialogue with

the perpetrator should aim to make the behaviour less likely to happen in future

and begin to change the attitudes of the perpetrator. Because of this, it is important to understand the reasons as well as the facts behind a racist incident, so that responses can be as effective as possible. Some ideas for messages are:

- Refer to the school policy, rules and sanctions.

- Refer to how the victim feels, promote empathy even with a young child, e.g. "how would you feel if --- ?", "has anyone done --- to you?, how did you feel?"

- Refer to human universals, that although we may differ in a number of respects, we all have social and emotional needs and feelings in common.

- Refer to the need to respect and value others equally, and treat them as individuals

- Promote acceptance that although one's perspective may differ from someone else's, both can be equally valid

- Appeal to the child's developing sense of morality, justice and "fairness", aiming to move their thinking towards the next stage of moral reasoning

- With older pupils and those at higher stages of moral reasoning, refer to social justice and negative effects of racism on society

- With terms of abuse and racist usage, emphasise that the usage is offensive and unacceptable, rather than "that's a horrible thing to say" (which may inadvertently reinforce racism and usage).

- Promote the positive aspects of cultural diversity

- If pupil puts forward arguments which are easily refuted, do so, but avoid entering into debate

CONCLUSION

Since racism is a product of society, the view has been expressed that it is inappropriate and ineffective to address it as an issue of individual prejudice (Gillborn 1995). Many recommendations and strategies have already been put forward on ways of addressing racism in society and in schools (Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report 1999, Commission for Racial Equality 2000, Dadzie 2000 etc.). Prejudice, as a social pathology, needs addressing at a societal and structural level, and it can be argued that looking at individual attitude change deflects attention from political issues

(Augoustinos and Walker 1995).

Whilst accepting the necessity for change to be implemented at the level of society and school systems, I would contend that, since society is composed of individuals, change needs to come from the "bottom up" as well as the "top down". School staff are faced with dealing with individual racist incidents on a day to day basis, so we also need to examine possible ways of dealing with these. Although there is a considerable body of psychological research on both racism and prejudice, there is a dearth of literature on strategies to address ethnic prejudice on an individual level, as when dealing with the perpetrator of a racist incident. In this paper I have attempted to draw together some of the evidence in order to suggest strategies for dealing with individual racist incidents based on psychological research.

Most of the studies relevant to this area were carried out in the USA, and frequently many years or even decades ago. Since racism and prejudice are so clearly culture dependent, in order to further develop effective strategies relevant to modern Britain, far more research evidence is needed on the nature of racism and prejudice, and the development of ethnic prejudice in children in this context.

Gillborn (1995) stressed the importance of development and ownership of anti-racist approaches by schools themselves. In this context it would appear useful for schools to have staff and pupil working groups on racism. This would enable exploration of personal attitudes in a "safe environment" first, and subsequent contribution to whole school approaches, including development, trialling and improvement of scripts for dealing with racist incidents.

Other relevant initiatives could include:

- Development of strategies and scripts for challenging and dealing with racist incidents perpetrated by staff and parents

- Developing staff training packages

- Looking at children's understanding of school policy and developing effective child friendly policy documents

- Developing wider strategies for use by other professional groups

- Involvement of pupils, parents and the local community

- Developing approaches to support victims of racist incidents

- Extension of approaches to address other forms of bullying based on prejudice e.g. homophobic bullying

It is hoped that this paper could form a useful starting point for some of the initiatives described above.

Implications for the practice of educational psychologists

The psychological literature has a considerable body of evidence regarding prejudice and racism, and the development of racist attitudes in children. However there are few explicit links made between this literature and anti-racist strategies recommended for use in schools. Educational psychologists could play an important role in developing strategies based on research evidence, and in evaluating the effectiveness of a variety of approaches to dealing with racism.

Many local educational authorities are currently engaged in actioning responses to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, and educational psychologists can usefully contribute to this at both a strategic and practical level. However there are also implications for educational psychology services in terms of examining their own policies, guidelines and practice in the areas of equal opportunities, racial equality, challenging racism and dealing with racist incidents. In this context it would be helpful for a member of the team, or small group, to raise awareness of the whole service, and to ensure that relevant issues are addressed.

As educational psychologists we are in a strong position to:

- conduct action research in order to better understand the processes of racism in local schools
- make connections between research and practice in dealing with racism

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- support the LEA in developing guidance and training for schools on anti-racist approaches

- evaluate the effectiveness of anti-racist approaches in schools

- explore and address issues of racism and prejudice effectively in our consultation work in schools

- support schools in developing procedures and scripts for dealing with racist incidents, including the sensitive and difficult issues which may arise during dialogues between teachers and perpetrators of incidents, and teachers and victims of incidents

It is hoped that through these methods, educational psychologists will be able to make a valuable contribution to tackling racism and prejudice in schools and thereby reducing racism throughout society. This in turn will improve the experiences and prospects of people from minority ethnic groups, as well as promoting a more harmonious society.

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UCL

University College London

Doctoral Programme for Practising
Educational Psychologists
(DEdPsy)

Professional Practice Assignment 4

Submitted in part fulfillment of the requirements for
the Continuing Professional Development Doctorate
in Educational Psychology (DEdPsy)

Name of Course Member: **Suzanne Sivakamy
Iyadurai**

Title of Assignment:

**Reconstructing an educational psychologist: building on strengths
and developing new directions.**

Core curriculum area to which this assignment topic relates:

Interpersonal Effectiveness

Date submitted: **25.10.02**

Signed:

University College London

Continuing Professional Development
Doctorate in Educational Psychology

PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE ASSIGNMENTS

Submission for Examination

Name: Suzanne Sivakamy Iyadurai

Number and title of Assignment: 4. Reconstructing an educational psychologist: building on strengths and developing new directions.

Section of the BPS Core Curriculum for Professional Training in Educational Psychology to which this assignment relates: Interpersonal Effectiveness

Submission Statement

I confirm that:

1. This submitted assignment is my own work; and

2. I have read and acted upon the guidelines for avoiding plagiarism contained in the DEdPsy Handbook

Course Members Signature:.. *Date:* 25.10.02

Consent Statement (optional)

I authorise the Department of Psychology to make a copy of this assignment available for public reference at the discretion of the Course Director.

(Please note that copies of examined work may be retained for up to five years for University quality assurance purposes).

Course Members Signature:.. *Date:* 25.10.02

RECONSTRUCTING AN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGIST: BUILDING ON STRENGTHS AND DEVELOPING NEW DIRECTIONS

SUMMARY

The past four years of work towards my doctorate at UCL has represented a valuable time for reflection, on my life as well as my practice as an educational psychologist. This assignment has given me the opportunity to structure and formalise this reflection, and to consider how my strengths and competencies can inform my working life.

I have formed friendships with colleagues with whom I have shared practice, ideas, literature and the day to day struggles of work and research. This has contributed both to my personal and professional development, and to the process of reflection. I have become aware of my personal strengths and areas for improvement, through informal reflection, 360 degree feedback and a Personal Construct Psychology approach. I have developed a range of areas of specialist knowledge and skills, as well as the general skills needed to conduct research in the "real world", and have applied these in my everyday work.

However, most of all, I have found the experience of following the doctoral programme at UCL exciting and highly motivating, and it has informed some of the ways in which I hope to further develop my practice. The particular focuses of this paper are work as a "research-practitioner", developing evidence-based practice and being prepared to justify taking sufficient time to do what I perceive as a "good job". Some of my aims are in line with current developments in

education and applied psychology, some others appear in conflict with the current context. Finally, this time has been an opportunity to clarify and make explicit some of the philosophy and values which form the basis of my work and my life.

INTRODUCTION

The current context of education and educational psychology

Context of changes in education

Recent legislation and changes in education have moved towards a free market economy based educational system. The focus of this is on value for money, accountability, raising attainments, parental choice, school effectiveness and target setting. Simultaneously there has been more centralised control of the education process e.g. introduction of the National Curriculum and National Literacy and Numeracy strategies.

Some of these initiatives may have led to overall improvements in standards in some areas e.g. academic attainments, and the increased focus on accountability and evaluation of effectiveness is certainly valuable. However market economy values, such as competing for consumers, have proved of dubious benefit in business, and appear to me wholly inappropriate where the "product" is a person, and there is little agreement on what constitutes a successful product, let alone

how to measure it. Quantifying quality is difficult and education cannot be reduced to test results and exam grades (Maliphant 2000).

In effect, these changes may have led to less choice for already disadvantaged parents, a focus on academic attainments at the expense of other important aspects of learning and development, working to targets rather than doing what needs to be done, and an increase in paperwork. Subjugation to market forces leads to longer hours, greater demands and fewer supports, and the drive to do more things in less time leads to increased pressure on staff, less time to reflect, to listen, to care for pupils. Meanwhile, responsibility has shifted away from central government and onto professional groups, but their control over the content and processes of the work has been restricted (Jennings and Kennedy 1996). These may be some of the reasons why teaching is rated as one of the most stressful jobs, with reported stress levels continually increasing (Murphy and Claridge 2000).

Apparently at odds with this agenda are current government (value based)

initiatives to remove barriers to learning and promote educational and social inclusion (DfEE 1997). One response to this is to attempt to find a "third way" in which both market based and value based (DfEE 1997) aspects of the agenda can be achieved (Kerfoot and Imich 2000). However, where there is evidence of detrimental effects to staff, families or children as a result of market economy based initiatives in education, there appears good reason to advocate the alternative response of constructive challenge to these initiatives.

A related issue is that of change. Although change may be positive in outcome, if we have the value that change per se is good, the assumption must be that we are constantly making mistakes. Indeed many of the new initiatives in education have been hastily introduced, without sufficient reference to experience, evidence and research and therefore result in need for further change. Since change is often uncomfortable and stressful for staff, and wasteful of resources, I would argue that rather than viewing it as a virtue, its effects should be carefully considered before introduction.

The current ethos in Buckinghamshire County Council reflects many of the issues raised above, with regular programmes of "restructuring". At a recent Learning Support Development Day, a senior officer referred to the "exponential rate of change"! There are issues of staff shortages throughout the organisation, and these have been particularly acute in the educational psychology service, with staffing at a 50% level for some time. Our service has also experienced unprecedented change, and by January we may have our 6th head of the EPS in as many years.

Not surprisingly, these issues have had a strong impact on my views of personal

and professional development.

Context of changes in educational psychology

There are currently a wide range of changes taking place in educational

psychology which present both challenges and opportunities for the profession.

From "Reconstructing Educational Psychology" (Gillham 1978) to "Educational

psychology services: current role, good practice and future directions" (DfEE

2000), there have been moves towards interactionist explanations of children's

difficulties, less use of psychometrics, more systems and project work with

schools, more preventative work, promotion of social and educational inclusion,

and consultation models of service delivery.

The practice of educational psychology is also affected by initiatives within

education to increase accountability and raise attainments for all children, leading

to the need for quantitative and qualitative indicators of performance. "Best

Value" raises the possibility of delegation of funding for educational psychology

services to schools.

Some of these changes, especially the increasing breadth of role, the proliferation

of new initiatives in education, and the advances in knowledge and vast amount of

information available on any topic, have led to increased work pressure on

educational psychologists. The move to three year initial training in 2005 will

help to address some of these issues. However my view is that as a profession we

need to think critically about proposed changes, and prioritise our work on areas where we are uniquely able to make a difference by applying psychology.

Rationale

In this paper I intend to consider what knowledge and skills may be needed for effective professional practice in the context of current developments in education and educational psychology. I will also consider developments in my practice, resulting from a range of sources including the doctoral programme, and how these may improve my effectiveness. Finally I will discuss some areas where I feel it may be necessary to analyse changes in both contexts and challenge them if necessary in order to bring about improvements for our own profession as well as for education staff, pupils and their families.

OBJECTIVES

- To reflect on my personal and professional development during the four year programme at UCL

- To inform this reflection using a number of methods, and discuss the relative usefulness of these methods

- To compare my development of personal and professional strengths and competencies with my constructs regarding the effective educational psychologist especially in relation to evidence based practice and research

- To examine my values and priorities in work in relation to changes and developments in the context of education and educational psychology

- To consider ways in which my personal and professional development will make me more effective as a practitioner

- To consider to what extent my professional development has prepared me for future changes and challenges in educational psychology

CONTEXT AND PRACTICE

Reflections and feedback on personal and professional development

Whilst working towards my doctorate, a number of changes have taken place in my competencies in various areas, my concepts of "good practice", and the importance I place on different aspects of my work. There are a variety of processes, including following the doctoral programme, which may have contributed to these changes, and I have no reliable way of finding out the relative contributions of these processes to my personal and professional development.

During the four year period, changes have taken place in the education system, in educational psychology and in my personal life. Developments may have taken place as a result of the doctoral course itself, enhanced opportunities for

discussion with colleagues and four years' more experience as an educational

psychologist. There have also been changes in the post I hold, to Specialist

Educational Psychologist in April 2000 and Senior Educational Psychologist in

February 2002, which have given me chance to develop particular areas of

expertise, as well strategic and management experience.

The methods used to reflect on my development were informal reflection and

discussion with colleagues, a personal construct approach, and 360 degree

feedback.

Personal constructs regarding the effective educational psychologist

The ideas of Personal Construct Psychology (PCP) were introduced by Kelly

(1955) and further developed by Ravenette from the 1970s onwards (cf Ravenette

1997). Some of the key ideas underpinning PCP are:

- Our view of reality is constructed through interpreting personal experience, by awareness of similarities and differences and testing predictions about the world

- We each have created a complex system of dichotomous personal constructs through which we view the world, make sense of the past and anticipate the future

- These constructs are open to development, revision and change in the light of new experience

- There always some alternative constructions available to choose in dealing with the world

The PCP approach has generated a number of methods of self enquiry, and forms an excellent method of structured reflection for both personal and professional purposes. The approach I used to elicit my constructs regarding the effective educational psychologist was triadic comparison as described by Walker (1996). Comparison was made of three psychologists who I regard as very effective practitioners, three psychologists who I regard as less effective practitioners, myself as an EP, and myself as I would like to be as an EP.

Thirteen constructs were elicited, and thus taken to be of key importance to me in terms of perceived effectiveness. A "Salmon Line" (Salmon 1988) with a scale of 1-10 was used to compare where I viewed myself at the beginning of the doctoral programme (retrospective) with where I view myself now, for each construct.

Clearly it would have been an improvement to have elicited constructs at the start of the programme. This would have enabled changes in constructs about effectiveness to be studied, and would have formed a useful basis for personal professional development goals. Rating accuracy on the Salmon Lines is also likely to have been reduced for 1999 since ratings were done retrospectively. However triangulation from other sources of information e.g. 360 degree self feedback may serve to confirm or disconfirm accuracy of 1999 ratings.

The "positive poles" of constructs which I associated with effectiveness (see appendix 1 for full details) were:

1. Uses psychological theory and research

2. Good research and project skills

3. Uses critical judgement

4. Evidence based practice

5. Evaluates own practice

6. Clear thinking

7. Ethical approach

8. Good interpersonal skills

9. Challenges effectively

10. Enthusiastic

11. Open to new ideas

12. Gets things done

13. Practical

The constructs rated as current strengths (scoring 8/9 out of 10) were "research and project skills", "ethical approach", "gets things done", "interpersonal skills" and "open to new ideas". Scores for the first three had improved by 2 or 3 points during the doctoral programme, but there was no change in scores for "interpersonal skills" or "open to new ideas". The biggest improvements during the doctoral programme (+3 points) were "uses critical judgement" and "gets things done". Finally "challenges effectively" and "practical" were rated as weaknesses (score 5 out of 10) with no change since 1999. See appendix 1 for full ratings.

The constructs and ratings will be discussed further in subsequent sections and compared with information from other sources in order to draw conclusions about personal and professional development.

Personal and professional development 360 degree feedback

The 360 degree feedback process was introduced to Buckinghamshire alongside output and outcome performance measures as part of the performance review process for educational psychologists. The aim was to collect and collate information on an educational psychologist's work from a wide range of informants including self, colleagues, managers and clients. This information could then be used to derive processes and factors which made EP work more or less effective. The 360 degree feedback instrument was developed and trialled with advice from external consultants as well as consultation with all EPS staff and headteachers. The primary purpose of the feedback was intended to be to inform professional development and service procedures, rather than for individual appraisal.

360 degree feedback has had widespread use in management development programmes and appraisal systems recently. Evidence from a number of studies suggests that staff are more willing to accept and act on feedback from multiple raters than line manager alone. The averaging of ratings from a number of others is also less likely to be subject to bias than either self appraisal, or appraisal by

line manager alone, who may not have direct experience of work in all contexts

(Sharp, Frederickson and Laws 2000).

Use of 360 degree feedback in the context of the UCL CPD doctorate

360 degree feedback was introduced for the purposes of evaluating possible

effects of the doctoral programme on perceived EP skills and effectiveness, and

also as a structured method of reflection on professional development. It would

also serve to contribute to course evaluation and possibly to inform Local

Authorities about benefits to the organisation of supporting EP doctoral training.

A total of nine questionnaires were completed near the start of the programme in

1999 and again towards the end in 2002. Respondents were four school

headteachers or SENCOs, four educational psychologist colleagues and self.

Scores and mean scores for all items are given in appendix 2. Ratings were 1-4 for

importance of items and 1-6 for performance on items. Actual ratings for 1999

were not provided with the report, however these were derived by calculating the

scattergram scales and measuring from them.

Feedback consisted of responses within four main areas:

Interpersonal and communication skills (14 items)

Professional knowledge and practice (14 items)

Work organisation and management (11 items)

Ethics and equal opportunities (5 items)

Results of feedback (see appendices 2 and 3 for full ratings and interpretation)

Importance ratings

The importance ratings by self in 1999 were intended to form a basis for personal

development goals. However, all ratings by self and colleagues were either 3 or 4,

so it appears that all items were regarded as important, without sufficient

sensitivity to pick out specific goals.

Of the items considered most important (mean rating 3.9 and 4.0), three were

interpersonal skills ("develops effective working relationships", "listens well and

responds appropriately" and "is easy to understand"). Two were organisational

("is helpful and efficient in planning sessions" and "is clear about who will do

what, by when and what the expected outcomes are") and two were ethical

("treats people with respect" and "is clear about what elements of conversation

and work are confidential"). None related to professional knowledge and practice.

The biggest increase in perceived importance over the four year period was for the

item with lowest ratings "is up to date with current psychological research" (mean

rating 3.3 – 3.9). This may reflect changing emphasis in educational psychology

and/or the expectations of schools, but it is not possible from the data to say

which.

Self ratings

My mean self ratings declined overall during the course of the doctoral programme. I am not aware that I perceive myself as a less effective educational psychologist now, but perhaps the standards according to which I completed the ratings have become more exacting. The nature of the data (almost all scores 3,4 or 5 and no improvements greater than +1) makes it difficult to compare individual items. The following comparisons therefore are by aspect of work.

My highest self ratings in both 1999 and 2002 were for the areas of ethics and equal opportunities (mean rating 4.6 and 4.4 respectively) and work organisation and management (mean rating 4.6 and 4.4 respectively). Interpersonal and communication skills I also perceived as an area of reasonable strength (mean ratings 4.1 and 3.9). However, the only area which I rated more favourably after the four years (with no declines in individual items) was professional knowledge and practice (from mean rating 3.6 to 3.9). This certainly reflects the effects of the doctoral programme.

Colleagues' ratings:

I was pleasantly surprised to find out how well my colleagues rated my work as an EP in all areas. There was also an overall improvement in my colleagues' ratings in all areas (mean for all items 1999 was 5.31 and for 2002 was 5.74). This may or may not reflect genuine professional development. In view of the overall improvement in ratings, in considering strengths and weaknesses, I have looked at relative ratings and areas of greatest and least improvement.

Highest ratings were given for work organisation and management, and ethics and equal opportunities (both means 5.5 in 1999 and 5.9 in 2002). Interpersonal and communication skills improved from a mean rating of 5.3 to 5.7. The greatest improvement (from lowest start) was in the area of professional knowledge and practice (mean 5.1 to 5.6). For many items there was a lack of consistency in rating change so significance may be limited. However, disappointingly, "is innovative and creative" received a comparatively low rating in both 1999 and 2002.

Self vs colleague ratings

My self ratings are considerably lower than colleague ratings (mean for all items in both years 4.10 and 5.53 respectively). This does not support evidence from the literature regarding "egocentric" self-serving biases (c.f. Harris and Schaubroeck, 1988). Self ratings also declined slightly over time from a mean of 4.12 in 1999 to 4.08 in 2002, whereas colleague ratings improved from a mean of 5.31 in 1999 to 5.74 in 2002.

However, looking at relative strengths, weaknesses, improvements and declines gives a more consistent picture with highest ratings for ethics and equal opportunities, and work organisation and management and lowest ratings but biggest improvement for professional knowledge and practice. For individual items again there is less consistency.

Some concerns about the 360 degree feedback method

There are a number of possible difficulties in the use of 360 degree feedback (c.f.
Sharp, Frederickson and Laws 2000). For instance, a system for selection of the
raters needs to be used to ensure views are representative rather than having a
possible favourable bias, and there should be sufficient respondents in each
category (a minimum of four is recommended).

The choice of schools in 1999 was made on the basis of the next four schools I
visited after receiving the forms. In 2002, forms were given to all four schools,
since my school patch is small. None of the school respondents were the same in
1999 and 2002. The sample, although not random or representative of all schools,
is therefore unlikely to be biased in any systematic way. The EP colleagues were
chosen in both instances as people I had worked most closely with recently (this
may have introduced positive bias, if working together through choice).

There are a number of other reasons why validity of 360 degree feedback results
may be compromised (in spite of anonymity of data).

Positive responses may reflect:

- Desire to please the EP e.g. to maintain a good relationship

- Being perceived as being "on the side of the school" with possible overtones
  of collusion and lack of challenge

- "Halo effect" e.g. a good working relationship may lead to rating other aspects
  of work artificially highly

- Perceived expertise rather than actual practice e.g. my improved ratings on the area of ethics and equal opportunities could reflect perceptions due to my specialist role, or knowledge that the EP is undertaking a doctoral programme could lead to perceived improvements

Negative responses may reflect:

- Dissatisfaction with service organisation, rather than the EP e.g. insufficient time allocation

- Lack of familiarity with EP and few shared experiences e.g. due to change of patch

There are also issues about to what extent respondents have evidence on which to base responses. For example EP colleagues see little of each others' direct work in schools. Colleagues in schools may not be able to accurately respond to some of the items related to professional knowledge, particularly in view of the fact that most EPs aim to keep consultations jargon free, and avoid adopting an "expert" role, and thus may not refer specifically to psychological theory. Even EP colleagues may not be aware of each others' knowledge of psychological theories and evidence except when this is explicitly discussed. Thus response to these items may be based on impression rather than evidence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Some current issues in educational psychology

Of the thirteen constructs I elicited as being most important in contributing to effective practice as an educational psychologist, eight related to research skills and evidence based practice. Both of these issues appear of increasing importance and value in the current professional context of accountability and evidence of effectiveness. They are the aspects I most aimed to develop through the doctoral programme, and evidence suggests that they are in fact my greatest improvement areas. I have therefore chosen to focus on these two aspects of practice in this section. The other area I will discuss briefly is that of values and ethics, to which one of my constructs related, since I view it as fundamental to consideration of educational policy.

Evidence-based practice

The move to evidence-based practice began in medicine on the premise that knowledge of causes of illness, and professional judgement in informing clinical decisions were necessary but insufficient. In order to improve treatment of illness, systematic knowledge of treatment outcomes would also be required (Cottrell 2002). This necessitates finding and using evidence, and also contributing to the evidence base in a number of ways. The idea of evidence-based practice has been

extended to mental health services, and is currently influencing thinking in educational psychology. Evidence-based practice supports government attempts to target expenditure more effectively and introduce greater accountability.

The major advantage of evidence-based practice is clear benefits in terms of outcomes. As practitioners, if we believe what we are doing is of benefit we should be prepared to evaluate these benefits, if not why do it? There are however a number of difficulties associated with evidence-based practice.

Pragmatic difficulties include practitioners having skills to critically appraise relevant studies, ability to keep up to date given the volume of published research and the need for meta-analysis, the need to train staff in effective techniques (Cottrell 2002).

Whereas Randomised Controlled Trials (RCTs) provide the most readily acceptable evidence of efficacy (Frederickson 2002), these are not always feasible, or even ethically sound, in the context of EP practice. There is therefore a need to develop other methods of evaluation e.g. quantitative and qualitative data on individual outcomes. There is also the need to address how long it takes for interventions to have an effect and how long the effect lasts (Cottrell 2002).

Another issue is that of individual difference. Not to address this goes against the philosophy of using of uniquely formulated collaborative interventions (Pilgrim 2002), and these are clearly indicated where difficulties are complex. Also, the

best available treatment may not work (or may even be detrimental) in up to one third of cases (Carr 2000). There is too the need to weigh up advantages and disadvantages of intervention options for each individual (Cottrell 2002).

Another issue relevant to educational psychology practice is the tension between evidence-based practice and the use of a consultation model of service delivery, in the latter our contact usually being indirect, and the philosophy one of agreed action rather than "advice". To fit the model of evidence-based practice, intervention needs to be specified in detail, with a clear method and training in the delivery of this method. When it is the class teacher for instance who is the agent of change, there are too many other factors such as teacher commitment and skills, which may account for positive or negative outcomes for pupils. Since pupil outcomes are a relatively distal variable, and teacher satisfaction surveys will not address external accountability standards (Ferman 2001), do we take our intervention as acting on the teacher to change his/her behaviour or attitudes and evaluate this? If so do we even have a definition of the model of consultation we are using? All of these aspects need to be considered, and some ideas for addressing these issues are discussed in the concluding section.

The research-practitioner model

Stoker and Figg (1998) stated that "action research offers a defensible methodology that validates our profession". Nevertheless, numerous studies suggest that practitioner research has not become a demonstrable reality for the majority of educational psychologists and their services (Grieg 2001). There are

however many reasons why it should become so. Practitioner research directly

supports the development of evidence-based practice. Grieg cites the following

relevant roles:

- Keeping up to date on new findings in research

- Following the developments of new assessments and theories for practice

- Evaluating interventions using rigorous empirical methods

- Producing new data and reporting to the scientific community

Thus our practice should be based on research and evidence, and it should also

contribute to research and evidence. Grieg further defines practitioner research as

being in "messy real-world situations" which do not always lend themselves to

RCTs, and often using small samples and qualitative paradigms. This may enable

building of an evidence base where none exists, and "bringing innovations of

practice into the research arena". However as Lindsay (1998) points out, "there

are clear dangers in over-generalising from case studies to other populations".

There is also a danger in under-recognising the benefits of quantitative methods.

I argue, firstly that educational psychologists are uniquely placed to conduct

research in the educational arena, as scientists trained in real world research and

"the most significant group of professionals within LEAs to have research training

and experience" (Lindsay 1998). Secondly our research is not only of value in

developing the evidence base, but also in informing local authority and national

educational policy, especially in view of the number of now obvious errors, ill

thought out changes and inevitable "u-turns" which have been made by the

government in recent years. EPs currently can and do influence policy at local level. Use of EP research to inform national policy is not yet the norm. It may involve EPs in negotiating a more influential role for their services (Webster and Beveridge 1997) and ensuring that findings are disseminated to a wide audience.

Finally, the advent of the CPD doctorate and three year initial training will strengthen our skills in research, including critical analysis of existing research, and given the necessary support, allow us to make important contributions to educational policy and practice as well as the psychological evidence base.

Values and ethics

Ethics are essentially an invention which cannot be located naturally (Webster and Bond 2002), and ethical principles may sometimes conflict when they are drawn from alternative perspectives. In the current educational context, the tension between initiatives derived from a free market economy based philosophy and initiatives based on human rights, justice, equality and respect, raised in the introduction is an example.

Recent legislation e.g. the Human Rights Act (1998), UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Children Act (1989), Race Relations (Amendment)

Act (2000) and Disability Discrimination Act (2001) have centred on promoting human rights especially those of the child, eliminating discrimination and promoting equality. The inclusion agenda is an example of an initiative arising

from these values. In this context, our professional ethics should address justice and the fair distribution of resources and services.

Webster and Lunt (2002) view an appropriate professional ethic as "acting in accordance with agreed standards, basing interventions on available evidence, and subjecting the principles to open debate with peers. It is also about challenging organisational policies and procedures which may militate against good practice". Lunt further reports that in a BPS ethical survey of psychologists, there were few if any reported concerns regarding client rights, impact of local or national policy, or damaging or discriminatory practices.

I believe that when our professional values are in conflict with consumer driven values, we should have the courage to challenge these in the best interests of all children and young people in our society.

ANALYSIS

Integration of personal, professional and research issues

In this section, I intend to take my personal constructs regarding the effective EP and examine how my practice has developed during the doctoral programme. This will be linked with issues discussed in the previous section by considering how

the doctoral programme may have contributed to my development of knowledge and skills needed for evidence-based practice and work as a research-practitioner, as well as to practice based on values and ethics.

At the start of the programme in 1999 I was questioning if I was making a real difference for children and young people (and the significant adults and peers in their lives) through my work, and if so, what difference and how. I felt that my knowledge and skills were wide, but too shallow. Now, I feel I have developed more depth in a number of areas. I am also either more confident in the effectiveness of my work, or at least am beginning to develop ways of evaluating effectiveness.

360 degree feedback, despite its limitations, provided useful information on the four aspects of work, particularly on relative strengths and weaknesses, and comparative improvements and declines. Ratings by colleagues also offered the chance to access information on professional and personal "blind spots".

However, the total number of items were too numerous, and ratings too close to usefully inform goal setting. In comparison the PCP approach was more subtle and insightful, more helpful in goal setting (using "actual" vs "ideal" ratings), although less broad and "objective" in content. I have therefore integrated information from both sources and discussed under five category headings which represent the areas which I view as most important in effectiveness as an educational psychologist.

Interpersonal skills

This is a crucial aspect of EP work, and underpins our effectiveness in consultation and other work settings. However it was not one of my goals to further develop this through the doctoral programme, neither do I view doctoral training as the most effective way of improving interpersonal skills.

360 degree feedback ratings from self and colleagues were moderately high, and from PCP were high, but changes over the period have not been large. As I usually quickly develop good working relationships with school staff, parents and pupils, I am relatively unconcerned that improvements were not greater. An area identified for further improvement was to challenge constructively and effectively.

Professional knowledge and practice

This is the aspect of my work I was most keen to develop through the doctoral programme, since it forms the basis for both evidence based practice and research, which I view are essential to working effectively as psychologists in the current educational context. Evidence-based practice and research also offer the potential to answer my 1999 question of "what difference do I make and how?"

Eight of the thirteen PCP constructs related to this area. "Using psychological theory and research", "research and project skills", "critical judgement", "evidence-based practice", "evaluation of practice", "clear thinking and openness to new ideas", are all now self rated as high or moderately high, and most have

improved by +2 or +3 rating. This is also the aspect of work rated as most

improved by myself and colleagues in 360 degree feedback.

The doctoral programme has helped me to develop better research skills e.g.

project organisation and management, research design, and using statistics

appropriately, through practice and peer and tutor feedback. Leading edge days

and work on assignments have developed my knowledge of the psychological

theory and evidence base in a number of areas including theories of social

psychology (assignment 3), evidence on ADHD (assignment 1), and refugees and

resilience (assignment 2). These developments have been complemented by my

specialist role in Buckinghamshire. Finally, my critical thinking skills have

improved as a result of critical analysis of papers for assignments and thesis.

Identified areas to further improve were being innovative and creative (360), and

being more practical and "hands on" (PCP).

Work organisation and management

This aspect of my work was generally highly rated by colleagues and self through

360 degree feedback. Although recognising its importance, I view the aspect as

having a supportive role to the effective use of psychology rather than a value in

its own right, and none of the PCP constructs or my development goals related to

this. To an extent, the doctoral programme has probably contributed to the

improvements noted in this area, but I would view this as an indirect effect

because of the need for higher levels of organisation and time management due to

increased work load.

Values and ethics

Although an ethical approach was one of my constructs of an effective EP, this was not a specific development goal. My perception is that values and ethical principles have become increasingly important in underpinning and giving a rationale to all of my work. Principles such as inclusion, based on human rights, and social justice, promoting equality and valuing difference are now more explicit and articulated in my work. This is due to both study of theories of racism for the thesis and assignment 3, and also specialist work on promoting attainments of minority ethnic pupils, refugees and asylum seekers and evidence based approaches to promoting racial equality and combating racism. This aspect of my work was also highly rated by colleagues and self through 360 degree feedback and PCP rating.

Motivation and confidence

Although this is not addressed in 360 degree feedback, I view intrinsic motivation, and enthusiasm as another essential component of effective work. PCP ratings show my perceptions of my enthusiasm are moderately high, and that I have improved considerably at "getting things done". The doctoral programme and the inspiration from colleagues has acted as a constant reminder to me that psychological theory and practice are at the centre of my work and this has maintained my level of motivation despite circumstances which have sometimes been difficult in Buckinghamshire.

Completing the necessary work has at times been a challenge and required self

discipline, yet at other times I have been absorbed in the work and in a state of

"flow" (Csikszentmihalyi 2000) as ideas and concepts unite and differentiate, and

form into structures in my mind. In this state, I am using my strengths and skills to

meet challenges and yet at the same time with awareness focused on the moment

not on the goals of the task. The fulfilling nature of this experience feeds into

intrinsic motivation to work.

Finally my professional confidence has improved and this appears linked with

other areas of development e.g. more effective professional practice, better

awareness of strengths skills and improvement areas, more areas of in-depth

knowledge, and better "process" skills e.g. interpersonal and presentation skills.

CONCLUSIONS

Implications for service delivery

In the course of this assignment, issues are raised with important implications for

service delivery. These include developing evidence-based practice, working as a

research-practitioner, values underpinning EP work and constraints arising from

the work context. All of these areas require appropriate opportunities for

Continuing Professional Development as well as structured forms of supervision

within the service.

Evaluation

I perceive a number of diverse purposes inherent in the evaluation of EP work,

thus a number of different evaluation tools are required. All the aspects discussed

below could contribute to the performance review process, as well as direct

observation/shadowing.

The local authorities who employ EPs require evidence of outputs and time spent

on various activities (quantity rather than quality). This purpose is served in

Buckinghamshire by a time logging system. The system is currently overly

complex as it attempts to serve a number of different purposes. It would be

helpful to simplify this and retain essential elements only e.g. what was done and

for how long.

A second issue is that of measuring client satisfaction. This is currently partially

addressed through 360 degree feedback, and a pupil feedback process which has

been piloted. We also have evaluation forms for project and INSET work. I

believe that client satisfaction should involve the follow up of a representative

sample of consultations/interventions with brief ratings and comments from

teachers, pupils and parents similar to the pupil pilot and INSET evaluation forms.

The third issue is for personal professional development, including evaluation for

the doctoral programme. 360 degree feedback has been developed for this

purpose, and is particularly helpful in revealing relative strengths, weaknesses and

improvement areas and "blind spots". However as discussed previously there

appear to be a number of issues with it. We need procedures to ensure that sample

is as representative as possible, and possibly larger than nine in total. I am unclear

whether the importance scale contributes anything of use, as all ratings were 3 or

4. It would also help to reduce the number of items by assessing which make key

contributions to each category and retaining these only. 360 degree feedback does

not appear adequate for subtle insight, especially into underlying knowledge

which is not overt, and contributing to goal setting as items are too numerous and

ratings too close. A useful adjunct would be a structured personal reflection

process such as PCP (before and after in the case of the doctoral programme).

This could inform goal setting (ideal vs actual) and form a basis for discussion in

supervision.

Finally evaluation allows contribution to evidence-based practice in terms of

effectiveness of consultation, intervention and also INSET, systems and project

work. As a service, adequate ways of doing this need to be developed. For

consultation and intervention, teacher (and possibly parent and pupil) attitudes

and perceptions of change in relation to problem areas could be sought. This could

be supplemented by more "objective" measures of change e.g. pupil attainments

or behaviour using direct observation, precision monitoring, goal attainment

scaling etc. Similarly with INSET, systems and project work, we need to develop

measures of actual change in attitudes, behaviour or practice resulting.

Developing the evidence base

One method for supporting development of an evidence base in a number of areas

is through EP specialisms. Arora (2002) views specialist EPs as facilitators and

leaders in an area, who network and liaise with other agencies and groups.

Doctoral programmes are clearly supportive of the development of specialisms.

Specialist EPs can also play an important role in developing the evidence base by:

- Studying and analysing relevant research literature and developing in depth

  knowledge

- Managing projects in that area

- Taking a lead in larger scale research e.g. RCTs

- Collating EPS evidence base from evaluation of work

- Sharing practice and keeping colleagues informed in the area, including

  through publications

Implementing research

Whilst doctoral programmes can have a direct effect in development of research

skills, the expansion of CPD doctoral programmes and move to initial doctoral

training do not necessarily mean more research will take place. In clinical

psychology, the transition to initial doctoral training has coincided with a decline

in UK clinical psychology research (Thomas, Turpin and Meyer 2002). Research

requires a supportive infrastructure. Time is needed to conduct research and to

publish and disseminate findings. The service needs to actively promote and

allocate time for research, and have research as a key component of service

delivery (Lindsay 1998). Other issues in research are access and funding.

Whilst research in the form of projects and small scale or n=1 intervention studies is often requested by schools, or commissioned by local authorities, these may have limited scope and applicability. I perceive a need for additional work to contribute to wider educational policy, and also to a broader development of evidence in psychology e.g. through RCTs. It is not clear where time and funding for these activities would come from. Increased take up of CPD doctoral programmes will help, as will the move to three year initial training, and the maintenance of closer links between services and higher education institutions.

Critical thinking and ideology

Lindsay (1998) makes the point that in a scientist-practitioner model practice is based on research and evidence not ideology, and although value systems may influence the questions asked and interpretation of evidence, they should be critically examined not simply accepted. Two current issues in EP practice, inclusion and consultation were raised earlier. Both of these are a case in point, and I believe neither should be uncritically accepted. Whilst accepting the value that all children have a right to education in their local school alongside their peers, inclusion does not always enhance children's rights or necessarily represent the most efficacious practice (Lindsay 1998).

The tension between consultation and evidence-based practice was discussed previously in terms of the indirect nature of EP intervention. There are also issues of what form of consultation is used and how effective this has been shown to be (Ferman 2000).

Constraints in service delivery

The current educational context has led to increased pressure of work and the drive to "produce" more in less time (see introduction). My experience is that time management techniques can only improve efficiency up to a point. Beyond this point increased stress leads to reduced efficiency and effectiveness.

Time constraints may limit good practice by having insufficient time for consultation, full problem analysis and follow up. Time pressure also inhibits creativity and motivation by turning what could be a pleasure into a chore. During the doctoral programme there has been chance to pursue interests, do in depth work, review literature and evidence, think, reflect, discuss and debate. In contrast there are few chances to experience absorption in EPS work because of the overload and constant need to get the next thing done.

Aspects which particularly suffer are supervision, evaluation, reflection, reading and other CPD and research. These require extra time to think, meet, share, disseminate etc. If time is constrained by market forces, and "value for money" (a shortsighted view) this will lead to the "product" being inferior sometimes to the point of uselessness, and also ultimately to staff disaffection and stress resulting in recruitment and retention difficulties which add to the pressure of work.

Dealing with change

Change can bring about improvements but is not a virtue or end in itself (see introduction). Change is both stressful for staff and wasteful of resources. For a

process of improvement, "learning organisations" need to value their individual members and respond to "bottom up" pressures (Bracher and Hingley 2002). The ultimate stage of the learning organisation would have a culture with a clearly defined set of core values.

I perceive this as an overarching vision based on values, within which best practice on an individual and systems level is valued and retained. Change would be based on an integration of "top down" and "bottom up", ensuring staff consultation. Improvement areas would be identified and prioritised and addressed two or three at a time, by examining the evidence, looking for other examples of good practice, reflection and careful piloting and evaluation. I regard this evolutionary "organic" model for change a stark contrast with our predicted "exponential rate of change" in Buckinghamshire.

Implications for personal professional development

Clearly the issues raised above, and the need for CPD and structured supervision, also relate to my personal professional development. I have added some specific areas from my PCP ratings and 360 degree feedback below. These were areas of comparative weakness which I particularly wish to improve upon.

Interpersonal effectiveness

The main improvement area identified was to improve effective constructive

challenging. This was an issue from the PCP reflection rather than 360 degree colleague ratings. Possible methods of working on this could use reflection on a specific incident through a self reflection exercise, or perhaps more powerfully through coaching with a colleague as outlined by Cameron and Monsen (1998). This coaching for instance could take place during a form of supervision e.g. peer consultation sessions.

Professional knowledge and practice

One of the keys to improvement in this area is making sufficient time to do a piece of work to a standard which is effective and personally satisfying. I will certainly aim to develop new areas of greater depth in addition to those developed during the doctoral programme. By taking opportunities to reflect and discuss, I hope my practice will become more creative and innovative, an improvement area identified by colleagues through 360 degree feedback.

I also intend to allocate more time each consultation in my direct work with schools. This will enable me to work closely and collaboratively with class teachers on intervention strategies and monitoring. This will address my PCP improvement area of more practical/hands on work, as well as enabling detailed evaluation which could contribute to an evidence base.

I look forward to an exciting new era of EP practice, with the chance to undertake research which will contribute to educational policy as well as the evidence base on effective schools and effective interventions. What matters most to me in my

practice is making a real difference and knowing (having the evidence) that I have made a difference.

The UCL doctoral programme has brought me closer to this vision by directly supporting my development of research skills and knowledge of the evidence base in a range of areas of educational psychology. It has also indirectly improved my motivation and confidence. Finally it has helped me to clarify the values from which I work, which gives me confidence to challenge some of the market economy thinking which I believe is neither in the best interests of the child, nor of society.

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APPENDIX 1

Personal constructs regarding the effective educational psychologist and Salmon Line ratings for myself as an educational psychologist in 1999 (retrospective) and 2002

Positive pole   **Contrast pole**

1. "Uses psychological theory and takes   "Out of touch, lacks rationale"
   an active interest in latest research"
   1999 rating: 5   2002 rating: 7

2. "Good research and project skills"   "Thinks doing research work is
                                    irrelevant"
   1999 rating: 6   2002 rating: 8

3. "Uses critical judgement, thoughtful,   "Accepts appealing ideas
   uncritically" reflective"
   1999 rating: 3   2002 rating: 6

4. "Practice is evidence-based"   "Practice is opinion based"
   1999 rating: 4   2002 rating: 6

5. "Evaluates own practice"   "Thinks evaluation is a waste of
   time"
   1999 rating: 5   2002 rating: 6

6. "Clear thinking – precise, concise   "Wordy and waffly"
   in words and writing"
   1999 rating: 4   2002 rating: 6

7. "Ethical approach based on values   "Afraid to examine own prejudices,
   – justice, equality, respect"   denial"
   1999 rating: 7   2002 rating: 9

8. "Good interpersonal skills – warm,   "Socially awkward, aloof"
   approachable, empathic"
   1999 rating: 9   2002 rating: 9

9. "Challenges effectively"   "Colludes, compliant, easily swayed"
   1999 rating: 5   2002 rating: 5

10. "Enthusiastic"   "Jaded, cynical"
    1999 rating: 7   2002 rating: 7

11. "Open to new ideas and approaches"   "Sticks to known things"
    1999 rating: 8   2002 rating: 8

12. "Gets things done, sees it through"   "Ineffective, time wasting"
    1999 rating: 5   2002 rating: 8

13. "Practical, hands-on"   "All talk"
    1999 rating: 5   2002 rating: 5

APPENDIX 2

360 degree feedback raw scores from questionnaires

Table 1: Interpersonal and communication skills

Item no.	Importance rating mean 1999	Importance rating mean 2002	Self rating 1999	Self rating 2002	Others rating mean 1999	Others rating mean 2002
1	3.5	3.6	6	4	5.5	5.7
2	3.7	3.4	5	4	5.5	5.7
3	3.7	3.7	3	4	5.0	5.6
4	3.7	3.7	3	4	5.2	5.7
5	4.0	3.9	4	4	5.7	5.9
6	3.2	3.7	4	4	5.2	5.9
7	3.7	3.6	4	4	4.7	5.3
8	3.5	3.7	3	4	5.0	5.7
9	3.5	3.6	3	4	5.2	6.0
10	3.8	3.7	4	4	5.5	5.9
11	4.0	3.9	4	4	5.5	5.7
12	3.7	3.6	5	4	5.7	5.4
13	4.0	3.7	5	4	5.2	5.7
14	3.6	3.7	4	3	5.0	5.8
Mean	3.6	3.7	4.1	3.9	5.3	5.7

Table 2: Professional knowledge and practice

Item no.	Importance rating mean 1999	Importance rating mean 2002	Self rating 1999	Self rating 2002	Others rating mean 1999	Others rating mean 2002
15	3.6	3.9	3	4	5.2	5.6
16	3.7	3.9	3	4	5.2	5.9
17	3.8	3.4	3	4	5.0	5.7
18	3.3	3.9	3	4	5.1	5.7
19	3.8	3.7	3	4	5.2	5.7
20	3.5	3.7	4	4	4.9	5.4
22	3.6	4.0	4	4	5.0	5.6
23	4.0	3.6	4	4	5.2	5.6
24	3.8	3.6	4	4	5.0	5.7
25	3.1	3.4	4	4	4.9	5.3
26	3.7	3.6	4	4	5.4	5.9
27	3.8	3.7	4	4	5.4	5.4
28	3.5	3.7	3	3	5.1	5.9
29	3.5	3.3	4	4	5.3	5.6
Mean	3.4	3.7	3.6	3.9	5.1	5.6

Table 3: Work organisation and management

Item no.	Importance rating mean 1999	Importance rating mean 2002	Self rating 1999	Self rating 2002	Others rating mean 1999	Others rating mean 2002
30	3.7	3.9	5	4	5.0	5.6
31	3.7	3.9	5	4	5.3	5.7
32	3.5	3.6	5	4	4.9	5.7
33	3.5	3.4	5	4	5.2	5.6
34	3.8	3.9	5	4	5.2	5.9
35	3.7	3.9	5	4	5.3	5.9
36	3.3	3.7	4	3	5.1	5.7
37	3.8	3.9	4	4	5.2	5.6
38	3.6	3.7	5	5	5.3	6.0
39	3.9	3.6	5	5	5.3	5.7
40	3.5	3.7	5	4	5.2	5.6
Mean	3.6	3.8	4.6	4.4	5.5	5.9

Table 4: Ethics and equal opportunities

Item no.	Importance rating mean 1999	Importance rating mean 2002	Self rating 1999	Self rating 2002	Others rating mean 1999	Others rating mean 2002
41	3.5	3.6	5	3	5.3	5.9
42	3.8	3.9	5	5	5.6	6.0
43	3.6	4.0	5	5	5.3	6.0
44	3.9	3.9	4	4	5.6	6.0
45	3.6	3.7	4	5	5.5	5.8
Mean	3.6	3.8	4.6	4.4	5.5	5.9

Ratings of importance are on a scale of 1-4
Ratings of performance are on a scale of 1-6

APPENDIX 3

360 feedback analysis of scores from questionnaires

Importance ratings

The importance ratings which I gave to the individual items did not differ greatly in pattern from those of my colleagues, neither did the pattern change greatly from 1999 to 2002, although there was a small increase in perceived importance overall. I have therefore considered importance as a mean per item. Overall mean for all items was 3.7 (range 3.3 - 4.0).

Items considered most important (scores 3.9 and 4.0)
- Develops effective working relationships
- Listens well and responds appropriately
- Is easy to understand
- Is helpful and efficient in planning sessions
- Is clear about who will do what, by when and what the expected outcomes are
- Treats people with respect
- Is clear about what elements of conversation and work are confidential

Items considered less important (scores 3.3 and 3.4)
- Is innovative and creative
- Knows own strengths and limitations

Analysis by aspect of work (mean ratings)
1. Interpersonal and communication skills (3.65)
2. Professional knowledge and practice (3.55)
3. Ethics and equal opportunities (3.70)
4. Work organisation and management (3.70)

The biggest change in perceived importance over the four years was for the item "is up to date with current psychological research" (3.3 – 3.9).

Self ratings

Highest self ratings - mean for 1999/2002 (actual mean rating):
- Adapts his/her behaviour to help others feel comfortable (5.0)
- Provides a summary of agreed actions at the end of each planning session (5.0)
- Follows through on commitments (5.0)
- Treats people with respect (5.0)
- Shows commitment to equal opportunities (5.0)

Lowest self rating – mean for 1999/2002 (actual mean rating):
- Takes time to discuss how any solution will work within a particular context (3.0)

Changes in self rating:
The nature of the data (almost all scores 3,4 or 5 and no improvements greater than +1) makes it difficult to compare individual items. The following comparisons therefore are by aspect of work.

1. Interpersonal and communication skills:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 4.1 – 3.9
4 items improved, 5 items declined (total items 14)

2. Professional knowledge and practice:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 3.6 – 3.9
5 items improved, 0 items declined (total items 14)

3. Work organisation and management:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 4.6 – 4.4
0 items improved, 8 items declined (total items 11)

4. Ethics and equal opportunities:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 4.6 – 4.4
1 item improved, 1 item declined (total items 5)

Colleagues' ratings

Highest colleague ratings for 1999 (actual mean rating):
- Develops effective working relationships (5.7)
- Is honest and open in his/her communication (5.7)

Highest colleague ratings for 2002 (actual mean rating):
- Does not jump to conclusions or make assumptions (6.0)
- Provides summary of agreed actions at the end of each planning session (6.0)
- Treats people with respect (6.0)
- Shows commitment to equal opportunities (6.0)
- Is clear about what elements of work and conversation are confidential (6.0)

Lowest colleague ratings for 1999 (actual mean rating):
- Checks that they have understood accurately what is being said (4.7)
- Good knowledge of range and organisation of special educational support and provision for children locally (4.9)
- Is innovative and creative (4.9)
- Arrives on time (4.9)

Lowest colleague ratings for 2002 (actual mean rating):
- Checks that they have understood accurately what is being said (5.3)
- Is innovative and creative (5.3)
- Good knowledge of range and organisation of special educational support and provision for children locally (5.4)
- Shows awareness of the limits to what can be done (5.4)
- Is honest and open in his/her communication (5.4)

Biggest improvements from 1999 – 2002 (+0.7 and +0.8):
- Does not jump to conclusions or make assumptions (5.2 – 6.0)
- De-escalates conflict well (5.0 – 5.8)
- Takes time to discuss how any solution will work within a given context (5.1 – 5.9)
- Arrives on time (4.9 – 5.7)
- Responds sensitively to the needs of others (5.2 – 5.9)
- Explains how s/he will address needs identified (5.0 – 5.7)
- Understands theories of assessment/ intervention frameworks (5.2 – 5.9)
- Understands strengths/ weaknesses of a wide range of approaches to assessment (5.0 – 5.7)
- Works with individuals and groups to identify practical ways of addressing their concerns (5.0 – 5.7)
- Provides summary of agreed actions at the end of each planning session (5.3 – 6.0)
- Shows commitment to equal opportunities (5.3 – 6.0)

Items rated as having declined from 1999 – 2002:
- Is honest and open in his/ her communication (5.7 – 5.3)

Colleague ratings by aspect of work:
Overall ranges of ratings were from 4.7 – 5.7 in 1999 and from 5.3 – 6.0 in 2002. Since all items except two were rated as having improved, only items rated as having improved by a mean of 0.5 or more (above average improvement) are recorded below.

1. Interpersonal and communication skills:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 5.3 – 5.7
8 items improved by 0.5+ (total 14 items)

2. Professional knowledge and practice:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 5.1 – 5.6
9 items improved by 0.5+ (total 14 items)

3. Work organisation and management:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 5.2 – 5.7
6 items improved by 0.5+ (total 11 items)

4. Ethics and equal opportunities:
Mean rating 1999/ 2002: 5.5 –   5.9
2 items improved by 0.5+ (total   5 items, 3 reached ceiling level)