

**Special Educational Needs Co-ordinators Perceptions
of Local Education Support Services, with Particular
Reference to Pupils with Social, Emotional and
Behavioural Difficulties: A Case Study of Luton
Local Authority**

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Michael Joseph Clarke MA

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Abstract

This Thesis is a case study of Luton Local Authority (LA) and its approach to delivering special educational needs (SEN) support services to Luton schools. The study concentrates on the delivery of behaviour support to schools and pupils and explores how pupils with social emotional and behavioural difficulties may be included or excluded from school as a result of this support.

The case study incorporates a multi-method research strategy, which sought to gain an LA perspective of service delivery by involving all Luton's special educational needs co-ordinators (SENCOs) in a questionnaire about behaviour support service delivery to their schools. The case study approach also involved using semi-structured interviews with thirteen Luton SENCOs. In Luton the delivery mechanism for SEN support services is through termly meetings with schools. These school consultation meetings (SCMs) are the strategy used by the LA to deliver support services. The study involved observing eight SCMs so that first hand knowledge of the delivery process could be investigated. The data collected is presented in three layers. Layer one presents the questionnaire data, layer two presents the interview data and layer three presents the observation data. All three data sets are presented under the key research questions. The three key research questions are:

- 1) How do schools use School Consultation Meetings to access Behaviour Support?
- 2) Who from the LA carries out the Behaviour Support work with the Schools?
- 3) Why have SEN support services, which focus on pupil deficits instead of pupil strengths?

The case study found that the concept of SEN is a contentious and complex issue, which is subject to redefinition over time. The English education system is viewed as being segregationist and the concept of inclusion is found to apply to different pupils along class, ethnic and gender dimensions

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Chapter One - Introduction

Introduction

Since New Labour came to power in 1997 the relationship between schools and Local Authorities (LAs) has been subject to re-definition by the Code of Practice on LA School Relationships (DfEE, 2001a). Schools are increasingly being directly funded and LAs are being used as a conduit through which central government funding and policy flows, an example of this is the Social Inclusion: Pupil Support (SIPS) initiative (DfEE, 1999a). Originally the DfEE provided financial support for SIPS through the Pupil Retention Grant to LAs for the purpose of including pupils at risk of exclusion. Within one year of the grant being awarded LAs were instructed to delegate this grant to Secondary Schools. Excellence in Cities is another central government initiative focussing on school improvement by providing grants to 'urban' Local Authorities (LAs) with the view to improving school leadership, behaviour and teaching and learning (DfES, 1999b). The result of this has been that schools appear to have increased autonomy coupled with increased funding. Centralisation of education policy continues and the National Government of England and Wales is using LAs to implement their policies at a local level. This ambivalent relationship continues within wider social policy, which endeavours to encourage private companies to take on the role of LAs under the banner of 'raising educational standards' (DfEE, 2000a). This is the 21st century context within which state education is operating and is subject to constant scrutiny and evaluation. The education system continues to be market driven and LAs are delivering services to the most vulnerable pupils in the education system within this turbulent atmosphere.

LA Management of Special Education Services

The 1944 Education Act introduced a national system of education ‘in which LEAs exercised considerable influence over educational provision in their area’ (Skidmore & Copeland, 1998, p 139). The Warnock Report and the 1981 Education Act built on this centralist model in relation to LA provision for special educational needs (SEN). The impetus from LAs in the early and mid-1980s was the development of local authority support services for SEN. LAs invested in direct provision to support schools meeting the needs of pupils experiencing SEN.

The Education Reform Act 1988 (ERA) introduced a number of structural changes ‘such as opting out, open enrolment and local management of schools’ (Skidmore & Copeland 1998, p 140). LAs were left to manage SEN but with the drive to delegate more resources to schools central SEN services were reduced. The 1993 Education Act introduced central control of SEN policy and this ‘imposed on all schools procedures for the assessment, identification and management of special educational needs’ (Armstrong, *et al* 1998, p 55). The ERA introduced the ‘quasi-market’ into education where schools competed for pupils ‘which, in turn determined the size of schools’ budgets’ (ibid).

Excellence for All Children: Meeting Special Educational Needs (DfEE, 1997a) promoted inclusion, where possible, for all children in mainstream education. New Labour’s aspiration of inclusion for ‘all’ in 1997 appears to have been tempered by recent policy developments (p 30). Relentless National Government pressure to ‘improve’ schools by achieving ever more demanding targets (Tomlinson, 2001) for General

Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSEs) has meant that vulnerable pupils are marginalized to the outskirts of the education system in Learning Support Units (LSUs) or Pupils Referral Units (PRUs) (Audit Commission, 2002a). In 2002 there were 9,960 pupils on roll at registered PRUs and 49.6% had SEN (DfES, 2006). The concept of inclusion has been 'redefined' to mean inclusion of pupils who can achieve and or can be deferential. The notion that inclusion is desirable, but only if you don't interfere with the learning of others or the smooth running of the school, is the 'new' inclusion. Inclusion projects aimed at the troubled or troublesome seek to target pupils with problems and 'educate' them separately (DfES, 2001c).

The hegemony of the discourse of school improvement at all costs can mean that alternative discourses of social justice are marginalised and the voices and aspirations of vulnerable pupils and their advocates become invisible (Dyson, 1997). Since 1997 the hegemony of the discourse of school improvement has increased educational segregation within mainstream education. So that pupils who are thought to have social emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) are educated outside the system (DfES, 2006).

The Luton Context

In April 1997 Luton became a unitary authority and Luton Local Education Authority was established. Luton LA is geographically compact and consists of 83 schools with 32,000 pupils. The shire county, of which Luton had been a part, funded Special Educational Needs (SEN) by providing education for pupils with SEN in special schools or by formally assessing pupils SEN and issuing a Statement of SEN. The 'statement'

would either give the pupil access to a special school placement or provide the mainstream school, which the pupil was attending with a financial resource from which the school could make provision for the pupil. In April 1997 Luton was one of the most segregated LAs in the country. Luton was the third highest of all LAs for educating pupils in segregated special provision and fourth highest of all LAs in the level of statutory assessments (Luton LEA, 1997). Segregation based on a pupil's SEN and the effect this has on pupil's experience of education is an issue explored in this study.

The 'Achievement and Access for All' (Luton LEA, 1997) policy adopted by Luton LA resources schools at 'whole school level' for SEN. Funding of SEN in Luton is based on pupil entitlement to free school meals and pupil numbers. Also as part of 'Achievement and Access for All' high frequency SEN i.e. statements for moderate learning difficulties (MLD) would not be issued and instead funded as a percentage of the SEN budget devolved to the schools. Additional funding for MLD and additional educational needs (AEN) would be increased by 5% of the age weighted pupil unit (AWPU) and free school meal entitlement. Also annual amounts would be allocated to schools as a result of the reduction in formal assessments. Excellence for All Children (DfEE1997a) encouraged LAs to delegate SEN funding for provision made at stages one to three of the Code of Practice on the Identification and Assessment of Special Educational Needs (DfEE, 1994b). The Education Reform Act 1988 ensured through local management of schools that resourcing by-passes the LA 'giving schools considerably greater autonomy in the management of those resources' (DfEE, 1994a). Whole school funding of SEN assumes that schools will use this money to support pupils experiencing SEN. Luton LA does not

have a method of ‘auditing’ this budget, but instead adopts a ‘light touch’ approach monitoring through six monthly visits by School Improvement Advisors. Whole school resourcing of special educational needs (SEN) and the consequences this strategy has for ‘including’ pupils with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) is another issue to be investigated in this study.

The achievement of unitary status for Luton LA in April 1997 provided an opportunity for co-ordination of SEN service delivery to the town’s schools. In Luton ‘the delivery of Support Services from the Pupil and Parents Division was based on six main elements:

- The organisation of schools into five geographically based clusters.
- Specific identified staff from the Educational Psychology Service, Learning Support Service, Behaviour and Tuition Service and Education Welfare Service being linked to a specific cluster.
- An emphasis on preventative work in partnership with schools.
- Service delivery based on quality advice, problem solving and consultation.
- Clear access routes to the new cluster support teams.
- An agreed decision making process for both pre-statutory and statutory assessment (Luton LEA, 1998).

Developing a co-ordinated strategy for delivering SEN services is a key objective for Luton LA. Implementing a coordinated approach to deliver these services from one point i.e. the School Consultation Meetings (SCMs) is central to this approach. These ‘arrangements promote a systematic and co-ordinated approach to assessment and intervention’ (Luton LEA, 1998. Appendix 1). This policy is underpinned by:

‘Luton’s approach to resourcing special needs within the Borough [where] priority should be given to maintaining schools’ budgets at the highest possible level in order to provide schools with the means and the flexibility to respond to pupils with special educational needs’ (Luton LEA, 1998 2.1).

Delegating resources to schools is based on the assumption that schools have the expertise to identify, assess and make provision for most pupils with SEN. Then the LA with small support teams at the centre can consult and advise schools about pupils with the most complex needs.

Luton has statutory duties to provide for the most exceptional pupils and the assumption is these will be fewer in number because ‘Judicious use should be made of statutory assessment as a means of allocating resources to pupils’ (Luton LEA, 1998 2.1). To ‘filter’ requests for statutory assessments a peer moderation group was set up. This was described as a ‘A new approach based upon moderation...involving headteachers, special educational needs co-ordinators (SENCOs), Health Authority Representatives and LA officers to moderate initiations of statutory assessments at stage 4 of the Code of Practice’ (Luton LEA, 1998. 2.3).

Special Educational Support Service Delivery to Schools

Luton LA divided the Borough into five geographical clusters for the purpose of delivering SEN services to schools. A cluster consists of about 20 schools, which are a

combination of infant, junior, primary, special, and two to three secondary schools. In September 1997 Luton LA established School Consultation Meetings (SCMs) as the delivery mechanism for SEN services to schools. Each school holds a termly School Consultation Meeting (SCM), to which they can invite the LA service providers:

‘From Autumn Term 1997 Arrangements for the meeting:

- Core membership as follows
- Headteacher or member of the Senior Management Team in Secondary schools.
(This is important in order to discuss whole school and resourcing issues).
- SENCO
- Educational Psychologist
- Learning support advisory teacher (member of the Early Years Team in six LA nursery schools).
- Behaviour & Tuition Service teacher (High Schools)’.

Others may be invited to attend as appropriate e.g. Home/School Liaison Team etc. (Luton, LEA. 1998. Appendix 1). SCMs are the service delivery mechanism for all SEN services and are viewed by the LA as the central ‘core’ to supporting schools with SEN issues. The SCM forum is part of the LA’s strategy to move to ‘whole school’ support of SEN, as opposed to the individual pupil ‘deficit’ model of pupils with SEN, outlined in the Code of Practice on the Identification and Assessment of SEN (DfEE, 1994b). Margerison & Rayner (1999, p 88) argue ‘that the CoP guidelines differ slightly from the ‘normal’ concept of school based assessment. Only if there is failure to maintain satisfactory progress does this lead to concern and the pupil is referred to the SEN specialist to solve the problem. Special needs work is therefore, at least in its initial stages

based upon a deficit model'. Smith (1996) suggests that there exists guidance through the Code of Practice (DfES, 1994b) 'as to what constitutes a learning difficulty and therefore, those pupils who have SEN, it is a matter of concern that divisions still exist in provision for the identification and assessment of SEN and in particular, those pupils experiencing EBD' (Smith, 1999, p 88).

Schools in Luton are encouraged by the LA to support SCMs by the attendance of headteachers and SENCOs. In secondary schools deputy headteachers and SENCOs are encouraged to attend SCMs. By establishing these meetings the LA is trying to work in 'partnership' with schools to adopt a strategic approach which will support pupils with SEN. Luton's approach 'dovetails' with the strategy outlined in 'Social Inclusion: Pupil Support' (DfEE, 1999a) 'and local targets have been set to reduce the number of exclusions' (p 31). Luton LA managed to reduce exclusion year on year from 1997 (see table 1.1). Central government had reduced exclusion from school by a third (DfEE, 1999a) by the year 2002. Raising achievement of all pupils is another key target for the nation particularly pupils who may be regarded as being at risk of social exclusion. These groups include pupils with SEN who are said to be seven times more likely to be excluded than their peers (Osler, 1999).

Luton LA and Social Inclusion

Luton LA had the remit to implement national government's 'Social Inclusion' policy and reducing exclusion from school in all its forms. Luton was in the vanguard of reducing exclusion having reduced permanent exclusions from 41 in the academic year

1997 (Table 1.1) to 14 in 2002. Luton LAs policy is reflected by Giorcelli (1995 in Knight, 1999, p 3) when he outlines the following principles of inclusion:

- placement in the neighbourhood school;
- zero rejection philosophy;
- age and grade appropriate placements;
- no special classes or schools;
- co-operative learning practiced ; and
- special education support given to regular education.

Luton LA is committed to all the points above and the SCM approach is the local strategy, which seeks to develop 'Social Inclusion' within the education system in the Borough. Limited LA resources are highlighted by Marsh (1998) when he points out 'that a number of LEAs are experiencing considerable difficulties in identifying, assessing and controlling the costs of SEN' (p 68). The pressure from government to delegate more money to schools aims to ensure LAs adopt a 'whole school' approach to making provision for pupils with SEN. Since the 1988 Education Act there has been 'a weakening in the relationship between LEAs and their schools by introducing a system whereby schools were increasingly to receive their funding directly and had the opportunity to opt out of LEA control' (Millward, A. & Skidmore, D. 1998 p. 57). Moving schools away from the 'traditional' pupil deficit model of SEN will be a gradual process which can only take place in collaboration with all stakeholders. SCMs could play a major role in developing a 'whole school' approach to SEN provision.

Table 1.1 Permanent Exclusions from Luton Schools

1996-1997	41
1997-1998	30
1998-1999	19
1999-2000	11
2000-2001	29
2001-2002	14

Clustering schools within LAs and establishing regular cluster meetings could aid dissemination and sharing of good practice. Clark *et al*, (1990) suggest that LAs, since the 1988 Education Reform Act, ‘are now faced with the problem of identifying alternative means of achieving, if they still retain it as a principle, this continuum of provision’ (p 281) for pupils with SEN. The Clark *et al* (1990) model, below, highlights nurturing of good practice and the role the LA might play in ‘sustaining and dissemination of good practice, and the LEA’s continuing ability to formulate policy in terms of philosophical position and in terms of generalisation of existing good practice’ (Clark *et al*, 1990, p 282). Clark *et al*, (1990) suggest that LAs influence continues ‘over: the INSET budget, manipulation of the LMS formula, and deployment of probably reduced ancillary and support services’ (p 281). Although Clarke *et al* (1990) suggest this influence is limited, if the LMS formula and an SEN funding strategy are co-ordinated to develop whole school responses to SEN then a very powerful model of inclusive education may emerge (Ainscow *et al*, 1999).

Purpose of the Study

The study will outline how Luton LA support services are organised to support schools with students who are described as having (SEBD). The discussion will use the Clark *et al* (1990) model below to illustrate LA management of SEN services to schools in Luton:

- (a) the nurturing and sharing of inclusive practice;
- (b) LA management and control of residual support services to schools support;
- (c) influence through the retention of statutory responsibility for statementing.

The study will focus on the ‘technology’ of inclusion in Luton schools promoted through the policy ‘Achievement and Access for All’. The relationship between policy and practice will be explored i.e. to find out if SEN budgets devolved to schools is used to include pupils. How additional provision is designed for pupils, through the SCMs, will be described and assessed in an attempt to determine how pupils with SEBD can be included in Luton schools. The key research questions are outlined below and will be discussed in relation to the reviewed literature in chapter two.

Key Questions:

1) How do schools use the School Consultation Meetings (SCMs) to access Behaviour Support Services?

- Why do schools use SCMs?
- Does this support include these pupils in mainstream education?
- Does this support exclude these pupils from mainstream education?
- Who from the LA provides support to pupils with social, emotional and behavioural needs?

- 2) Who from the LA carries out the Behaviour Support work with the schools?
 - What form does this work take?
 - Does this work lead to inclusion or exclusion?
- 3) Why have SEN support services, which focus on pupil deficits instead of pupil strengths?
 - Should/could these services be incorporated into achievement and school improvement services?

Importance of the Study

The study is important because the National Government of England and Wales is promoting social inclusion and the rhetoric is of inclusion of all pupils in schools. Since September 1997 Luton LA has been operating termly school consultation meetings as the delivery mechanism for SEN services to support the inclusion of all pupils. The study focused on how this approach operates to include marginalised groups of pupils and issues to do with inclusion. Investigation of LA central services took place to uncover how schools were being supported, and who provided the support.

The LA, its role and how it supports schools and pupils have been researched. The changing role of LAs is discussed (Clough, 1998; Skidmore & Copeland, 1998, etc.).

The study will explore Relationships with:

- The role of the LA and its staff;
- SENCOs, teachers and the LA.

Outline of the Research Design - Overview of Research Methods

The research methods were piloted as part of the EdD assignment programme and included a questionnaire to a cluster of SENCOs, semi-structured interviews with three SENCOs and observation of a School Consultation Meeting.

The Case Study

Within the case study approach of this investigation a multi-method research strategy was used as outlined above. The research methods above focused down from the LA level through the questionnaire to a semi-structured interview with SENCOs around key issues. Observation of SCMs also took place to ‘view’ how they operated at school level.

The unit of analysis in this case study is Luton LA. The boundary of this study is Luton LA and includes all schools in the Borough who are receiving support from the Behaviour and Tuition Service. Yin (1994) suggests that the unit of analysis relates to research questions and goes on to point out that, ‘Once the general definition of the case has been established, other clarifications in the unit of analysis become important’ (Yin, 1994, p 24). Outline of the Thesis:

Chapter one describes the policy context within which Luton SEN support services operate. The role of the LA is also discussed and Luton LAs special educational needs policy is outlined. The overall scope of the study is outlined in this chapter.

Chapter two describes the conceptual framework of the study and reviews the literature in relation to the delivery of SEN support services and definitions of SEBD plus characteristics of pupils who experience social exclusion and exclusion from school. Particular attention is focussed on collaborative approaches to the delivery and management of SEN support services. Chapter two discusses the inclusive or exclusive effects these services may have on pupils.

Chapter three discusses the research methods in relation to the questions the study is attempting to address. In this chapter issues of validity and reliability are discussed and the ethical principals on which the study is based are highlighted.

Chapter four outlines the main findings by research method and within each research method the findings are analysed in relation to the key questions of the study.

Chapter five discusses the findings in relation to the literature review and the conceptual framework of the study. Development of a theory on leading and managing SEN support services for pupils who are described as having SEBD is developed in light of the rhetoric of inclusive education. An inclusive model for the delivery of SEN support services is proposed in this chapter.

Chapter six outlines recommendations for future practice and how SEN support services may be developed to include the most marginalized groups of pupils in the education system. Further questions to be researched are raised in this chapter and there is a section

outlining how the study had added to the knowledge in this area. The chapter includes a section describing what the author has learned whilst conducting the study

Chapter Two-Literature-Review

Introduction

The literature review will discuss the management of social inclusion within a Local Authority (LA) and the implications this may have for different groups of pupils. Social inclusion will be discussed in relation to pupils who are excluded, and the ways they are segregated within mainstream school and apart from mainstream school. The concepts of inclusion and exclusion require definition at this point. Paechter (1998) highlights the dualistic tradition of Western philosophical thought and points out that: 'This tradition looks at the world through a series of dichotomous pairs' (p 8). In this study the exclusion/inclusion duality is discussed below in relation to pupils who have been categorised as having social, emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) and 'vulnerable'. Paechter (1998) points out that the inclusive/exclusive duality is driven by power. Segregation of pupils, which is 'built' into the education system in England and Wales, reflects societal power elites aspirations for the education system (Tomlinson, 2001).

Inclusion

Some pupils will be included differentially in mainstream school in relation to the category of SEN and need they are experiencing. As MacLeod (2001) points out when reintegrating 12 year six pupils with SEBD she found:

'that some schools can appear to have an anti-inclusive agenda: a reluctance to accept any pupils with SEN other than those who score highly in emotively sympathetic terms, for example pupils

with physical disabilities, is most strongly evidenced in an unwillingness to accept pupils with EBD' (p 191).

Education of all children at their neighbourhood school is central to the concept of inclusion used in this study. Sebba and Ainscow (1996) provide this definition of inclusion:

'Inclusion describes the process by which a school attempts to respond to all pupils as individuals by reconsidering its curricular organisation and provision. Through this process, the school builds its capacity to accept all pupils from the local community who wish to attend and, in so doing, reduces the need to exclude pupils' (Feiler & Gibson, 1999, p148).

LAs which promote inclusive education for all pupils build on the UNESCO Salamanca Statement (1994) and the 'Framework for Action', which requires all children to be accommodated in ordinary schools, regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic or other conditions; according to the framework, national and local policies should stipulate that disabled children attend the neighbourhood school 'that would be attended if the child did not have the disability' (p 17) in (Clough, 1998, p 4).

Exclusion

Exclusion in this study is defined by the pupil not being able to attend their neighbourhood school as consequence of their SEN. Florian (1998) suggests that, 'The act of identification is an act of exclusion' (p 106). Florian (1998) argues that the SEN professionals who identify pupils as having SEN are part of a profession in which

‘exclusion and exclusivity are defining characteristics of the profession and there is tacit philosophical resistance to inclusion’ (Florian, 1998a, p 106). Cooper *et al* (2000) suggest that social factors contributed to pupils experiencing exclusion and these ‘included personal difficulties in the form of no friends, low self esteem and behaviour difficulties’ (p 7). Parsons (1999) argues that, ‘Disaffection, truancy, disruption and exclusion are disproportionately found in disadvantaged groups’ (p 64). Tomlinson (2000) points out that ethnic minorities are disproportionately excluded from mainstream education through ‘the use of special education, suspension and exclusions from mainstream education’ (p 21). Exclusion can be viewed as a process, which involves many actors with varying degrees of power. Armstrong (1995) argues that, ‘The power to define the needs of others, which is implicit in the activity of professionals involved in the assessment of special educational needs, stands somewhat awkwardly in relation to the humanitarian principles frequently used by professionals in theorising their own practice’ (p 1). The exclusionary ‘nature’ of professionals defining pupils as having SEN is of central interest to this study.

Social exclusion

The concept of social exclusion is a complex one and has been described in the USA by Kamerman as:

‘A multi-dimensional concept, involving economic, social, political, cultural, and special aspects of disadvantage and deprivation, often described as the process by which

individuals and groups are wholly or partly excluded from participation in their society' (Kamerman, 2005).

The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) defined social exclusion as:

'Social exclusion is about more than income poverty. Social exclusion happens when people or places suffer from a series of problems such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, ill health and family breakdown. When such problems combine they can create a vicious cycle' (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999).

There has been considerable debate about the SEU definition of social exclusion (Hills *et al*, 2002); there is recognition that social exclusion can be intergenerational and to break this cycle prevention in the early years of education through programmes such as Sure Start (Carpenter, *et al* 2005) and On Track (Parsons *et al* 2003) have been introduced by the New Labour Government. Ridge (2002) argues that social inclusion for children is about 'fitting in' (not feeling different) and 'joining in' (being able to participate in social and other activities) and goes on to say that:

'Social exclusion for children could signify much more than exclusion from society as conceived by adults. It may also mean exclusion from the norms and customs of children's society. In this respect, childhood needs to be seen as a social experience in itself, where the demands of

participation and inclusion may be considerable, and likewise the costs of exclusion' (Ridge, 2002, p 6).

In the next section the characteristics of pupils who are socially excluded will be discussed.

Characteristics of Pupils who are Socially Excluded

Pupils with Social Emotional and Behavioural Needs (SEBD)

The Code of Practice suggests that, 'Pupils with emotional and / or behavioural difficulties have learning difficulties' (DfEE, 1994b, p 58). Definitions of Social Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties vary in the literature from the early category of maladjustment a 'catch all' category within which pupils who had a wide variety of needs were categorised. This included over representation of black boys and working class pupils in special education schools and classes (Tomlinson, 1982).

In a recent review of the literature by Visser *et al* (2003) definitions were grouped by:

- Official and semi-official Department for Education/Department for Education and Employment definitions
- Overlapping definitions of mental health difficulties/problem used by other English government bodies
- Scottish definitions
- Two American definitions including that for the Federal category of 'severe emotional disturbance' (SED).

The Department for Education provided a detailed and extended definition of emotional and behavioural difficulties (DfE, 1994) highlighting the increasing recognition of the bio-psycho-social and ecosystemic nature of EBD (Cooper, Smith and Upton, 1991; Cooper, 1996). The executive summary of Circular 9/94 states:

‘Children with EBD are on a continuum. Their problems are clearer and greater than sporadic naughtiness or moodiness and yet not so great as to be classed as mental illness.’ (DfE, 1994c, p 4)

Determining whether a child has EBD depends on ‘frequency, persistence, severity or abnormality and the cumulative effect of the behaviour in context’ compared to ‘normal’ children’ (p 8). Cooper (1999) suggests ‘Whilst biology may create propensities for certain social and behavioural outcomes, biology is always mediated by environment and culture’ (p 239).

The first code of practice describes EBD pupils as having learning difficulties and they may in some cases disrupt the learning of others and points out that:

‘Emotional and behavioural difficulties may result, for example, from abuse or neglect; physical or mental illness; sensory or physical impairment; or psychological trauma. In some cases, emotional and behavioural difficulties may arise from or be exacerbated by circumstances within the school environment’ (DfES, 1994 p 64).

The CoP goes on to suggest that pupils with:

‘Emotional and behavioural difficulties may become apparent in a wide variety of forms including withdrawn, depressive or suicidal attitudes; obsessional preoccupation with eating habits; school phobia; substance misuse; disruptive, anti-social and unco-operative behaviour; and frustration anger and threat or actual violence.’
(paras. 3.64-3.66)

Ofsted’s ‘Principles into Practice report, (1999) reinforces Circular 9/94 and follows Cole *et al* (1998) in citing the Underwood Report (1955) which stressed ‘that EBD/maladjustment was not a medical condition. It is a term describing an individual’s relation at a particular time to the people and circumstances which make up his environment’. Within this definition Ofsted suggests that schools should look at their organisation, curriculum and support systems to improve the relations between the pupils with EBD and his or hers environment.

The Special Educational Needs Code of Practice, (DfES, 2001b) highlights ‘persistent emotional and/or behavioural difficulties, which are not ameliorated by the management techniques usually employed in school’ (p 71). The revised code introduces a different descriptor ‘behavioural, emotional and social development (BESD) and argues that the four areas which require support are ‘communication and interaction’, ‘cognition and learning’ (p 83). One way of obtaining the resources for this support may be through the statutory assessment process where the LA will seek evidence of SEBD including:

‘Evidence of significant emotional or behavioural difficulties, as indicated by clear recorded examples of withdrawn or disruptive behaviour; a marked and persistent inability to concentrate; signs that the child experiences considerable frustration or distress in relation to their learning difficulties; difficulties in establishing and maintaining balanced relationships with their fellow pupils or with adults; and any other evidence of significant delay in the development of life and social skills.’ (para 7:43, p 83)

Birmingham council describe pupils who are ‘emotionally vulnerable’ which may be viewed as a subset of the ‘catch all’ category SEBD as:

‘Pupils who have low self esteem. They may have characteristics associated with terms such as depressed, neurotic, school phobic, withdrawn or suicidal. They are not pupils who would attract the term conduct disorder.’ (BCC, 1998, p1; Daniels, Visser, Cole, de Reybekill, Harris, Cumella, 1998).

This group of pupils are often overlooked in the literature on challenging behaviour (Daniels *et al*, 1998).

SEBD definitions can overlap with mental health ‘problems’ and there is a tendency for ‘educational’ guidance in England to avoid words such as ‘problems’ or ‘disorders’. However in the ‘medical’ guidance there are overlapping definitions around key areas

such as disruptive, anti-social and aggressive ‘problems or ‘difficulties’; over-activity, attention and concentration ‘problems’; somatic, emotional and related symptoms; peer and family relationships and poor school attendance. There is considerable congruence between Circular 9/94 and the Department of Health problems or disorders. The Department of Health (DoH) (2000) suggested:

‘Mental health problems in children and young people are broadly defined as disorders of emotions, or social relationships sufficiently marked or prolonged to cause suffering or risk to optimal development in the child, or distress or disturbance in the family or community.’ (DoH, 2000, p 25)

Reflecting the medical tradition, Kurtz, Thomas and Wolkind (1995) use ‘disorder’ instead of ‘difficulties’ or ‘problems’. They provide a long list of mental health ‘disorders’ appearing in the school age pupil. These include conduct, oppositional, panic, anxiety, and obsessive-compulsive disorders; agoraphobia and social phobias; depression; attention deficit hyperactivity disorders, somatic complaints and various syndromes. Maras (1996) suggests that offering a definition is difficult but points out that ‘suffering disruption of a number of emotional and social functions’ is ‘a useful starting point’ (p 34). Garner and Hill (1995) describe challenging behaviour as that which prevents pupil’s participation in educational activities or isolates them from their peers, affects the learning of others, makes excessive demands upon teachers, staff and resources or places the pupils or others in physical danger. Cooper (1999) highlights the increasing evidence for biological/genetic reasons seen for example in Blau and Gullota (1996). However Galloway and Goodwin (1987) findings repeated by McNamara and Moreton (1994) and

Cooper (2001) found that the most common factor determining whether pupils are said to have EBD is 'that they are experienced as a source of serious disquiet to school personal and other significant adults' (p 14). They are seen as subverting the 'formal educational functions of the school' (Cooper, 2001, p 14). Cole *et al* (1999) in their study of LA behaviour support plans stresses that what is particularly disturbing to one may be merely irritating to another; for example, spitting may upset more than swearing for one teacher but not the another. The varying tolerance levels of individual teachers or schools may determine which pupils are labelled EBD. Lloyd and O'Regan (1999) point out that there was no official definition of the well-established descriptor 'social emotional and behavioural difficulties' (SEBD) and that the latter was 'rather, a subjective professional judgement' and for the purposes of their study into young women said to have SEBD, they used it as 'an administrative category rather than an individual psychopathology' (p 38).

The Scottish Executive (2001) found it hard to define SEBD but they recognised such children existed and they clearly had SEN and could have the following traits:

'They can appear to be anxious, depressed, withdrawn, passive or unmotivated; and their apparent irrational refusal to respond and co-operate may cause frustration for teachers and other children' (para. 2.13)

Children with SEBD may:

- Be unhappy, unwilling and/or unable to work
- Receive less praise for their work and have fewer positive/child adult interactions

- Have learning difficulties or be under-achieving
- Have poor social skills and fewer friends
- Have low self-esteem
- Be emotionally volatile
- Be easily hurt (para.2.14).

Hamill and Boyd (2001) also write about the difficulties of defining SEBD and offer a similar list to the above, adding pupils' 'feelings of helplessness'. The difficulty in defining SEBD is highlighted by the Educational Institute of Scotland but they do suggest that SEBD are present when pupils have difficulty 'relating appropriately to other pupils and/or adults; recognising the commonly accepted boundaries of school; taking responsibility for the effects of their actions'.

Definitions used in the United States of America

The SED federal definition is only used in a minority of states within the USA despite being in existence since the education of the Handicapped Act of 1975 (Public Law 94-142). This states:

- ‘(i) The term [SED] means a condition exhibiting one or more of the following characteristics over a long period of time and to a marked degree, which adversely affects education performance:
 - (a) An inability to learn which can not be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors;
 - (b) An inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers or teachers;

- (c) Inappropriate types of behaviour or feelings under normal circumstances;
 - (d) A general, pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression; or
 - (e) A tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears associated with personal or school problems.
- (ii) The term [SED] includes children who are schizophrenic or autistic. The term does not include children who are socially maladjusted, unless it is determined that they are seriously emotionally disturbed'

The exclusion of 'socially maladjusted' and the perceived ambiguity of the definition lead to 'widespread professional criticism' (Nelson and Pearson, 1991, p 12; see also Rosenberg *et al*, 1997).

The main professional body in America, the Council for Exceptional Children, campaigned during the 1980's and 1990's for the adoption of the term 'Emotional or Behavioural Disorder' in place of SED:

'Emotional or Behavioural Disorder (EBD) refers to a condition in which behavioural or emotional responses of an individual in school are so different from his or her generally accepted, age- appropriate, ethnic, or cultural norms that they adversely affect educational performance in such areas as self-care, social relationships, personal adjustment, academic progress, classroom behaviour, or work adjustment.'

The above definition was accepted (Forness and Kavale, 2000) by the federal government, who met opposition from school boards (education authorities) who feared,

for financial reasons, an increase in the number pupils identified for whom provision would have to be made.

The literature using the term ‘challenging behaviour’ in relation to pupils with severe learning difficulties (SLD) and for profound and multiple learning difficulties (PMLD) is not as extensive as the for pupils with EBD. Writers in this field include Emerson *et al* (1987), Thurman (1997) and Harris, Cook and Upton (1987). These researchers use the term ‘challenging behaviour’ and this term is regarded more respectful and less deficiency oriented they suggest that such challenging behaviours represent challenges to services rather than ‘within person malaise’.

Emerson (2001) and Porter (2003) emphasise the importance of understanding the context within which the behaviour occurs.

Harris *et al* (1996) are wary of attempting a concise definition instead preferring to describe the attributes of particular individuals. They point out that challenging behaviour covers a range of varied behaviours, which have the common feature of posing social, developmental and educational problems. Within this view the challenging behaviour is seen as ‘not a personal feature carried around by individuals; instead, a challenge expresses the idea of a relationship between one person or a group of people and another person or group of persons’ (p 4). Both parties to this relationship have a responsibility for addressing or overcoming the problematic outcomes of the behaviour.

The behaviour can be situation or person related. It can involve bizarre and situation-inappropriate actions. Thurman (1997, p111) follows Emerson's definition (1987, p 8)

Challenging behaviour is:

‘of such an intensity, frequency or duration that the physical safety of the person or others is likely to be placed in serious jeopardy or which is likely to seriously limit or delay access to and use of ordinary community facilities.’

Zarkowska and Clements (1996, p 3) provide the following definition:

‘Whilst many of the of the problem behaviours are similar to those which may be found in the general population (for example, tantrums, aggression, absconding), there are also other kinds of behaviours less commonly found in the general population (repetitive and stimulatory behaviours, such as rocking or finger flicking; socially inappropriate behaviours, such as masturbating, stripping in public or smearing faeces; and occasionally, more distressing self injurious behaviours, such as self-hitting or eye poking’ (p 3).

They stress the social, emotional and cognitive factors (such as poor problem solving skill, poor communication and social skills) that can contribute to the development and

maintenance of challenging behaviour in this population. There is no doubt that behaviour difficulties arise from a complex 'mix' of ingredients that may reside within the pupil and/or within the context within which the pupil is being educated.

Cole (1999) suggests that this ecosystemic perspective takes the view that the pupil is part of a web of interconnecting systems: the internal physical and mental systems of the pupil that interact with the classroom system; the school system; the neighbourhood system; and importantly, the family system' (p14).

Pupils whose needs are defined as SEBD and who may be regarded as having 'psychosocial' needs which appear to be concerned with the pupil's social skills and behaviour and can lead to marginalisation and viewed as illegitimate within school (Armstrong, 1995; Booth, 1998; Cooper, 1994). These pupils' needs can be constructed as having less value as their need is about the 'social' rather than the 'educational' issues which schools and teachers support. Devaluing pupil need in this way affects the security in school of pupils with social, emotional and behavioural needs this is reinforced by Mahony (1995) who pointed out that:

'The ones that are less likely to be O.K. (stay in school) – because of the reputation of the school – two kids with massive behaviour difficulties can create havoc to a school's reputation. Two kids with learning difficulties are marvellous to have in a school because they don't count towards any league tables –

they're excluded from that, they bring in the revenue and keep the numbers up' (p 253).

The relative 'value' of particular pupils affects their social inclusion in schools. Inclusion of pupils with SEBD is problematic for schools and teachers (Parsons, 1999) and the range of needs within the 'catch all' category of SEBD may lead to some pupils needs not being assessed. Children with speech and language impairments (SLI) appear to be such a group and this is discussed below. Practical approaches on how to include children with additional and SEN are discussed and described by Sage (2004).

Theory of Mind and Pupils with Social Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties

'Theory of mind' refers to the ability to attribute independent mental states to self and others in order to predict and explain behaviour (Premack & Woodruff, 1978). Happe (2003, p 134) suggests 'this ability is a prerequisite for normal social interaction: In everyday life we make sense of each other's behaviour by appeal to a belief desire psychology. For example, it is easy to explain why John will carry his umbrella with him: it is because he *believes* it will rain and he *wants* to stay dry. Attribution of mental states is vital for everyday social interaction (e.g. cooperation, lying, keeping secrets).' Hughes and Ensor (2006) argue that the 'term theory of mind (ToM) is used to describe children's growing awareness of internal states such as desires, feelings and intentions, and beliefs (p 489).' Children with social emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) appear to have difficulty processing social information, which may be due to a number of reasons outlined on pages 20- 43. A number of authors (Dodge & Frame, 1982; Dodge &

Somberg, 1987) have suggested that social information processing is deficient in children with SEBD. This could be due to abnormal experience disrupting the development of an 'appropriate working model of human interaction' (McKeough, Yates & Marini, 1994).

Models of deficient social development are based on some model of normal social development (Happe & Frith, 1996). Theory of mind or mentalising i.e. the ability of 'normal' individuals to attribute mental states to themselves and others in order to explain and predict behaviour (ToM) has become a major interest for research by developmental psychologists. A number of empirical studies have shown that '2 and – 3 year olds appreciate that others have desires and thoughts and can use accurate mental state language. It is not until some time in the fourth year that children understand that another person may have a belief about the world, which is different from their own belief, and different from reality (Happe & Frith, 1996). Mentalising it is argued is 'an implicit and unconscious mechanism and is not a consciously constructed theory' (Happe & Frith, 1996, p 386). Both the lack of cross-cultural differences and the narrow developmental window may suggest an innate basis for this evolutionary valuable cognitive component (Happe & Frith, 1996). Although social development of pupils can be affected by biology Cooper (1999) suggests this can be mediated by culture and environment.

In their exploratory study to examine everyday social behaviour, which reflects theory of mind ability, Happe and Frith (1996) found that children with conduct disorder showed widespread social impairments. These were particularly striking in behaviours that presuppose a well functioning theory of mind. They suggest that in everyday life children

with conduct disorder appear to be impaired in mentalising. Their findings may indicate that children with conduct disorder have a basic and implicit cognitive mechanism, which is faulty, and they are unable to infer mental states. Teachers of children with conduct disorders should not assume that the child is reading minds or attributing thoughts and feelings at all and they may need to consider the accuracy of these children's mental state attributions.

Children with Speech and Language Impairments (SLI) and Behaviour Difficulties

Cross (1999) suggests that many children who have social, emotional and behavioural difficulties have undetected speech and language difficulties. High levels of behaviour problems are found in children with learning difficulties Ripley & Yuill (2005). However the incidence of speech and language impairment (SLI) among children has been difficult to estimate and vary between 10% Lindsay and Dockrell (2000) and 7% (Law *et al* 2000) of children. In a study carried out with Year 2 children Botting and Conti-Ramsden (2000) expected to find 5% of children experiencing SLI only 1% of these appeared on registers of SEN with SLI as their primary need. Gordon (1991) suggests that if teachers are not aware that children in their class have SLI this may lead to the perception that these pupils may have emotional and behavioural disorders or as Freeman and Willig (1995) highlight these pupils may be perceived as being stubborn and non-compliant. Cross *et al* (2001) argues that it is disturbing that many children with SEBD have unrecognised SLI and goes on to point out that 'perhaps a third of children with emotional and behavioural problems as having speech and language difficulties that no one has recognised' (p 250). Baker and Cantwell (1987) assert that children with SLI

were frequently put under pressure to conform when they were unable to understand or respond to as other children of their age did. In their study of children with SLI in Year 2, Botting and Conti-Ramsden (2000) identified 40% of children as having anti-social or emotional problems in addition to their SLI.. A wide range of studies have established that children with SLI are at risk of developing behavioural problems, this was reinforced by Richman and Graham (1985) who demonstrated that children who had language problems at 3 years were at risk of developing behaviour problems at 8 years of age. Interestingly, Stevenson *et al* (1985) and Funk and Ruppert (1984) found that as language skills improved so attendant behaviours were ameliorated. Evidence from many studies indicates that the incidence of SLI is significantly underestimated in the school age population.

Despite the evidence of a coincidence between SLI and behaviour problems, there have been relatively few studies that have focussed on language profiles of children who experience SEBD (Ripley & Yuill, 2005). Warr-Leeper, Wright and Mack (1994) investigated a group of boys in a residential treatment centre and found that 80% of the children had undetected language impairments. Burgess and Brandsby (1990) undertook a detailed study of language profiles of children in a unit for moderate emotional and behavioural difficulties, and recommended intervention by a speech and language therapist for 16 out the 17 boys within the unit. Other investigations focussed on children who had been referred to psychiatric services (Beitchman, 1985; Valliance, *et al* 1999). The Cohen (1998) study found that 40% of 7-14 year-olds referred to psychiatric services

had undetected SLI. The study also indicated that children with undetected SLI were more likely to demonstrate 'aggressive, delinquent' behaviours.

Studies of prison populations and youth offender institutions have also shown that the incidence of SLI has been higher than expected. Bryan (2004) found high levels of SLI in a UK young offender's institution. Pryor (1998) in his study of prisons found a similar need for speech and language services for young offenders. It is possible that language or speech impairment increases the risk of anti-social behaviour, but these effects are not realised until late adolescence or early adulthood, except among individuals with behaviour problems as severe as those in psychiatric clinic samples (Brownlie, *et al* 2004).

War-Leeper, *et al* (1994) also suggests that 'the undesirable behaviour exhibited by children with behavioural problems may be related to lack of language skills' (p 167). They point out that if a child is given a request which may be too linguistically complex for her/him they may respond in a variety of ways, which can lead to different interpretations by the conversational partner. If these responses achieve the desired goal by the child although they may be considered deviant the behaviour may be strengthened. They speculate that 'it may be that children with conduct disorder have 'learned' the behaviours associated with the disorder because of language deficits which have not allowed them to be effective in communicating with others' (p 167). War-Leeper, *et al* (1994) highlight the evidence from their study and others about children with language

impairments remaining into adult life and creating educational, social and vocational problems (Weiner, 1985).

Pupils in Public Care

Cross *et al* (2001) suggest that young people who are 'looked after' often have complex learning, language and emotional/behavioural problems. They point out that identifying and working with these children's special needs is important because they often find it difficult to access the services they require. The term 'looked after' is defined by the Children Act 1989, where a child is 'looked after' by the local authority, where a child is subject to a care order with responsibility being shared between the local authority and the parent(s) or where they are accommodated on a voluntary basis (Goerge *et al*, 1992). Children looked after by local authorities are much more likely to come from disadvantaged backgrounds and their families may have experienced multiple social and economic disadvantage. One study of children coming into care found that:

- only a quarter lived with both parents
- almost three quarters of their families received income support
- only one in five live in owner occupied-housing (Bebbington, A.R. & Miles, J. 1989, p 352).

Children in care can be an overlooked group within the education system because of their small numbers and also because they are seen as the concern of social workers rather than teachers (Jackson, 1987). Looked after children are one of the most vulnerable groups of children in education. The Social Exclusion Unit (2003) confirms this underachievement as follows:

In 2001-02, just 8 per cent of young people in year 11 who had spent at least one year in care gained five or more GCSEs graded A* - C, compared with 50 per cent of all young people. Almost 50 per cent had no qualifications at GCSE level. Of year 11 pupils who had been in care for one year or more, 42 per cent did not sit GCSEs or GNVQs, compared to just 4 per cent of all children.

Also:

It is not just at GCSE level that children in care do less well. Of those who sat Key Stage tests in 2001-02, children at Key Stage 1 achieved at just under 60 per cent of the level of other children. The performance of children at Key Stage 3 did one-third as well as their peers. (Social Exclusion Unit, 2003, p 9-11)

Major factors regarding the underachievement and social exclusion of children and young people with experience of the public care system include:

- Fewer than 20% go on to further education and fewer than 1 in 100 go on to university compared to 68% of the general population (Biehal, *et al* 1995)
- Children in care are ten times more likely to be excluded than their peers; as many as 30% are out of mainstream

education because of their truancy or exclusion (Social exclusion Unit, 1998)

- Between 50% and 80% are unemployed between the ages of 16 and 25 (Scottish Executive, 2000)
- Up to 50% of those placed by the courts in secure accommodation come from a looked-after background (OfSTED, 2001, para. 1.8)
- 40% of teenage girls in prison custody have been in care (Russell, 1998)

Research going back to the 1960's indicates that children in care fall behind their peers at school and are at increased risk of dropping out of mainstream education. The massive under achievement of CiPC was highlighted in a recent Social Exclusion Unit report (2003): A better education for children in care. This report also indicated that stability and continuity within mainstream education was a major issue to be addressed if the achievement of CiPC was to be improved. Where and how pupils in care receive their education is a major concern i.e. some pupils will attend their local school if there are foster carers available in the area. A significant proportion of pupils will be placed outside their neighbourhood area and where foster carers are available. Foster placement will play a crucial role in the stability and continuity of education for children in care and admission of pupils mid-term or mid-year is a key issue to be addressed by LAs.

The massive underachievement and social exclusion of pupils in care could be attributed to the child abuse, neglect and deprivation many children in care have experienced

(Cassidy, 1994; Perry *et al*, 1995; Balaxte and Simmons, 1988). Cross (2001) argues that 'There seems to be links between child abuse, learning difficulties and neurological impairment' (p 251). Erickson *et al*, (1989) argue that neglect and abuse can affect a child's ability to interact because of the potential effects of these on a child's ability to understand their own and others emotions. The abuse, neglect, deprivation and attachment difficulties which children in care experience will add to their lack of emotional development. This lack of emotional development may affect the concept of emotional intelligence where 'thought and emotion influence each other and that emotion can make thinking more 'intelligent' (Cross, *et al* 2001, p 229). Children and young people in care are therefore at significant risk and if these risks are to be minimised it is essential that children's services are co-ordinated to promote their inclusion and achievement.

Pupils from Ethnic Minorities

Gillborn and Youdell (2000) in their study of two secondary schools, about the achievement of pupils, indicate that their analysis is 'that despite the rhetorics of inclusivity and empowerment; and irrespective of the motivation of pupils. The British school system is increasingly selective, disciplinary and discriminatory' (p 1). They point out that equality of opportunity is denied to many pupils, especially Black young people and children from working class backgrounds. They highlight the surveillance on schools and the obsession with measurable and 'elite' standards as being a part of the problem not the solution. Grant and Brookes (2000) comment that black children have been subjected to practices which have marginalised them within the education system or denied them a

‘comprehensive’ education. They propose that the history of black people in Britain has had a significant effect on the attitude of teachers and their ability to meet the needs of black students. Tomlinson (1990), Hiro (1991) and Grant and Brookes (1996) argue that teachers training and socialisation may lead them to have low expectations and perceptions about black pupils. The result of this is that black boys are disproportionately excluded from school and ‘around 26 in every 10,000 pupils of mixed ethnic origin were permanently excluded from school. This was the same as the exclusion rate for black pupils, which was around twice that for white pupils’ (DfES, 2006). Contributing factors to this relatively high exclusion include:

- Economic factors
- Local Management of Schools
- League tables
- Grant maintained Status
- Increasing youth crime and delinquency
- The National Curriculum

The factors above affect all pupils however research by Gillborn and Gipps (1996) suggest that local authorities fail to address their own service delivery from an equal opportunities perspective (Gray, 2001; Fletcher–Campbell & Cullen, 1999). They also point out that despite the general increase in achievement in many local authorities the gap between the achievement of African Caribbean and white children is widening. Gillborn (1990), Mac an Ghail (1998) and Callender (1997) suggest that the high level of conflict between white teachers and African Caribbean pupils add to low achievement and high exclusion. Gillborn (1990) argues that for some Black pupils hard work is not

enough to gain academic success. These pupils must develop strategies to handle white teachers assumptions that they may cause classroom disruption. Blair (2001) in her study of effective leadership in 18 schools found that 'measures of effectiveness in schools did not apply to all ethnic groups equally' (p 181). In her study some schools who appeared to be performing very well according to local and national league tables and 'effective' for all students. On closer examination one school in the study where 53% A*-C was achieved did not reflect the performance of African Caribbean students who achieved less than 2% of the high grades yet made up 30% of the school population. Large numbers of pupils were being permanently excluded from school usually boys and many of them with SEN (Blair, 1994, Parsons, 1999, Osler & Hill, 1999). This trend has continued with the permanent exclusion rate for boys being 4 times higher than that for girls in 2004/5 and this ratio remained stable over the last five years has remained (DfES, 2006).

Pupils from Deprived Backgrounds

Parsons (1999) illustrates which pupils are socially excluded when he points out that it is the least powerful who are excluded from school disproportionately and raises, as a result, class, culture and competition issues and tensions' (p 173). Class forces operate within schools and affect how pupil need is perceived by teachers to be either 'educational' or 'social'. If pupil need is defined as 'educational' this gains legitimacy subject to the social constructions of class, gender and ethnicity within the school. On the other hand need which is perceived to be 'social', 'emotional' or 'behavioural' tends to be viewed as illegitimate, troublesome, deviant and interfering with the learning of other 'legitimate' pupils who have learning needs. Armstrong (1995) argues that 'social

disadvantage has been reconstructed as individual despair and responses to that despair have been made dependent upon the outcome of individual negotiation' (p 25). The effect is that pupils become marginalised and another educational setting is viewed as being appropriate for them in order that their 'illegitimate' needs which are viewed as 'individual deficits' can be met through a different system. Tomlinson (2001) points out that:

'Educational policies, both deliberately and by default, have since Thatcher's first government in the 1980s, increasingly favoured groups already privileged or seeking privileges' (p 128).

Gillborn & Youdell (2000) reinforce this view that 'at precisely the point when overall educational achievements were rising sharply, the inequalities of achievement (the gaps) between social classes grew' (p 39). These 'gaps' of underachievement grew between manual and non-manual groups and were greater than those noted between gender and ethnic origin. Gillborn & Youdell (2000) in their study of educational inequality argue that pupils who have been stigmatised as having SEN 'are disproportionately placed in particular groups and viewed as unlikely to achieve academically' (p 13). Their educational career is set within the framework of limited achievement in secondary school. This socialisation to underachieve is amplified by the 'institutionalisation' of SEN as a means of marginalizing certain groups of pupils. Hamilton (2002) argues that, 'Pupil constructions of ability are integral to how they see themselves and how institutions and individuals such as teachers attempt to define them' (p 593).

The pressure on schools to achieve year on year improvement has resulted in increased grouping by 'ability'. Gillborn & Youdell (2000) 'argue that increased selection will create 'sink' groups and, especially, will lead to pupils deemed to have special needs being 'ghettoised', lesson after lesson, in a stigmatising and destructive way' (p 70). Internal 'ghettoisation' within secondary schools can manifest itself by some secondary SENCOs advocating special units for pupils with SEBD. This appears to be the first step in the process of exclusion of pupils who are not valued because they are unlikely to achieve exam points for the school. Gillborn & Youdell (2000) suggest that 'it is likely that some pupils predicted to achieve little or no exam success would be 'encouraged' to move elsewhere' (p 204). Pupils who are on the school SEN register are at great risk of permanent exclusion: 'Analysis of permanent exclusion from Birmingham schools during the 1996-1997 school year indicated that 53% of those excluded were on the schools' special needs register' (Osler & Hill, 1999, p 43).

What constitutes social inclusion in schools and Local Authorities?

Financial Infrastructure

How LAs and schools manage inclusion and the effect this has on schools, pupils, parents and teachers will be discussed in the next sections. The Education Reform Act 1988 and increasing pressure from the New Labour administration since 1997 has resulted in LAs delegating a larger percentage of the Standard Spending Assessment (SSA) to schools (DfES, 1998). This may be achieved by developing an SEN funding system, which is based on devolving an increasing proportion of the budget to schools (Luton LEA, 1997). Marsh (1998) points out that, 'Devising an acceptable formula for pupils with non-

statemented SEN has been one of the most difficult and politically sensitive tasks for LEAs' (p 65). The aim of whole school funding of SEN is to allow mainstream schools to make SEN provision for all but the most exceptional pupils. However as Marsh (1998) argues, 'If mainstream schools perceive a relative lack of funds to meet the needs of pupils with SEN, they will put pressure on the LEA to gain a statement of SEN' (p 66). This illustrates the 'push-pull' dynamic (Busher & Hodgkinson, 1996) with LAs seeking to promote inclusive education policies aiming to 'push' SEN resources into schools at a whole school level and reduce the number of statements. If LAs manage to reduce statements it is then anticipated that the LA will recycle the resources saved through the bureaucracy of the formal assessment process to schools. LAs and their support services can then encourage schools to use the increased resources to make provision for the additional needs of pupils in school. Schools on the other hand are 'steeped' in the notion of accessing additional resources by obtaining a statement for individual needs of pupils (Marsh, 1998). LAs which focus on funding SEN at a 'whole school' level to promote inclusion and reduce their statementing rate could develop a policy of inclusive education for all pupils in mainstream school. Ainscow *et al* (1999) suggests that LA support services can work with schools and other key partners to enhance mainstream SEN provision for all but the most exceptional pupils. The inclusion of pupils with SEBD in mainstream schools is a major challenge for National Government, LAs, schools, pupils and parents. The imperative for LAs and schools is to change schools to become more inclusive where all students become literate and numerate and develop a capacity for life long learning (Caldwell, 2001). This change is not peripheral but as Ainscow (2000) points out deep changes are needed to transform schools to achieve excellence for all

pupils. This will require effective leadership to mediate the apparent tensions between 'raising standards' and 'social inclusion'.

Since the ERA 1988 some schools have sought to develop collaborative approaches with other schools, to meet their own needs, and the SEN of an increasing range of pupils. The ERA brought about major changes in the education system within England and Wales and 'weakened the ability of LEAs to support equally every type of student in all its schools' (Busher, 1998, p 19). The ERA introduced local management of schools (LMS), which sought to fund schools on an equitable basis and giving schools greater autonomy in managing their own resources (DfEE, 1994a). Skidmore and Copeland (1998) point out that:

'The set of structural changes which the Education Reform Act 1988 introduced has provided the foundation for the quasi-market in education. A series of interrelated factors, such as opting out, open enrolment and local management of schools, were intended to encourage competition between schools to attract increased pupil numbers through parental choice which, in turn, determined the size of schools' budget' (p 140).

They go on to suggest the market was quasi because LAs retained responsibility for allocating resources for SEN.

The Code of Practice on Special Educational Needs (DfEE, 1994b) implies that schools will 'gradually assimilate or continue to provide for larger numbers of those who would

in the past have been directed to special schools' (O'Neil, 1994, p 26). Inclusion of students with SEN has stimulated some schools to seek collaborations in an attempt to combine scarce resources which may allow, 'those institutions [to] respond by organising themselves in-groups or 'clusters' (Dyson in O'Neil, 1994, p 87). A number of writers have explored cluster models (Busher & Hodgkinson, 1995; Gains, 1994; Norwich et al, 1994; Lunt *et al*, 1994). More recently the Education Act, 2002 enables schools to 'federate' allowing one governing body to be responsible for up to five schools (DfES, 2003). DfES Guidance on the Distribution of Resources to Support Inclusion (2002) suggests 'that it can be helpful to allocate some resources to clusters or groups of schools' (p 34). This might enable, 'Headteachers from such groups, in partnership with the LEA, [to] reach agreement on how shared additional resources should be used to supplement those already available' (ibid) to support inclusion of pupils with SEN. This point is reinforced by Gray (2001) when he argues that one of the barriers to inclusion 'could be tackled to some degree if there were more flexible systems for funding complex needs. This could include the option of delegating funds to clusters of schools' (p 36).

The ERA reorganised education in England and Wales and prompted some schools and LAs to consider how they would manage the delivery of SEN services to schools, Lunt *et al* (1994) argue that:

'Since the introduction of local management of schools (LMS) there has been a potential gap between what can be met by schools themselves and what the local authority still remains responsible for' (p 17).

This 'potential gap' requires 'bridging' by schools and LAs. Perhaps by 'exploring alternative models of managing provision for SEN' (Millward & Skidmore, 1998, p 57) and developing cluster models (Gains, 1994) of service delivery, LAs may become more effective in promoting inclusive SEN services to schools. Ainscow *et al* (1999) in their study of 12 LAs suggest that, 'inclusive practices must become a corporate priority which is reflected in global targets within the LEA and supported by co-ordinated target setting at the individual school level' (p 139).

Millward and Skidmore (1998) point out that:

'Policy shifts towards integration via the Warnock Report and the 1981 Education Act were easily assimilated within the existing framework of responsibility in which the LEAs, often collaborating in mutually advantages clusters, sought to plan a raft of provision which would meet the needs of a diverse range of pupils' (p 57).

Millward and Skidmore (1998) in their review of the literature explored the changing relationship between LAs and schools. They suggest a move, has taken place, since the ERA 1988 from the 'centre periphery model' of management to more collaborative models of management. They cite Clark, *et al*, (1990) who identified 'three particular areas in which this relationship might develop: the nurturing of good practice; the exertion of influence through the residual control of certain resources; and influence through the retention of statutory responsibility for statementing' (Millward & Skidmore, 1998, p 57). Inclusive education strategies by LAs focus on funding SEN at a 'whole school' level. Marsh (1998) points out that:

‘The challenge for LEAs and governing bodies as we approach the turn of the century is to develop inclusive education policies and formula funding arrangements for SEN which fully encompass the needs of all pupils with SEN, with or without a statement’ (Marsh, in Clough, p 75).

LAs have a crucial role to play in developing inclusive education policies this was confirmed by the Working Party of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities of Special Educational Needs. ‘The report suggests that the goal of greater inclusion can only be achieved as a joint enterprise between central government and the LA. (Skidmore, & Copeland, 1998. p 143). Ainscow, *et al* (1999) found ‘that LEA funding policies will inevitably have a significant and direct bearing on progress towards inclusive practices’ (p 137). This can be achieved by adopting whole school funding approaches, which seek to support most pupils in mainstream school (DfES, 2002). By adopting a whole school approach to funding whole school learning approaches could be developed in schools for pupils with SEN. Whole school differentiation of curricula could be developed to meet the diversity of all and reduce barriers to learning within the school. Of critical importance within SEN funding is ‘the inclusion and attainment of all pupils’ (DfES, 2002). Gray (2002) suggests that since ‘the 1988 Education Act (Local Management of Schools), which required the majority of LEAs’ budgets to be passed to schools’ (p 5) LAs have found it difficult to monitor the use of delegated budgets and in particular how to use these to promote inclusion. Gray (2002) suggests that LA ‘support

staff and schools strive to achieve improvements in pupil learning and behaviour; they do not necessarily share a similar emphasis on inclusion' (p 7).

Reducing exclusion/segregation

Tony Blair launched the Social Exclusion Unit on December 8th 1997 in which he espoused that he wanted a 'Britain from which no-one is excluded from opportunity and the chance to develop their potential' (Tomlinson, 2001, p 86). The inherent tension of pursuing the market in education and promoting social justice created a differential effect of education across society where large sections of the working classes were selected out of good quality education (Tomlinson, 2001). In response to this high level of exclusion and the perception that pupil behaviour in school was worsening in July 1999 the national government introduced the Social Inclusion: Pupil Support Initiative (DfEE, 1999a) which targeted resources at pupils who were at risk of being excluded from school. Excellence for All (1997a) promoted inclusion, where possible, for all children in mainstream education. This aspiration appears to have been tempered by recent policy development, which sought to provide for vulnerable and challenging children in settings other than mainstream school. The Excellence in Cities (DfEE, 1999b) initiative established Learning Support Units (LSUs) within schools and these units were designed to promote access to learning for all pupils. In some secondary schools LSUs have been re-designated as separate provisions within mainstream schools to meet the needs of pupils with social emotional and behavioural needs (SEBD). Segregation has increased with the growth of Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) to 421 in England and 17, 523 pupils attending during the academic year 2002-03 (DfES, 2006). Refocusing inclusion policy

had segregationist consequences for specific groups of pupils in schools (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000). The rhetoric of inclusion continues to be promoted as a desirable aspiration by central government albeit within a framework of segregating the troublesome. Policy by 'project' e.g. Behaviour Improvement Programmes (DfES 2002a) accentuate the time limited and segregationist approach towards inclusion. The 'project' approach to inclusion encourages LAs and schools to make bids for resources from central government. LAs are then expected to implement government policy in their areas, which have high levels of youth crime, truancy and anti-social behaviour. Resources are then usually allocated for a time-limited period with an implicit indication that the funding could continue for longer if the project is viewed by the DfES to be successful. Laying alongside the mainstream school approach to SEN, and increasingly interwoven within it, is the development of 'special' curriculum for 'bad' pupils. This curriculum is usually separate so pupils cannot contaminate other 'ordinary' pupils and where the 'bad' pupils can be made 'good' through this 'special' provision in another place apart from mainstream education (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000).

Including vulnerable pupils

Ainscow (1997) promotes the view that all pupils' needs may be met through the improvement of schools so that they increasingly meet a wider diversity of need. School improvement as a strategy for meeting the needs of all pupils is reinforced by Hopkins *et al* (1994) who argue that they:

'take as their focus the quality of education for all pupils, as
we do not believe that a school can be considered inclusive or

effective if it is serving the needs of only some groups of pupils, but we believe schools must aspire to the best for each pupil' (p 100).

School effectiveness for all (Ainscow 2000, Hopkins *et al* 1994) is regarded as the method to meet the needs of all pupils including those with SEN. Within this perspective pupils with SEN are viewed as having equality of access to educational resources within a system, which discriminates against pupils with SEN (Moses & Croll , 2000). Florian (1998) argues that the 'act' of identifying pupils as having SEN serves to exclude these pupils. Ainscow (1999) argues that there has been a 'tendency for special education to remain as a separate field working largely in parallel with the mainstream system' (p 139). Full participation of all pupils can only be achieved by regarding pupils SEN as part of the range of diverse learning needs within the school population. Within this view of SEN pupils have a human right to fully participate in education regardless of their disability. Florian's (1998) view of SEN promotes inclusion of all and SEN is viewed as a barrier to learning, which arises from the mismatch between curricula and the pupils learning style (Booth, 1998). Booth (1998) takes the view that it is the practices and structures of regular schools, which fail pupils. Within this perspective increasing school effectiveness is the route to meeting pupil need. How the LA is organised to Manage Social Inclusion is discussed in the next section.

How LAs managed social inclusion in the past

Clarke *et al* (1990) suggest that the management of social inclusion has never been easy in relation to segregated and separate provision. In the past LAs attempted to provide to

provide a continuum of provision for pupils with SEN. This usually took the form of special classes or units attached to mainstream schools, which were usually regarded as ‘bolt ons’ rather than developmental initiatives. Before the 1981 Education Act LAs had clear working practices established with segregated special schools and LAs had the capacity to affect what happened in respect of individual pupils with SEN. Central management of the SEN sector was a general feature of LAs throughout England to create a ‘continuum of need’, in respect of special education.

Formal administration

LAs still retained some of their powers in relation to formal assessment of pupils so that the school could access additional resources to educate the pupil in either mainstream or special school. LAs also retained limited control of developing the formula used for funding schools. LAs still have responsibilities in relation to public care of pupils who are in danger or who are being neglected by their caregiver. Since the introduction of the Childcare Act 2005 LAs have been given additional duties in three main areas ‘improving the outcomes for young children, securing sufficient childcare and providing information to parents’ (House of Commons, 2006). This legislation has prompted the development of children services department, which have ‘merged’ social services and local education authorities.

Inter-staff working

As schools have taken on the role of self management LAs services have contracted and they have started to sell SEN services to schools. ‘Schools now need to make careful decisions about when and for how long to purchase such support services’ (O’Neill,

1994, p 26). Schools are now in a position to either buy in services alone or 'cluster' together to buy from a wide range of providers. In a recent inspection of the impact of support services it was found that where funds were delegated to schools for support services pupils with SEN achievement were too low (OfSTED, 2005). On the other hand the DfEE describe 'a 100% delegation model designed to allocate funds in a way which adequately reflects the respective roles of LEAs and schools' (DfEE, 1998, p 1). The National Government has exerted pressure on LAs to delegate increasing proportion of the standard spending assessment (SSA) to schools themselves (DfEE, 2000a p.3). The pressure to delegate increasing amounts of the SSA continues and , 'The target for 2001/2 is 85% and the government believe that 90% is the level of delegation the majority of LAs can achieve by no later than 2002-3' (ibid) schools will have more resources to 'buy back' LA support services or to seek other providers. 'The Government would like to see local authorities working with groups of schools, selected on a geographical or other basis' (DfEE, 2000a p 14). Schools are encouraged to determine their own destiny and to 'see how far it is possible to devolve day to day responsibility for school improvement' (ibid) grouping schools is viewed by the government as a strategy for school improvement, which will affect all pupils including those with SEN.

Local Authorities (LAs) and Special Educational Needs (SEN)

Within LAs in England there is a recognition that the identification of pupils with SEN has grown and the result of LA intervention through Statutory Assessment. The increase in Statements of SEN has drained resources and not necessarily improved the learning opportunities for the pupils involved in the process (Audit Commission 2002). Gray

(2001) argues that LA support services should evaluate their services in relation to how inclusive their work is with school and pupils. This is reinforced by Ainscow *et al* (1999) who argues that LAs can promote inclusion but this can only be achieved by developing an inclusive SEN funding strategy underpinned by strategic inclusion policies which are 'owned' by LA and school personnel. This 'ownership' should be promoted through in service professional development.

As LAs decrease in size and are being 'commercialised' through outsourcing to private companies such as Cambridge Education Associates in Islington, Nord Anglia in Sussex and Westminster. Also Hackney Education Trust has been directly funded by National Government to manage education services. The LA role of managing residual services becomes even smaller and the effect LAs have on SEN is subject to change. The capacity of LAs to monitor statements of SEN is therefore questionable and the latest review of statutory assessment, Audit Commission (2002) recommends that, 'LEAs should put in place systems for monitoring, and where necessary, challenging schools' work with children who have special needs' (p 68). LAs have statutory duties to operate within the 'new inclusion framework' and the 'Special Educational Needs Disability Act 2001 delivers a strengthened right to mainstream education for children with special educational needs' (DfES, 2001c, p 1). Gray (2001) suggests that schools should provide evidence of the progress they are making on inclusion 'through a variety of means (including OfSTED inspections)' (p 37). Gray (2001) argues that LA support services should highlight how they contribute to inclusion at a local level through their service plans. The DfES (2001c) point out that LAs and schools should 'approach inclusion as

part of their overall improvement strategy. Inclusion is far more than just about the location of a child's school placement' (p 2). It is about the combination, at an LA level, of 'whole school' resourcing of SEN and the LA leading their inclusion policy and working with schools to enable them to manage SEN resources to maintain pupils in mainstream school.

How are Schools Organised to Manage Social Inclusion

SENCOs and Social Inclusion

The inclusion of pupils with SEBD raises particular challenges for schools. They have the task of managing the tensions of including pupils who cause disruption, and who may interfere with other pupils learning and disrupt the continuous improvement in raising the academic standards of all pupils (Feiler & Gibson, 1999). The dualities of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' and 'raising standards' or 'failing' schools appear to be at the centre of the tensions caused by attempting to promote inclusion and managing SEN and SEBD within LAs and schools. LAs interpret the National Government's policy of inclusion locally. At the same time the role of LAs is diminishing and, 'The guiding principle is that intervention should be in inverse proportion to success' (DfEE, 2001a, p 4). Since the 1988 Education Reform Act LAs have had many of their powers removed through legislation but 'are tasked by the Secretary of State for reducing exclusions and increasing inclusion yet at the same time held responsible by headteachers associations for preventing them exercising effective discipline in their school' (Whitbourn, *et al* 2000, p 165). It is against this policy backdrop that LAs lead SEN and promote inclusion. Schools

have their SEN budget included in their individual school budget, which can ‘disappear’ and become part of the schools general resources to run the school.

SENCOs and SEN

As schools become more directly funded by National Government and LAs increase delegation of SEN funding to schools in the hope that they may be best placed to use these resources more effectively (DfES, 2002). The role of the SENCO as a manager of resources to support learning requires additional support from senior management teams in schools. This support relates to the values underpinning inclusive management of the school to enable the SENCO to lead and manage SEN and promote social justice within schools. The DfES (2001a) point out that distribution of resources to support pupils who have SEN should be based on principles which are ‘open and transparent’ (p 4) and Ainscow *et al* (1999) support this by arguing that there should be an understanding of why and how the funding arrangements are...constructed’ (p 137) it is essential that SENCOs understand how SEN is funded in their school so that resources can be linked to inclusion (Ainscow, 1999). If this does not happen there is a sense in which SEN also ‘disappears’ until there is a crisis with a pupil and their parents are ‘called’ into school.

Inner City and urban schools ‘are expected to cope with large class sizes, students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and developmental variations of students ‘skills, social problems, and what teachers label as unacceptable behaviour’. (Knight, 1999, p 4). This puts pressure on schools and affects the relationship the LA develops with schools, headteachers, parents, governors and pupils. The delivery of SEN services

to schools takes place within the evolving policy of inclusion (Ainscow *et al* 1999 & Gray, 2001). Clark *et al* (1999) argue that this presents schools with many challenges and dilemmas. Clark *et al* (1999) carried out case studies of 4 secondary schools in England who have a long history of developing inclusive practice. They found that inclusion is a very complex issue presenting SENCOs, teachers and schools with a range of challenges. Teacher resistance 'within the four schools centred on concerns about what was perceived to be the increasingly problematic behaviour of some students.' (Clark *et al*, 1999 p 163). During the research it was reported 'Whilst Lakeside was going out of its way to include students with severe and profound learning difficulties, it also formally excluded six students on disciplinary grounds during the fieldwork period' (ibid). The comment by one senior manager was 'I wonder sometimes whether they should be in the school...' (ibid) i.e. the pupils with SEBD. The 'emotive' nature of pupils displaying inappropriate behaviour raises many issues for schools. Central Government and LEA pressure on schools to 'include' pupils with SEBD may 'stimulate' schools to develop a more flexible curriculum for all pupils. Clark *et al* (1999) describe this as the 'technology of inclusion'- that is, a series of systems, structures and procedures for enabling inclusion to occur' (Clark *et al*, 1999 p 163). This 'technology' was viewed as not being up to the job in the 4 case study schools. SENCOs play a pivotal role in developing and enhancing the 'technology of inclusion' in mainstream schools

Internal Support Systems

Concern about pupils with SEBD usually results in provision of 'additional' support to the pupil in the form of increased adult attention. Porter & Lacey (1999) highlight this

when they point out 'that one typical response to pupils' challenging behaviour was to increase staffing' (p 23). Pupils with SEN might view special provision as making them feel 'stupid going to special classes in the learning support room; he felt that he got attention only when he was naughty; he felt pissed off about his unfair exclusion because they just didn't want me' (De Pear, 1997. p 20). Clark *et al*, (1999) observed that the commonest form of provision was 'in-class' support however this was found to be of variable quality. She comments that:

'In one lesson, these students might receive a level and quality of support that enabled them to participate in common learning experiences with their peers. In the next lesson, they might receive very inadequate support-or indeed none at all' (Clark *et al*, 1999 p 164).

Therefore SEN provision, according to Clark, could provide access to 'common learning experiences' and at other times pupils may be excluded from these experiences as a result of their social emotional and behavioural difficulties. Including pupils with behavioural difficulties who may be viewed as being 'deviant' or 'difficult' and the 'inclusive' or 'exclusive' special educational provision made for them is critical to their educational experience. The concept of 'inclusion' will be perceived by key players i.e. pupils, parents, teachers and the LA in various ways. The issue of inclusion relates to what Clark, *et al* (1998) describe as the 'technology of inclusion' i.e. the support systems pupils, parents, teachers, schools and outside agencies use to 'include' pupils with social emotional and behavioural needs and how effective the 'technology of inclusion' may be. This has resonance with the 'invisibility' of need, (Cooper, 1994) which pupils with

SEBD are assigned and how they are valued and valuable to mainstream schools. Issues of control of these pupils within mainstream schools follow from the 'invisibility' of need. Identifying pupils as having SEBD could add to the risk of pupils being excluded as a result of their need and the identification process also makes these pupils very 'visible', because of the school's perception that these pupils have a detrimental effect on other pupil's achievement levels. Yet in school the same pupils 'needs' appear to be rendered 'invisible' as a result of teacher perceptions about these pupils having 'needs' which are 'psycho-social' rather than 'educational' and therefore outside the remit of 'education' (Armstrong, 1995 & Cooper, 1994).

Access to mainstream education can be appropriated from pupils as a result of SEN category assignment. For instance pupils with a statement for SEBD are particularly at risk, and Parsons (1999) points out that, 'It is not unusual to hear of statemented children with (EBD) being excluded from residential EBD schools' (p 24). As Parsons suggests, pupils with social emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) find it very difficult to gain admission to mainstream schools, and when they are admitted to a special school some find it difficult to remain there. Pupils who are in mainstream schools and who have statements of special educational need were seven times more likely to be excluded from school than pupils without statements (DfEE, 1997). Cooper (1993) suggests pupil perspectives could 'illuminate' 'models of good practice which enable us to develop deep insights into the nature and treatment of EBD' (p 129). Armstrong (1995) highlights the lack of research, which includes pupil's views, and he regards this more than a 'sin of omission' but refers to this as: 'Neglect [which] is insidious in that its outcome extends

beyond mere disregard of those without a voice' (p 80). Cooper (1993) takes the position that there are pupils who can benefit from individual support within special and mainstream education settings. Nurture groups (Cooper, 2001) are an example of this where 'special' provision is made within mainstream education. Cooper (2001) suggests special education still has a place as being 'special' remaining 'special' because it will improve the psychological / sociological conditions for the pupils. Cooper (2001) argues that, 'It might be argued that the now widely understood association between social and emotional factors and learning outcomes should make the creation of schools with these attributes a major priority' (p1).

Blair (1994) interviewed excluded pupils and reports that, 'most of the pupils said that they wanted to be at school and expressed particular interest in one or more school subjects.' (Blair, 1994, p 64). These pupils also recognised that they had been involved in misbehaviour and one girl suggested that the conflict between her and a particular teacher could have been resolved by a 'separate meeting, like he has one meeting with the governor and I sit down and chat to the same one and they write it down and then see what the problem is, why we don't get on.' (Blair, 1994, p 65). Schools identify pupils with behavioural needs and put pressure on them to develop appropriate social skills so that they can demonstrate to the school community they are 'improving' and therefore can remain in a mainstream setting.

Leadership and management in schools

Coleman (1999) argues that, 'Leadership tends to be equated with vision, values and management to processes and structures' (p 3). Gronn (2000) suggests that leadership is subject to revision as current thinking evolves and develops around this phenomenon and thinking about leadership is divided 'around two broad polarities'. Bernard Bass's (1985) ideal type of transformational leadership and the other typified by Elliot Jaques (1989) managerial leadership, devoid (virtually) of any identifiable sense of agency. Leadership in educational organizations can be distributed throughout the organization (Bush, 1995) so that a more collegial approach to leading the organization emerges. This has been highlighted particularly in the school effectiveness and school improvement literature. Hopkins *et al* (1994) discuss the approaches which corporate sector management theory developed when they were concerned about issues like low staff morale and falling product quality. Hopkins *et al* (1994 cite Murphy, 1991, p 13) as advocating corporate management theory to education. A distinction between management and leadership may not be possible in practice because as Schon (1984) points out managers are generally expected to lead. The distinction between leadership and management may have more to do with the culture of the organization within which management is taking place. Schon (1984) distinguishes between strategic and tactical management. The culture of an educational organisation should facilitate learning. Hopkins *et al* (1994) suggest that school culture is an essential element in school improvement and Rosenholtz's (1989) notion of developing a 'learning enriched' culture in which both students and teachers learn is central to school improvement. Fidler (1997) asserts that it is usual to associate 'identification of leadership with a person' (p 25) and this marginalizes the influence of

followers. Tannenbaum & Schmidt (1973) argue that historically the successful leader possessed intelligence, imagination, initiative, and could make rapid decisions, which appeared to inspire subordinates. People tended to think of the world as being divided into “leaders” and “followers”. Immegart (1988) reviewed research findings on leadership, which highlighted traits of intelligence, dominance, self-confidence and high energy/activity levels being associated with successful leadership (cited in Fidler, 1997).

This individualism is based on the assumption that ‘effective performance by an individual, group, or organization is assumed to depend on leadership by an individual with the skills to find the right path and motivate others to take it’ (Yukl, 1999: 292, cited in Gronn, 2000, p 319). The National Government of England have promoted the importance of head teacher’s leadership as crucial to school improvement. Concentrating the emphasis for school improvement on one person is at odds with the notion of collegiate management, which seeks to share power within the organisation. Gronn (2000) argues that within the notion of the power of one, where the leader holds all the power ‘leaders are superior to followers, followers depend on leaders and leadership consists in doing something to, for and on behalf of others’ (p 318). Gronn (2000) describes the work of Kerr and Jermier (1978) who demonstrated that there were ‘three other substitute factors which made the leadership of a super ordinate individual redundant’ (p 319). They highlight personal attributes of organization members, organizational processes and characteristics inherent in the work itself.

Gronn (2000) suggests that the substitute theory highlights the accomplishment of the tasks element of leadership and he argues that this allows for the ‘reconsideration of the

connection or relationship between leadership and task performance' (p 319). Stogdill (1969, p 127) argues 'that leadership is not a matter of passive status' or the possession of certain traits but goes on to suggest a leader can acquire status through participation and demonstration of tasks within the context in which they are working. Given that teachers are used to working independently and evolving a role around 'their' class, Little, (1989) argues, 'The persistence of privacy in teaching and of heads feeling relatively independent in 'their' schools, is hardly the basis for developing group work' (p 64). This move from independence to interdependence will require the 'glue' of organizational culture to hold working groups together. Prosser (1999) indicates that, 'Some writers assume that organisational culture is plastic and can be shaped, this constitutes a unifying force, and link it to organizational effectiveness' (p 11).

Gronn (2000) argues that in organizational relations there are five sub-elements, which are most significant, and these 'are: authority, values, interests, personal factors and resources' (p 322). Bringing together all actors within any organization to be involved collaboratively within the complex element outlined by Gronn (2000) may not be possible. The perspective, which Gronn (2000) takes, is that the relationship actors have with each other takes place within a particular social structure and at a particular time. Gronn (2000) is helpful because he views sharing authority as one of the key elements in sharing decision making throughout organisations. Gronn (2000) suggests that leadership could be 'understood as fluid and emergent, rather than as a fixed, phenomenon' (p 324). Leadership is framed by the context within which the leader is placed and Fidler (1997) highlights this by arguing that leadership is also affected by the history of the

organisation, the nature of followers, the issues involved and the leaders 'style' which may vary according to circumstances. This is supported by Coleman (1995) who argues that contingency theories acknowledge the interaction of leaders and context and that 'successful leadership style and behaviour will vary in different situations' (p 59).

Transformational and Transactional Leadership

Roberts (1985) argues that 'transformational leadership is a leadership that facilitates the redefinition of a people's mission and vision, a renewal of their commitment, and the restructuring of their system of goal accomplishment' (cited in Leithwood, 1992). Leithwood (1992) suggests that there is little empirical evidence about 'its nature and consequences' (p 9) in schools. Wallace (2001) supports Leithwood (1992) by arguing 'that the assumptions behind transformational leadership do not obtain in North America; their applicability to the UK is even more questionable' (p 155).

Leithwood (1992) suggests transactional leadership places the emphasis on control and 'first order' changes such as 'improving the technical, instructional activities of the school through close monitoring of the teachers' and students' classroom work' (p 9). Transformational leadership, on the other hand, may focus on developing collaborative cultures to involve as many members of the organization in achieving its vision. The power relationship being viewed as 'a form of power manifested *through* other people, not *over* other people' (ibid).

Leithwood (1992) argues that 'transformational school leaders are in more or less continuous pursuit of three fundamental goals: 1) helping staff members to develop and

maintain a collaborative, professional school culture; 2) fostering teacher development; and 3) helping them solve problems together more effectively' (Leithwood, 1992, p 10). Wallace (2001) proposes that, 'shared leadership' is in his view, what enables staff 'to achieve more together than they could as individuals' (p 154) and Hargreaves & Dawe (1990) argue that developing collaborative cultures is a 'perquisite to securing educational change ' (p 227).

Creating a collaborative organization requires power re-distribution, which the leader of the organization may not want to distribute. Leithwood (1992) highlights transformational leaders as 'leaders who selected new staff members who were already committed to the school's mission and priorities' (p 10). Indeed it might not be appropriate to give power to groups of professionals within the organization if they are not all committed to the values and vision of the organization. Hopkins *et al* (1994) suggests that motivation of teachers in schools can be promoted 'by creating circumstances in which teachers could see the benefits to be gained from collaborating' (p 158). The tension, which exists between leaders and followers, will depend very much on the motivation of the followers to the shared vision created by the leader. Gronn (2000) argues that activity analysis theory attempts to link what leaders do within their organizations to the leadership of people within the organization. However visionary and collaborative the leader is, there will be tensions where 'individual constituencies may feel they owe allegiance to their departments rather than the organization as a whole' (Brundrett, 1998, p 308). Leithwood (1992) argues that there is 'highly significant relationships between aspects of transformational leadership and teachers' own reports of changes in attitudes toward school improvement and altered instructional behaviour' (p.

12). Indeed transformational leaders may have no option but to share responsibility across the school organization as the demands on schools increase. Leaders in schools will be central in the management of change throughout the organization.

Leadership in Schools

Leadership in educational organizations is distributed, through organisational structures, to class teachers, deputy headteachers, and heads of year. However, where control is held at the centre and bounded by organisational structures Hargreaves & Dawe (1990) refers to this as 'balkanised collegiality'. Effective leaders will create a culture 'a constructed reality' (Sergiovanni 1984) which 'includes values, symbols, beliefs, and shared meanings of parents, students, and teachers' (p 9). This learning-as-management approach to leadership allows leaders to include all relevant stakeholders in determining the vision for which the leader has assumed stewardship (Cardno, 1998). Transformational leadership can use team management to develop a shared vision for the organization, which is not simply the vision of the leader. Bryson (1995) promotes 'collective leadership' where members of the team contribute to leadership of the organisation at various stages as leaders and followers. Team management seeks to widen the notion of leadership where leaders and followers interchange depending on the work the team is involved in. Sergiovanni (1984) suggests that leadership can be thought of as deriving from forces which are 'the means available to [headteachers], supervisors and teachers to bring about or preserve changes needed to improve schooling' (p 6). Sergiovanni (1984) argues that 'the burdens of leadership will be less if leadership functions and roles are shared' (p 13). Leithwood (1992) reinforces the view that 'most

initiatives that fly the restructuring banner advocate strategies for altering power relationships' (p 8) and within leadership the altering of power relationships requires a balance. Educational organizations will be led by leaders, usually headteachers, who want 'to control the selection of new employees, the allocation of resources, and the focus for professional development' (ibid).

Organisational structures and policies

Handy & Aitkin (1986) argue that the purpose of educational management is to view pupils as individuals and promote collaborative learning based on principles of management not instruction. West-Burnham *et al* (1995) suggest that educational management is about, 'The ability to develop a critical and reflective approach to issues of values, purpose, resources, and people' (p 3). West-Burnham *et al* (1995) stress that 'management and learning are symbiotic processes' (ibid). This applies right across the organisation and includes developing the autonomy and empowerment of students in the classroom. Managing education has a social justice strand which is reflected by Hart (1999) when she 'was struck by the simultaneous emphases on social justice and accountability for efficiency and effectiveness. Educational administrators, it seems, remain public servants in their thinking, accountable for the public trust given to them' (p 333). The Department for Education and Skills advocate 'internal' collaborative styles of management for schools. The rationale DfES has in promoting collegial styles of management is that 'research studies investigating [...] school effectiveness reveal teacher participation and collaboration as key process factors' (Campbell & Southworth, 1993, p 61). The school effectiveness literature promotes collegiality and argues for the

‘prescription of collegiality [to] accentuate the presumed advantages rather than the likely in-school obstacles to its implementation’ (Campbell & Southworth, 1993, p 63). Primary schools, where collegiality is most likely to be found Brundrett (1998) are institutions where teachers ‘are almost always full-time class teachers with virtually no non contact time’ (p 308). Primary school teachers do not have time to meet during the day to plan and work together. Therefore primary schools may, because of their size and the influence of the headteacher, be able to reflect the collegial values and beliefs through the headteacher. Hargreaves (1994) argues that, ‘in the main, this cultural perspective has centred upon the traditions of sociological functionalism, social anthropology and corporate management, which assume a shared set of goals and values where none may exist in reality’ (p 311). Values are central to the management of all pupils and particularly the moral imperative to include pupils with SEBD.

McGregor (2000) found that in secondary schools the department is the centre of collegial influence and this could be regarded as ‘balkanised’ collegiality where collaborative cultures exist in certain faculties or departments. Blair (2002) suggests that inclusion of all students is bound up in how leadership within the organisation focus on ‘the processes of exclusion within the school itself’ (p 184). Tensions may exist around roles and responsibilities when power is shared differentially across organizations. Campbell & Southworth (1993) suggest that ‘many heads perceive collegiality as decreasing their power, typically because they no longer hold either the power of veto or the prerogative of having the last word on everything’ (p 63). This sharing, or not, of power is a tension running through the collegiate management approach from

headteachers to class teachers. Hargreaves (1994) argues that collegiality and collaborative styles of management is 'contrived' by official groups and is driven by the centralisation, bureaucratisation and control of educational change in England and Wales and elsewhere. Contrived collegiality is viewed by Hargreaves (1994) as being administratively regulated, compulsory, implementation – oriented, fixed in time and place and predictable. Hargreaves (1994) suggests that this places teachers in the position where they are carrying out the mandates of others and they feel coerced to conform. Teachers and their managers are under great pressure from central government to continually improve their performance so that pupil and school achievement is improved. This notion of continuous improvement is central to the 'control' of teachers through performance related pay in relation to the performance of schools and the achievement pupils.

Social Justice in Education Management

Bottery (2002) asserts that,

‘The profession of teaching is a moral project, one that necessarily is concerned with more than the delivery of an economically competitive workforce. It is, at bottom, concerned with the development of a ‘human flourishing’, which encompasses personal, spiritual, social and political goals which transcend the economic’ (p 171).

Bottery (2002) argues within education management there is necessary uncertainty and disagreement concerning the purpose and aims of education, which need to be reflected

in any professional approach. The moral purpose of management in education in Bottery's view should be made explicit because there is a danger of the 'managerialist' approach-losing sight of the values and vision education managers' use in their daily decision-making. Day *et al* (2000) research shows that leaders who run schools and are viewed to be effective by a number of stakeholders begin from a commitment to educational aims and particular moral values, which they use to inform their strategic vision but also in dealing with the messiness of day-to-day decision making. Counterbalancing the market led managerialist school effectiveness discourse in education is the implicit moral purpose of educational management. As Bottery (2002) above argues 'human flourishing' is at the centre of educational management. Tensions arise when the moral purpose of educational management is appropriated from leaders in schools and Wright (2001) argues that education leadership 'is now very substantially located at the political level where it is not available for contestation, modification or adjustment to local variations' (p 280).

School Effectiveness and SEN

Hamilton (1998) suggests, 'Effective schooling has become a global industry' (p 13) and the assumption within the school improvement movement is that the characteristics of effective schools can be identified and transferred to improve 'failing' schools. Florian (2001) points out that, 'Schools in England face dilemmas about how they should respond to...demand for higher academic standards and...the call for inclusion of children with special educational needs in mainstream school' (p 399). School effectiveness and inclusion are at the forefront of government policy and since the late

eighties schools have been placed within the market and become subjected to the culture of performance indicators (Hamilton 1998). Underpinning the effectiveness movement is the market where the survival of the fittest rules. Within this environment Hamilton (1998) argues that the effectiveness movement is characterised not by 'inclusive educational values... democracy...social justice but...a hierarchical political discipline...of performance based league tables and performance-related funding' (p 16).

School Culture and Effectiveness

The management framework of collegiality and collaboration could be regarded as the culture to which educational organisations aspire within the paradigm of school effectiveness. Hargreaves (1994) points out, 'that there are, in fact, different kinds of collegial relations, in terms of their implication for teacher independence, and that the characteristics and virtues of some kinds of collegiality and collaboration are often attributed to other kinds' (p 311). Brundrett (1998) reinforces Hargreaves (1994) view when he points out that, 'Within this view of teacher empowerment, critical reflection and continuous improvement are claims made for collaboration and collegiality as a whole but are, in fact, attributable only to certain versions of them' (p 311). Hopkins *et al* (1994) argue that, 'Collaborative cultures do not emerge by chance; they are created and modified within the school' (p 95). The creators of these collaborative cultures are the educational leaders in schools.

Sackney & Dibsiki (1994) suggest that educational management is about ensuring 'that school systems need to transform their culture from one of control to that which values

autonomy and empowerment' (p 111). West-Burnham *et al* (1995, p 3) reinforce this view of educational management when they argue that: 'Schools and colleges may find a 'learning-as-management' approach more appropriate'. Reynolds (1991) calls this the 'incorporative approach' he suggests that this includes the incorporation of pupils and parents and Hopkins *et al* (1994) argue that this 'should be widened to include members of the local community' (p 126).

McGregor (2000) points out that although 'there is general agreement on the benefits of collaboration among teachers, there is lack of clarity as to the form, content and means of this way of working' (p 1). Brundrett (1998) voices concern about the isolation of teachers and highlights the notion of 'shared management procedures' (Fullan, 1982; Hargreaves and Dawe, 1990). McGregor's (2000) concept of collaborative working on the other hand emphasises the cultural aspects of educational organisations and aspects of sharing these without the power dynamic and suggests there is lack of clarity about the concepts of collegiality and collaboration.

Hopkins *et al* (1994) argue that 'Structure and culture, are of course, interdependent, and the relationship between them is dialectical' (p 87). Hopkins *et al* (1994) suggest that 'Structures... generate cultures' (ibid) and culture can affect the way structures operate. Developing a collegiate culture requires a structure and culture, which promotes the practice of teachers working together on school development so that they feel involved in the process. The culture of the organisation is bound up with the beliefs and mission of the headteacher. This places headteachers leadership at the forefront of school

development and improvement. McGregor (2000) suggests when ‘exploring teacher workplace cultures, the differences between primary and secondary schools in terms of size, organisation and the professional profile of staff should not be underestimated’ (p 3).

The tensions, outlined above, within school effectiveness will have profound effects on how schools develop inclusive strategies to manage all pupil achievement and in particular groups of pupils who are regarded as having SEN. The values, which underpin management of schools, play a key role in the perception pupils may have about how they are valued within in the school community. Wright (2001) talks about values which are passed on to pupils about themselves and other pupils either being cogs in the managerial wheel or other human beings with real feelings, concerns and worries.

Perspectives of SEBD emanating from the reviewed literature

The reviewed literature above illustrates the groups of pupils at risk of social exclusion from schools. These vulnerable groups of pupils are already on the fringes of social exclusion and may be deprived and ‘maltreated’ (Erickson *et al* 1989). They may be viewed as having needs which centre on the psycho/social and this may mean that schools could regard pupils with SEBD as being ‘outside’ the remit of the education service. Schools may consider other services such as community adolescent mental health and social services as more appropriate agencies to work with pupils with SEBD. Some of these pupils may be regarded as ‘mad or bad’ and the group of ‘bad’ and would ‘benefit’ from being educated apart from mainstream schools either in residential schools,

in PRUs or receiving alternative education from an increasing range of voluntary 'education' providers such as Rathbone Training a registered charity who employ instructors not qualified teachers. As described earlier (p 33) a significant percentage of pupils who may be described as having SEBD have unidentified SLI and can benefit greatly from speech and language intervention which may improve their behaviour. The range of pupils who are included in the 'catch all' category of SEBD is discussed above (p 20-43) and it emerges from the literature these pupils' educational needs are not easily defined or identified. The role of schools, teachers and LA support staff are crucial to maintaining pupils with SEBD in mainstream schools. Developing working partnerships between schools and LAs will be essential if pupils who have a wide range of exceptional and perhaps unidentified needs are to be included in mainstream education. OfSTED (2005) suggest that collaboration between schools and LA support services enables schools to include a greater diversity of pupils in mainstream schools. Schools management of social inclusion is crucial to including pupils with SEBD in mainstream school. Collaboration between schools and LAs for pupils involved in the formal exclusion process is essential if large groups of pupils are not lost in the cycle of social exclusion.

Model of Leadership and Management by Local Authorities and Schools

The literature reviewed above has raised questions about how LAs manage SEN. LA management of SEN varies across England and Wales (Gray, 2001). Central government appears to refuse to be prescriptive about the provision of SEN services by LAs and offer guidance on how best this may be achieved (DfES, 2001a & 2002). The case study

approach (Stake, 1995 & Yin, 1994) to this investigation seemed appropriate in order to examine in depth how one LA developed a mechanism for 'supporting' pupils with SEBD. Co-ordination and collaboration within LAs has been highlighted throughout the reviewed literature.

The model of SEN support service delivery within Luton reflects the Clarke *et al* (1990) model (p 11), which seeks to develop collaborative working practices within the LA between support services and schools. To enhance collaborative working practices Luton LA have developed five geographical clusters (p 6) within which services are delivered to schools. Each cluster has a dedicated multidisciplinary team of teachers; educational psychologists, educational welfare officers and social workers that work with schools to develop solutions which attempt to meet the needs of schools, pupils and teachers. The engagement of the cluster teams with schools during every SCM is of crucial importance because it is within these fora that the LA team is able to discuss school and pupil issues with SENCOs. Within Primary and Secondary schools the SENCOs are usually part of the senior management teams and exploring their role in leading and managing SEN within schools is crucial in this study. How SENCOs manage SEN within school is explored in this research. Within the three-dimensional model of service delivery Clarke *et al* (1990) the study will focus on the dual concepts of inclusion and exclusion. Of particular importance to the study is how the LA support services work to include or exclude pupils who have social emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD). The mechanism for service delivery operated in Luton seeks to work in collaboration with schools to promote the inclusion of pupils with SEBD by the cluster team meeting with

schools on a termly basis. Within the SCM forum exclusion of pupils is the ever-present tension between the LA and schools is of central importance to this study. As with the Clark *et al* (1990) model Luton LA retains the statutory assessment process and keeps ‘tight’ control over the level of statutory assessment initiations.

Therefore a key question emanating from the reviewed literature centres around how schools use LA services to support the most vulnerable pupils in the education system i.e. pupils who are described as having SEBD. From the literature it would appear that schools accept that they need interventions from LA services to ‘support’ the most vulnerable pupils. What form this ‘support’ takes is another matter because the literature points to schools retaining pupils who are problematic on a differentiated basis. Can this work be managed within a moral purpose of inclusivity (Bottery 2001 & Wright 2001) in spite of operating within a ‘quasi-market’ and the promotion of ‘managerialism’ from central government? The reviewed literature on SEN is steeped in the notion of pupil deficits and pupils SEN arising from the identified deficits within the pupil. The literature then leads to another key question around the role of the local authority and the possibility of support services being incorporated within school improvement services.

The development of partnership working between schools and LA support services is the focus of this study and is investigated under three main questions below:

- 1) How do schools use School Consultation Meetings (SCMs) to access Behaviour Support Services?
- 2) Who from the LEA carries out the Behaviour Support work with schools?

- 3) Why have SEN support services which focus on pupil deficits instead of pupil strengths?

The next chapter discusses the research methods used to investigate the key research questions and the participants involved in the study are also discussed.

Chapter Three -Research Methods

Introduction: Research Design

The study has been designed to investigate service delivery from policy development to delivery of services to schools. To capture the context within which behaviour support is being delivered to schools in Luton the study will adopt a case study approach. Within this case study a variety of different methods will be used to address issues of validity. These are discussed in more detail later on in this chapter.

The Case Study

Yin (1994) suggests that: 'A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within it's real life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (p 13).

Real life context will vary and will be affected differentially by the key actors involved in the process of providing behaviour support. The boundary of the case study is the local authority. Within the case study approach of this investigation the following research methods were used:

- (a) A questionnaire was sent to all 83 Luton SENCOs to elicit their views about behaviour support services to their schools;
- (b) Semi-structured interviews were carried out with a purposive sample of thirteen SENCOs exploring issues raised by questionnaire responses;
- (c) Observation of eight School Consultation Meetings took place to explore how behaviour support is discussed and planned in schools.

Cohen and Manion (1994) argue that 'the case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit - a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community. The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyze intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalizations about the wider population to which that unit belongs' (p 107). The case study approach will enable the researcher to gain an insight into the unique aspects of service delivery to schools in Luton. As Stake (1995) points out 'A case study is expected to catch the complexity of a single case' (p xi). The unique and complex processes involved in provision of behaviour support to Luton schools seem well suited to an approach which involves, 'the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case' (Stake, 1995, p xi) and will enable the investigation to illuminate the case under investigation, so that I may come 'to understand its activity within important circumstances' (ibid).

These circumstances may involve aspects of the case study, which Denscombe (1998) highlights when he points out that 'Case studies focus on one instance (or a few instances) of a particular phenomenon with a view to providing an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes occurring in that particular instance' (p 32). It is the in-depth aspect of the case study approach, which is of interest to this study, in terms of the experience, which the key players have when providing behaviour support to schools.

Yin (1994, p 13) suggests 'researchers would use the case study method because they deliberately wanted to cover contextual conditions - believing that they might be highly pertinent to [the] phenomenon of study.' Uncovering or discovering the context within which the 'actions' from the SCMs take place will provide this study with an 'insider' perspective. The strength of the case study 'lies in their attention to the subtly and the complexity of the case in its own right' (Bush, 1999, p 4) the case study can illustrate specific qualities of the case under investigation to illuminate other similar cases.

Yin (1994) argues that the unit of analysis in a case study should focus on the people to be included in the case. Key actors to be investigated in this case will include SENCOs, teachers, LA officers and support service personnel in Luton LA. In this study the unit of analysis is the LA and how behaviour support is delivered to schools through the SCM process. Questionnaire data has gained SENCO views about behaviour support across all schools within the LA. Interview data adds to this by providing more in depth views from SENCOs about the process of behaviour support and adds depth to the unit of analysis about behaviour support across the LA. Finally within the SCM observations, data about what the key actors do and say, provides another dimension about discussion of pupils at SCMs and how behaviour support was delivered to schools and pupils across the LA.

Defining who will be investigated helps form the boundaries of the case i.e. the LA. Another advantage of case study is that the data produced 'may form an archive of descriptive material sufficiently rich to admit subsequent reinterpretation' (Yin, 1994, p

24). Yin (1994) suggests that in a case study the protocol should make available to the reader:

- ‘overview of the project’
- ‘field procedures’
- ‘case study question’
- ‘a guide for the case study report’ (p 64-5).

This fits well with Adelman *et al* who indicate case studies ‘present research or evaluation data in a more publicly accessible form than other kinds of research report’ (cited in Bush, 1999 p 5) The protocol provides the reader with a ‘transparent’ methodology so that the case study approach may be replicated to test the reliability of the research. Case studies ‘may contribute towards the ‘democratisation’ of decision making’ (ibid).

Validity/Authenticity and Research

Validity in research is the search for ‘truth’. Eisner (1991) cites Goodman (1978) who suggests that ‘truth can be regarded as a subset of rightness’ (p 108). In qualitative research it is, ‘The recognition of the plurality of ways to know the world is an invitation not to open Pandora’s Box, but one’s mind’ (ibid). Eisner (1991) suggests that the best researchers can do is to make judgements or interpretations about the validity of research based on evidence. To enhance the ‘truthfulness’ of research he promotes ‘structural corroboration’ which he suggests ‘is a means through which multiple types of data are related to each other to support or contradict the interpretation or evaluation’ (Eisner, 1991, p 110).

Other 'qualitative researchers disagree with the epistemological assumptions underlying the notion of validity' (Seidman, 1991, p 17). Kitwood (1977) agrees that the interpersonal nature of the interview 'is necessary to its 'validity' (cited in Cohen & Manion, 1994, p 282). Kitwood (1977) suggests that every interpersonal situation may be viewed as being valid. 'Ferrarotti (1981) argues that the most profound knowledge can be gained only by the deepest intersubjectivity among researchers and that which they are researching' (cited in Seidman, 1991, p 17). The construction of knowledge within this approach aims to capture the key actors 'reality' and uncover the context within which behaviour support is taking place. Judgement is required by the researcher and may be exercised based on a developing 'theoretical sensitivity' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) as the study progresses. Denscombe (1998) reinforces this, pointing out that 'the researcher needs to gauge how far the informant might be expected to be in possession of the facts and to know about the topic being discussed' (p 133).

Reliability and Validity

'The problem of measurement is often addressed by means of the concepts of validity and reliability' (Hammersley, 1987, p 73). The reliability and validity of qualitative data depend to a great extent on the methodological skill, sensitivity, and integrity of the researcher (Patton, 1990). Definitions of these two concepts are not at all clear and subject to interpretation, and there may be some overlap between definitions of reliability and validity (Hammersley, 1987). Reliability of data collection instruments is the extent to which they produce similar results under constant conditions on all occasions (Bell,

1993). 'Reliability (is) the extent to which repetition of the study would result in the same data and conclusions' (Goode & Hat, 1952, p 153).

Validity of an item is about whether the item measures or describes what it supposed to measure or describe (Bell, 1993). The multi method approach of this study enhances the validity of the data collected through the process of triangulation. The process of triangulation of data enables the researcher to check for consistencies or inconsistencies within the data and to assess for data validity and 'authenticity' (Robson, 1993).

This study critically examined the data collected to assess for reliability and validity through pilot work carried out with all of the research instruments used in this study. The data collected by these studies were critiqued and analysed for reliability and validity. Each research instrument is also discussed and critiqued in this chapter.

Triangulation

Comparison of data using different methods is called triangulation. Denscombe (1998) argues this provides the researcher with 'the opportunity to corroborate findings [which] can enhance the validity of the data' (p 85). This research focuses on the actions of support services and school personnel in SCMs to determine if these meetings are fora in which inclusive approaches to supporting pupils at risk of exclusion are developed. Triangulation will allow the researcher to compare the data produced by different methods and may uncover consistencies or inconsistencies across methods. Cohen & Manion (1994) define triangulation 'as the use of two or more methods of data collection

in the study of some aspect of human behaviour' (p 233). Triangulation enables the researcher to view things 'from a different perspective' (Denscombe, 1998, p 85). This will also enhance the validity of the study by allowing the researcher to compare observation data of what people do in the SCMs with SCM outcomes.

To enhance overall validity of this study a multi-method data collection strategy has been adopted. Denscombe (1998) argues that, 'The multi-method approach allows findings to be corroborated or questioned by comparing the data produced by different methods' (p 85). Robson (1993) suggests researchers 'should choose methods, which are very different from each other to get a better estimate of the 'answer' (p 290). Cohen & Manion (1994) argue that, 'Exclusive reliance on one method, therefore, may bias or distort the researcher's picture of the particular slice of reality she is investigating' (p 233). The variety of research methods used in this study will enable the researcher 'to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint' (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p 233). Therefore the questionnaire data can be compared with interview and observation data to provide the multi-faceted and authentic views of behaviour support in Luton.

Validity and Survey Research

De Vaus (1996) argues that, 'Surveys are a method of social science research' (p 1). Cohen and Manion (1994) point out that 'typically, surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of [a] describing the nature of existing conditions, or [b] identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or [c]

determining the relationships that exist between specific events' (p 94). In de Vaus's view 'The distinguishing feature of surveys are the form of data collection and method of analysis' (de Vaus, 1996, p 3). He suggests 'That surveys are characterised by a structured or systematic set of data' (de Vaus, 1996, p 3) and he calls this 'a variable by case data matrix'.

Denscombe (1998) says that, 'The survey approach is research strategy, not a research method. Many methods can be incorporated in the use of a social survey' (p 7). Denscombe (1998) suggests that by adopting the survey strategy the researcher 'attempts to buy into a tradition of research which emphasises the quest for details of tangible things which can be measured and recorded' (p 6). Surveys are more commonly adopted by researchers adopting the positivist paradigm who argue, 'that human behaviour is essentially rule governed; and second, it should be investigated by methods of natural science' (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p 36). Survey researchers use data to put their theories to the test by controlling the variables, either through constructing a controlled experiment or statistical analysis of a large number of cases. Most surveys cannot include the 'whole population', in this case the whole population of SENCOs in Luton responded to the questionnaire. Choosing a sample of SENCOs from which it is possible to generalise is a key element in enhancing the 'external validity' i.e. 'the degree to which findings can be generalised from the specific sample of this study to some target population' (Robson, 1993, p 46). The choice of sample is discussed later in this chapter.

Studies of SEN service delivery (Lunt & Evans, 1994; Galton & Hargreaves, 1995; Skidmore & Copeland, 1998; Millward & Skidmore, 1998. Norwich *et al*, 1994; Sproson, 1997; Rennie, 1992) up to now have focused on individual aspects of the service delivery process. This study will attempt to ‘capture’ the delivery process from development of LA policy to implementation of the policy to schools. The research will seek to describe the ‘whole’ process within the LA including all the key players involved in delivery of additional support to pupils. In this case study the whole population of SENCOs were surveyed through a questionnaire (Appendix One). This was an attempt to gain an LA wide perspective regarding behaviour support to Luton schools. Surveying Luton SENCOs through a self-completion questionnaire was piloted and the high response rate indicated that SENCOs were prepared to take part in the study. The questionnaire linked into the semi-structured interviews by focussing on SENCOs responses to individual questions. Some of the semi-structured interview questions were based on the SENCOs response to the questionnaire i.e. question nine asked if the response to support for behaviour could be improved. SENCO responses ranged from ‘more visits’ to ‘we require intensive hands on support’ these responses were followed up during the SENCO interviews.

Validity and Interviewing

Multi-method research will enhance the overall validity of this study by combining triangulation and respondent validation. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose ‘respondent validation’ as a standard to increase validity ‘where the objective is to reconstruct events and the perspectives of those being studied, is the demonstration that the findings are

credible to those who were involved' (cited in Bird, M. 1996, p 96). Respondent validation will enable the participants in the study to find a 'voice' and encourage them to view the research process as a collaborative exercise as opposed to some thing which is being 'done' to them. Threats to the validity of interviewing need to be acknowledged by the interviewee and Tuckman (1972):

'observed that when formulating her questions an interviewer has to consider the extent to which a question might influence the respondent to show herself in a good light; or the extent to which a question might influence a respondent to be unduly helpful' (cited in Cohen & Manion, 1994, p 283).

Cohen & Manion (1994) suggest, 'One way of validating interview measures is to compare the interview measure with another measure which has been shown to be valid' (p 281). Building on this, Denscombe (1998), points out that, 'Some people are interviewed specifically because they are in a position to know about the things of interest to the researcher' (p 133). School SENCOs were interviewed because they are such a group.

Within method triangulation of interview data between SENCOs should provide the study with increased validity to enhance the validity and reliability of interviews. Seidman (1991) advocates the three-interview structure which involves 'interviewing participants over the course of 1-3 weeks to account for idiosyncratic days and to check for internal consistency of what they say' (p 17).

Validity and Observation

The presence of an observer at SCMs may have the disadvantage of affecting the behaviour of participants. Once the participants know they are being observed 'the observation becomes potentially reactive (i.e. potentially changing the thing observed)' (Robson, 1993, p 208). Bell (1993) argues that, 'If you are researching your own organisation, you will be familiar with the personalities, strengths and weaknesses of colleagues, and this familiarity may cause you to overlook aspects of behaviour which would immediately be apparent' (p 111) to a stranger.

Brown & Dowling (1998) suggest 'That careful consideration also has to be given to the relative status of the observed and the observer' (p 46). They argue that, 'The way teachers might act will be different when observed by an inspector, their headteacher, a colleague, a trainee teacher and so on' (ibid). Exposing participants to the presence of an observer before collecting data can reduce these observer effects. Habituation can also be used when audio recording events 'this would involve introducing the device into the setting before data collection begins' (Brown & Dowling, 1998, p 48). Adopting habituation could reduce the impact of having an observer at these meetings and is likely to enhance validity of the observation. To enhance the validity of SCM observations pilot observations were conducted to establish the reliability of the schedules by comparing data from SCMs in different schools in Luton.

Choosing a Sample

Robson (1994) suggests that sampling is important in any inquiry and he cites Smith (1975) as referring to this as 'the search for typicality' (p105). I want to choose a purposive sample in my search for typicality of inclusive and exclusive schools. Choosing a sample will enable me to gain access to key actors involved, namely SENCOs. This search for typicality will help strengthen the external validity or generaliseability of the findings to other similar studies. Robson (ibid) suggests that this search for typicality is similar to theoretical sampling techniques used in 'grounded theory' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). He goes on to suggest that this 'approach is commonly used within case studies' (ibid). Determining the sample size will depend on:

'two key factors : the degree of accuracy we require for the sample and the extent to which there is a variation in the population in regard to the key characteristics of the study'
(de Vaus, 1996, p 60)

This study used an 'exploratory' questionnaire to all LA school SENCOs in Luton i.e. the whole population of SENCOs in Luton. The questionnaire provided the researcher with data on exclusion and inclusion and the use of SCMs as a mechanism for accessing behaviour support. The questionnaire also asked SENCOs for consent to conduct follow up interviews with them. From the population of school SENCOs I was able to devise a 'purposive' sample; this was based on 'the researchers judgement as to typicality or interest' (Robson, 1993, p141). This process allowed the investigation of schools, which were considered to be developing inclusive practice i.e. developing individual and whole school responses, which support the achievement of pupils generally, and in particular,

pupils with social, emotional and behavioural needs. Through purposive sampling the study was able to consider schools which are exclusive in their approach i.e. schools which are 'reactive' when dealing with pupils who have social, emotional and behavioural needs and may result in high exclusion rates. High and low excluding schools were selected in my 'search for typicality' of 'exclusive' and 'inclusive' schools. Another criterion used was the number of pupils raised in the SCMs as having social, emotional, and behavioural difficulties. From my initial observations of SCMs it would appear that low excluding schools are raising fewer pupils at the SCMs.

Building up a purposive sample of SENCOs enabled the study to explore key issues about behaviour support e.g. the use of SCMs to access behaviour support, inclusion or exclusion through this process and whole school versus individual support, in Luton schools. The purposive sample reflected 'situations where the researcher already knows something about the specific people or events and deliberately selects particular ones [outlined above] because they are seen as instances that are likely to produce the most valuable data' (Denscombe, 1998, p15).

Subjects Participating in the Study

The main group of participants in this study were SENCOs within the Borough of Luton. The total population SENCOS was 83 of which 12 were working in secondary schools and 71 working in primary schools. All 83 SENCOs responded to the questionnaire and 13 SENCOs were interviewed. The gender profile of the SENCOs in Luton is illustrated in Table 4.1 (p115) and the characteristics of the SENCOs interviewed are displayed in

Table 4.2 (p 117). Other participants included the professionals who attended SCMs and these are displayed in Table 4.3 (p 118).

The rationale for focussing on SENCOs and not class teachers is that these teachers/managers appear to be central when devising, with LA staff, educational provision for pupils with SEBD. These teacher/managers in Luton receive on going and regular training throughout the academic year. This training is provided through the LA School Improvement Service and includes coverage of the role of the SENCO in relation to teaching and learning and day-to-day operation of the school SEN policy. Induction of new SENCOs also focuses on LA funding of SEN, managing effective support for SEN and all the associated paperwork. For established SENCOs the Borough of Luton is part of the Special Educational Needs Joint Initiative for Training (SENJIT) at the Institute of Education, University of London. SENJIT provides a wide range of courses for SENCOs on topics such provision mapping, curriculum planning for inclusion and on specific syndromes such as autistic spectrum disorder, working memory in the classroom and preparation for OFSTED inspection for SENCOs. SENCOs are also the pivotal teachers who liaise with support services out-side SCMs. It is SENCOs who are responsible for maintaining the register of pupils with SEN in schools and ensuring pupils with SEN have educational plans in place to meet pupil's additional needs. SENCOs are the link between class teachers and managers when planning and implementing SEN provision for pupils to maintain them in mainstream school. The role of SENCOs could be in tension between class teachers, who might have perceived pupils with SEBD and their behaviour causing them a great deal of extra work and affecting the learning of other

pupils (Sage, 2004). Senior managers might not want to allocate additional resources to pupils who may be viewed as deviant and therefore excludable. It is SENCOs who are responsible for developing the 'technology of inclusion' to maintain pupils with SEBD within mainstream school. The position of the SENCOs within the management structure of the school is crucial to management of the whole range of SEN within schools. Within the context of Luton where exclusion of pupils with SEBD was very low Table 1.1 (p 10). The LA strategy to fund schools to the highest possible levels so pupils with SEBD can stay in mainstream school could add to the pressure on SENCOs from class teachers and senior management. In a sense SENCOs are caught in the middle of the inclusion/exclusion debate. SENCOs may be involved in maintaining the status quo where pupils with SEBD are excluded. The exclusion may relieve the school from the immediate pressure that the pupil's behaviour is exerting on the school community. Otherwise SENCOs may be involved with senior management and the LA in developing educational provision to include the pupil within the school community and:

'Put simply, inclusion threatens the interests of too many groups not least those of many teachers. It is, therefore, something, which does not materialise simply through advocacy of particular policies and the dissemination of 'good practice', nor even through the building of an (unattainable) consensus around shared values. On the contrary, it demands a constant and essentially political struggle between supporters of inclusion and its overt or covert opponents' (Clark, et al 1999, p 169)

As Clark *et al* place inclusion at the centre of a political struggle the role of SENCO and, the inclusive financial infrastructure of Luton Local Authority, the context within which they operate is of profound interest to this study.

Ethical Issues

Cohen & Manion (1995) point out that, 'Much social research necessitates obtaining consent and co-operation from subjects who are to assist in investigations' (p 349). 'Informed consent' is the term used by many researchers (Bell, 1998; Cohen & Manion, 1995,; de Vaus, 1996; Oppenheim, 1996; Patton, 1990; Robson, 1997) to indicate that they have been 'open' with the researched and participants can choose to be involved or not.

Stake (1995) argues that the case study researcher 'has an obligation to think through the ethics of the situation and to take the necessary steps prior to requesting access and permissions' (p 58). Taking 'care' of participants is a key issue and their feelings must be acknowledged, 'Many respondents consider it a compliment to be asked' (ibid). Stake suggests that the researcher should present participants with a rationale for the study and illustrate how their participation will support the study. When completing data gathering Stake (1995) points out that 'the researcher should leave the site having made no one feel less able to carry out their responsibilities' (p 60). Adopting this position recognises research is not 'value free' and is influenced by the 'socio-political' (Hammersley, 1990) conditions in which the research is taking place. Therefore the position, which the

researcher adopts, must be pointed out to all participants and 'Investigations must be honest and open' (Anderson & Arsenault, 1999, p 10).

Anderson and Arsenault (1999) go on to suggest 'Maintaining anonymity and establishing an ethical stance will involve six basic elements:

- an explanation of the purpose of the research and procedures that will be used;
- a description of any reasonably foreseeable risks and discomforts to the subjects;
- a description of any benefits that may reasonably be expected, including incentives to participate;
- an offer to answer any questions concerning the procedures;
- a statement that participation is voluntary and that the subject is free to withdraw from the study at any time' (p 18-19).

Confidentiality and anonymity involve a clear understanding between the researcher and the participant concerning how the data will be used and 'assumes that the reader of the research will not be able to deduce the identity of the individual' (Anderson & Arsenault, 1999, p 20).

Studying vulnerable groups such as pupils who are marginalized by the education system through their behaviour may require a specific ethical stance. In my experience there is a sense in which the most vulnerable in society will volunteer to be participants in research.

Anderson and Arsenault (1999) suggest that ‘the people most inclined to volunteer tend to be the most powerless in society...Feeling obliged to participate though peer pressure’ (p 19). I anticipate that by adopting the position outlined above that a partnership will develop between myself and Luton schools, pupils, policy makers and teachers all of whom have agreed to take part in the study. In order to preserve participant’s anonymity I have fictionalised all names throughout the study. I will be guided by the ‘Ethical Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants (British Psychological Society)’ (Robson, 1993, Appendix B).

The Research Methods Used

The research methods focus down from the LA level explored through a questionnaire, to the school level through a semi-structured interview schedule around key issues. Semi-structured interviews have taken place with SENCOs to explore the context of behaviour support services and observation of SCMs will provide empirical data to add depth to the study.

The Questionnaire

The purpose of the questionnaire in this research design was to gain SENCOs views about behaviour support to Luton schools. ‘The questionnaire [sought] to elicit a Luton wide perspective about how SENCOs use (SCMs) as a mechanism for delivering behaviour support to schools’ (Clarke, 2000, p 18). Oppenheim suggests that ‘The questionnaire has a job to do: its function is measurement’ (Oppenheim, 1992, p 100). The self-completion postal questionnaire was sent to all Luton (SENCOs). The primary

aim was to produce an easy to complete and interesting instrument which focused on 'behaviour' support. Cohen & Manion (1994) suggest that sequencing of questions is of paramount importance so that researchers are able 'to anticipate the type and range of responses that their questions are likely to elicit' (p 93). In this study the questionnaire was used as a starting point in data collection based on the development of what Strauss & Corbin (1990) describe as the researchers 'theoretical sensitivity'. Robson (1993) argues that 'specific questions are better than general ones' (p 247) these questions provide more standardisation. 'Closed questions are usually preferable to open questions' (ibid).

Self Administered / Self Completion Questionnaires

Although the questionnaire used in this study was not strictly self administered in the sense that the questionnaire was not personally given to the respondents. I was seeking the high response rate associated with such questionnaires and attempted to create a 'mix' between the postal self completion questionnaires with the self administered type (see below). The model for the questionnaire was based on Oppenheim's (1996) description of self-administered questionnaire. Oppenheim (1996) advocates that the self-administered questionnaire is:

'usually presented to the respondents by the interviewer or someone in an official position, such as a teacher or a hospital receptionist. The purpose of the enquiry is explained and then the respondent is left alone to complete the questionnaire, which will be picked up later. This

method of data collection ensure a high response rate'... (p

103)

Also for ease of completion the questionnaire was printed on one side of A4 (Appendix One) so that the SENCOs could actually see all the questions on one page. There were clear instructions on how to complete the questionnaire and the overall 'appeal' of the questionnaire was designed to attract respondents to become involved in the study. The model of self-completion questionnaires is easy to use and is efficient in terms of researcher time and effort (Robson, 1993). The difficulty with questionnaires is that there is no way of verifying the information the respondents provide. To enhance the reliability and validity of the questionnaire I carried out a pilot study.

Questionnaire Design

I designed a questionnaire to pilot with the South Luton Cluster SENCOs (Appendix 1). The South Cluster provided me with 13 SENCOs with a range of experience from 2 years to over 15 years and one of the High School SENCOs was male. There were three High Schools within this cluster and they were in some of the most economically disadvantaged wards of Luton and behaviour was a major issue for all three High Schools. Denscombe (1998) suggests 'a good questionnaire involves attention to certain almost routine matters' (p 90). These might include information about the research and this was provided at the top of the questionnaire (Appendix 1). Also at the top of the questionnaire an assurance of confidentiality and anonymity was given. Thanks for participation was provided in an earlier letter. The questionnaire consisted of 10 questions. My 'hunch' was that by focusing on 'behaviour' I would arouse interest from

the SENCOs and I anticipated a high response rate. I designed the questionnaire to 'measure' how schools use SCMs to access behaviour support services.

The ten questions were designed to relate to the key research questions with question one to three relating to the first key research question: How do schools use SCMs to access Behaviour Support Services? Question seven relates to the second key research question: Who from the LA carries out the Behaviour Support work with schools? Question four to six seek SENCO views on the purpose of the SCMs and the focus on school development issues or pupil deficit issues. These questions relate to the third key research: Why have SEN support services, which focus on pupil's deficits instead of pupil strengths? Question eight asked about the level of satisfaction regarding behaviour support to school and pupils. Question nine asked how SENCOs thought the service could be improved. The final question of the questionnaire asked SENCOs if they would be willing to talk to me about issues raised by the questionnaire and again 12 of the 13 SENCOs indicated they would.

Piloting the questionnaire involved testing the notion of informed consent to take part in the study. I wrote to the SENCOs by providing them with a pro forma to return to me if they were willing to participate. The response was excellent with twelve SENCOs returning the forms and the thirteenth returning the form after a follow up telephone call. This high response rate indicated a questionnaire in the main study could lead to a similar high response rate, which could provide reliable data. The pilot questionnaire provided the study with 'facts' about how schools use SCMs to access behaviour support i.e. it

produced data, which could be analysed. The willingness of SENCOs to take part in completing a questionnaire and then follow up interviews increased the viability and reliability of the study.

As this study is based on the ethical principle of informed consent the first stage of the questionnaire involved circulating consent forms to all Luton SENCOs. Consent forms were posted in two batches one batch in the morning and one batch in the afternoon. The consent forms were posted out on the 08/03/01 and returned at a consistent rate so that within a month 43 SENCOs had indicated that they would be willing to take part in the study and they were all sent a questionnaire. The questionnaire phase of data collection continued until December 2001 by which time 81 SENCOs had returned their questionnaires and the participation rate had reached 97.18%. The final two questionnaires were returned in February 2002 after two follow up telephone calls. Throughout the questionnaire stage the viability of the study increased as the number of SENCOs willing to participate increased.

Questionnaire Analysis

When the questionnaires were returned the responses were entered on to a data matrix, which provided a framework within which to view the data as a whole. From this initial analysis selected themes, such as whole school behaviour issues and individual behaviour issues, were developed. SCM participation was also a focus i.e. is there a difference between who participates in SCMs when primary schools are compared to secondary

schools and if this affects the outcomes from the SCMs. Questionnaire data has been discussed in Chapter Four using the key questions of the study to structure the discussion. I have also looked collectively at the responses to focus on themes emerging from the questionnaire responses to focus the questions for the semi-structured interviews. I have also analysed individual school responses before interviewing SENCOs so that I can highlight a particular question, which may have been raised by the questionnaire. In this way the analysis of the questionnaire responses ‘feeds’ into the SENCO interviews and helps structure the semi-structured interviews.

Theoretical basis for using Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews used in research can range from the formal interview where set questions are asked and responses are recorded on a schedule. Interviews can also be less formal and the interviewer may have a sequence of questions, which they may modify, and change the wording as the conversation moves along. At another level interviews may reflect a conversational style around some key issues instead of following a sequence of questions. Interviews can also be non-directive where the interviewer takes on a subordinate role (Cohen and Manion, 1994). Cannell and Khan (1968) define the research interview as a ‘a two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information, and focussed by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction, or explanation’ (cited in Cohen and Manion, 1993, p 271). Denscombe (1998) suggests interviews emphasise ‘the interviewee’s thoughts’ (p 113). Seidman (1991) goes on to say that ‘interviewers use, primarily, open-ended questions’ (p 9). The aim of this type of interview ‘is to allow us to

enter into the other person's perspective' (Patton, 1990, p 278). Seidman (1991) suggests that, 'At the root of ...interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience' (p 3). The interviewer allows, 'Interviewees to 'speak their minds' (Denscombe, 1998, p 113) by 'introducing a theme or topic and then letting the interviewee develop his or her ideas' (ibid). In Denscombe's view 'unstructured interviews have as their aim 'discovery' rather than 'checking'.

In this study developing an understanding of the key actors' perspectives on issues such as inclusion, reducing exclusion and supporting pupils with behaviour concerns is crucial to understanding how LA services can work with schools. Gaining that level of understanding involves the interviewer being able to gain insight of the interviewees perspective. Seidman (1991) explains that an 'assumption in interviewing research is that the meaning people make of their experience affects the way they carry out that experience' (p 4). Patton (1990) points out that 'the conversational interview is a major tool used in combination with participant observation' (p 281). The semi-structured interview will enable the study to probe interviewees regarding the complex issues which have been explored by the questionnaire. The interviews were audio taped and this had been discussed with the SENCOs when arranging the interview times and dates. In the case of male secondary SENCO (1) he became nervous about the tape recorder and asked me to turn it off which I did. We continued our discussion, which took the form of him discussing a recent health scare, and at the end of our discussion we arranged another date and time for the interview, which was taped.

The questionnaire raised concerns about reducing exclusion of pupils with behaviour concerns. Female secondary SENCO (29) had indicated in the questionnaire that she had discussed alternative provision for pupils with extreme behavioural difficulties in an SCM. When I broached this issue during the interview I could see that this was causing her some discomfort so I encouraged her to talk about some of the school issues regarding behaviour support. I realised I had to give the SENCOs 'space' to talk about the issue until I was able to return to the question of how the discussion had gone at the SCM. I then continued the discussion about LA level of service and Luton's policy of 'whole school' funding of SEN, which left very little LA provision for alternatives to mainstream education. Female secondary SENCO (29) said she understood the LAs position but nevertheless said her school colleagues wanted another educational setting for pupils with extreme behaviour. One SENCO suggested that the service could be improved by having an emergency service' to respond to pupils with behavioural needs.

Issues emanating from the questionnaire helped structure the type of interview for the interviewer. Robson (1993) suggests semi-structured interviews are useful when:

'Interviewers have their shopping list of topics and want to get responses to them, but as a matter of tactics they have greater freedom in the sequencing of questions, in their exact wording, and in the amount of time and attention given to different topics' (p 237).

The list of topics relevant to this study centred on the issues of inclusion and how this affected supporting pupils with SEBD. Using semi-structured interviews allowed the

study to 'focus' the interview and provide 'more control about the kinds of questions used and seek also to limit the discussion to certain parts of the respondent's experience' (Cohen & Manion 1994, p 289). The semi-structured interview allowed the interviewee to respond in more depth, (than a questionnaire) and allowed the interviewer to pursue issues of concern to the study (Denscombe, 1998). Questions, which required clarification from the questionnaire, were addressed in this setting. 'Respondent validation' i.e. returning interview transcripts to SENCOs for their comments on accuracy adds to the validity of the study.

The interview schedule was linked to the questionnaire around the key research questions about how school use SCMs to access behaviour support and who from the LA carries out the work with the school and pupils and the final question focuses on whether SEN support services should be incorporated into school improvement services. An additional question regarding an issue raised in the questionnaire was asked. These ranged from asking SENCOs about having to 'jump through hoops to gain a statement to 'senior staff by passing the SCM system'.

Analysis of Semi-structured Interviews

The first stage of analysis was the transcription of the audiotape. Swann (1994) argues that, 'Transcribers will tend to pay attention to different aspects depending on their interests, which means that a transcript is already an interpretation of the event it seeks to record' (p 39). When the transcription phase was complete the text was analysed in light of the 'theoretical sensitivity' I have developed through reading the literature around the

key concepts in this study. Strauss & Corbin (1990) suggest, 'Theoretical sensitivity refers to a personal quality of the researcher' (p 41). The interviews were subjected to what Strauss & Corbin (1990) describe as 'Open Coding: The process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising and categorizing data' (p 61). This involved the reading and re-reading of the transcripts. The procedures involved in this analytic process pertain to the researcher making comparisons and asking questions about the data. This process Strauss & Corbin (1990) describe as 'labelling phenomena' (p 63) this involved taking the interview apart by word, sentence or maybe a paragraph and give each idea incident or event a name 'something that stands for or represents a phenomenon' (ibid). The questioning of the data will continue, 'What is this? What does it represent? We compare incident with incident as we go along so that similar phenomena can be given the same name' (ibid).

Once this 'conceptual labelling' had been applied to the transcripts the concepts will be grouped into 'categories', which is the classification of concepts. Concepts were grouped together when they appear to belong to similar phenomenon and this group is called a category. These categories will have properties, which Strauss & Corbin (1990) describe as properties being 'the characteristics or attributes of a category' (p 69). Categories according to Strauss & Corbin (1990) can be dimensionalized and this 'represents locations of a property along a continuum' (ibid).

The process of open coding has been applied to all of the data, which was collected through the various methods. At the start of the analysis I adopted a line-by-line approach

to generate as many categories as possible. This process provided a focus for further interviews and observations based on looking for the phenomenon to which the category refers. The data analysis outlined above will build a grounded theory from the data collected. The analytic procedures of ‘asking questions about data; and the making of comparisons to look for similarities and differences between each incident, event, and other instances of phenomena’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) are the procedures used to build theory from data.

Observation-based Research

SCMs were central to this study and observation enabled me to get an ‘insider’ view of these fora.

Patton (1990) states ‘the value of observational data in evaluation research is that the evaluation users can come to understand program activities and impacts through detailed descriptive information about what has occurred in a program and how the people in the program have reacted to what has occurred’ (p 203).

This is particularly relevant to the development of ‘whole school’ approaches for pupils with social, emotional and behavioural needs (SEBD). The pupil deficit model of SEN was a key issue to ‘unravel’ whilst observing SCMs.

Robson (1993) argues that ‘the actions and behaviour of people are a central aspect in virtually any enquiry, a natural and obvious technique is to watch what they do, to

record this in some way and then describe, analyze and interpret what we have observed' (p 190).

School consultation meetings (SCMs) are a crucial element in providing behaviour support to Luton schools. Observation provided direct access to these forums and by developing this research method as the 'peripheral-member-researcher' (Adler & Adler, 1994, p 379) the study used a method in which 'One of the hallmarks of observation has traditionally been its non-interventionism' (Adler & Adler, p 378). This 'naturalistic' and 'non-interventionist' approach will be adopted when observing SCMs. Adler & Adler (1994) suggest that observation 'is the most likely [research method] to be used in conjunction with others, such as participant observation, experimental design, and interviewing' (p 377).

Denscombe (1998) suggests observation is a distinct method of collecting data and is characterised by its directness. Using observation the researcher does not 'rely on what people say they do, or what they say they think' (p 139). Instead the observer creates a situation in which they can directly observe the phenomenon under investigation. Robson (1993) points out that observation may appear to be straightforward, however there is so much to observe, 'There seems to be either so much, or so little, going on' (p 193). What to observe will, in Robson's view, be framed by the research questions posed.

The major divide proposed by Robson (1993) is 'between narrative accounts and coded schedules' (p 193). Denscombe (1998) suggests, 'There are essentially two kinds of observation used in the social sciences' (p 139). Systematic observation is one strand and

is associated with 'the production of quantitative data' (ibid). Participant observation is the other strand, and in Denscombe's view is associated with sociology and anthropology 'and is used by researchers to infiltrate situations' (ibid). Bell (1998) builds on this distinction by suggesting 'there are two main types of observation - participant and non-participant' (p 110). Within the Bell distinction, non-participant observers, can use either structured or narrative types of observation. Adler & Adler (1994) describe roles in observation, 'The three membership roles... the complete-member-researcher, the active-member-researcher, and the peripheral-member-researcher' (p 379). Robson (1993) argues that the type of observation used to develop 'naturalistic' narrative accounts will broadly fall into participant observation and the more 'scientific' approach will use structured observation schedules. The balance between pre-structure and freedom is a crucial element when using observation to collect data. Robson (ibid) suggests 'formal' or 'informal' information gathering, which 'might include diary keeping, note taking' (Robson, 1993, p 194). The less formal approaches in Robson's view 'requires the observer to perform the difficult task of synthesis, abstraction and organisation of the data' (p 195). Patton (1990) proposes that, 'Scientific inquiry using observational methods requires disciplined training and rigorous preparation' (p 200).

Naturalistic systems of observation tend to be less structured in their approach, with the aim of telling the 'story' and describing the context. School consultation meetings (SCMs) are a crucial element in providing behaviour support to Luton schools. Observation provided direct access to these fora and by developing this research method as the 'peripheral-member-researcher' (Adler & Adler, 1994, p 379).

Collecting observational data allowed the study to ‘describe’ the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in that setting, the people who participated in those activities, and the meanings of what was observed from the perspective of those observed’ (Patton, 1990, p 202). Access to the context within which behaviour support is being provided ‘is essential to a holistic perspective’ (Patton, 1990, p, 203). It was vital in this study to find out what the key players did, and how their actions contributed to the multi-faceted dimensions involved in providing behaviour support to schools, pupils SENCOs and teachers.

What to Observe: Devising a system for SCMs

Observation schedules were used taking account of content analysis where ‘what the group of people comprising the meeting is doing in terms of purposes and objectives’ and process analysis which ‘refers to the way in which the group goes about achieving its formal task – how it is carrying out its tasks’ (Williams, 1994, p 313). The observation schedule (Appendix 2) was piloted as one of my EdD assignments and in the pilot I used a schedule devised by Williams (1994), which recorded relative contributions to the meeting by participants. During and immediately after the meetings I made notes about the inclusive and exclusive responses and actions of the participants. The pilot produced interesting data around the tensions schools and LAs experience when working with pupils with SEBD (p 137-139). Denscombe (1998) suggests that when:

‘selecting items for inclusion in the schedule there are seven conditions which need to be met. The things to be observed need to be:

Overt: First and foremost, items should entail overt behaviour.

Obvious: They should require a minimum of interpretation by the researcher.

Context independent: ...the context of the of the situation should not have a significant impact on how the behaviour is to be interpreted.

Relevant: They should be the most relevant indications of the thing to be investigated.

Complete: ...that the categories on the observation schedule cover the full range of possibilities and there are no gaps...

Precise: ...no ambiguity about the categories. They need to be defined precisely and there should be no overlap between them.

Easy to record: They should occur with *sufficient regularity and sequence* for the observer to be able to log the occurrences accurately and fruitfully' (p 143).

Key players were observed using the above guidance, in relation to discussing and 'actioning' inclusive and exclusive support to schools, pupils and parents, for set times during the meeting (Robson, 1993). Observing the behaviour and the discussion, which takes place within the forum about including or excluding pupils with SEBD, was the major focus.

I developed a category system around the concept of 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' responses to supporting pupils experiencing behaviour difficulties. Robson (1993) suggests a 'distinction is sometimes made between observation systems based on checklists, and those based on category systems' (p 20). Robson cites 'Walker (1985) as using a category system which 'unlike checklists, use a relatively small number of items, each of which is more general than a typical checklist item, but which attempts to use the system to maintain some sort of more-or-less continuous record' (p 136). Adopting Williams's (1994) content/process analysis of SCMs, and combining this with Walker's (1985) category system, enabled observation to take place within a framework. This framework included the content of the meeting i.e. the agenda and the issues to be resolved and the processes involved in solving the issues. Categories, which have emerged from pilot observations, are relative amount of communication between participants in the meeting; communication between school and LA staff, school staff to school staff; LA staff to LA staff. Categories were developed for 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' actions which school and LA services undertake.

Criteria for Observations

The pilot study helped clarify the approach to observing SCMs and I used the 'participant-as-observer' role during the pilot work, which proved to be useful in collecting data from SCMs. The approach to observing SCMs involved writing to schools seeking permission by letter with a signed return slip from the school either agreeing or not to the observations. Once agreement had been reached all participants in the pilot

were informed about the observation a term before they took place. Before observing a meeting I talked to my colleagues about being at the next SCM.

Before the meeting I had prepared recording sheets (Appendix Two) to record the time participants spoke during the meeting. I was interested in which participants dominated the meetings and to observe collaboration or disagreement between school and LA representatives when discussing issues. I also wrote notes throughout the meeting recording events which related to pupils being discussed particularly about behaviour and who would work with the school from the LA. Immediately after the meeting I wrote up my thoughts and impressions about the meeting focusing on the inclusive and exclusive responses and actions of the participants. Enhancing my observational skills during the pilot work was essential to 'absorb' the 'social reality' of the meeting (Patton, 1990.). Within the SCM forum there existed various levels of tension, with regard to schools wanting a 'quick fix' approach to pupil's deficits, and the LA approach of developing school wide strategies to support all pupils learning. Patton (1990) suggests that observers need to prepare themselves for these tensions and this preparation 'has a mental, physical, intellectual, and psychological dimension' (p 201). I expected that there would be competing perspectives about in school provision for pupils and out of school provision. The pilot observation supported this view with some but not all schools. Where schools viewed solutions for pupils to be outside the school community tension between LA and school representatives became apparent.

Participant or non-participant?

The degree to which the observation of SCMs were ‘participant’ or ‘onlooker’ was part of a continuum which simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection’ (Denzin, 1978, p 183, in Patton, M. 1990, p 206). Robson (1993) suggests that a role, which could be adopted within the SCMs, is that of ‘participant-as-observer role’. The fact that the observer is an observer is made clear to the group from the start’ (p 197). This ‘participant-as-observer role’ in ‘which the observer can ask a member to explain various aspects of what’s going on’ can enable key informants to become more analytic about the group’s functioning ‘(ibid). The ‘participant-as-observer’ role was adopted in this study. Developing a hybrid between participant-as-observer and marginal participant (Robson, 1993, p, 198) role allowed the observer to take part in the meetings. This approach allowed the participants to play out their roles and therefore provide a more ‘naturalistic’ setting within which to observe. Robson (1994) suggests, ‘some marginal roles are effectively indistinguishable from that of the ‘complete observer’ (p 198).

Analysing Observation Data

From the observation schedules I was able to record the relative time participants spoke during SCMs and I have displayed these in Table 4.14. This provided an indication of who might be dominating the meetings. Also I recorded, by hand, sections of SCM dialogue where a contentious issue regarding inclusion or exclusion of pupils was being

discussed. The dialogue between participants within the SCM has been analysed using discourse or conversational analysis. Within discourse analysis individual 'actors' can take up positions through language to enhance their social status and it could be argued that using a particular discourse 'serves to define the 'self' in relation to others' (Buckingham, 1994, p 37). Issues of power run through the discourse of the SCM and Fairclough (1989) points out, 'that people are not conscious of being socially positioned as subjects, and standardly see their own subjective identities as somehow standing outside and prior to society' (p 105). Language and power operate at various levels within education and Fairclough (1989) highlights this in particular within a 'counselling' discourse, which he suggests is a 'means to greater institutional control of people through exposing aspects of their 'private' lives to unprecedented institutional probing' (p 73). Discourse analysis could help make these positions more explicit.

A Grounded Theory

Corbin & Strauss (1990) describe a grounded theory as 'one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents' (p 23). They suggest that the theory is discovered and developed through collecting data systematically. Grounded theory in this study is focussed on developing 'theoretical sensitivity' i.e. through reading the literature developing an increased awareness of development of special education and then applying this to data analysis. This systematic data collection is combined with analysis of the data, which pertains to the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore as the literature search developed an increased 'theoretical sensitivity' developed within which to analyse the data. Corbin & Strauss (1990) argue that 'data collection, analysis, and

theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other' (ibid). In developing a grounded theory the researcher starts with an area of study and as the data is collected what is relevant to study is allowed to emerge. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that:

'Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research' (p 6).

Within grounded theory the researcher should start with an 'open mind' in other words not theory testing but rather sets out to discover or uncover theory. However within this study I did start from a position where I had a 'hunch' that special education was not a benign phenomena (p 57) so that I think it is very difficult to claim the researcher can begin a study with a completely 'open mind'. Glaser and Strauss (1967) acknowledge this when they point out that, 'one goes out and studies an area with a particular...perspective, and with a focus, a general question or a problem in mind' (p 33). Therefore being informed about the area to be researched and open to discovering new phenomena is essential in the grounded theory approach.

The data collected through the questionnaire, interviews and observations are presented in the next chapter. Each data set is presented using the key research questions as sub headings to display the data.

Chapter Four- Findings

Introduction to the Data

Data collection took place throughout the Summer Term of 2000 and up to the end of the Autumn Term of 2001. The research methods focused at an LA level, layer one, through a questionnaire to all Luton SENCOs (Table 4.1) The second layer, school level, involved semi-structured interviews with 13 Luton SENCOs (Table 4.2). The third layer investigated how behaviour support was discussed and planned in schools. This layer involved observation (Table 4.3) of 8 School Consultation Meetings (SCMs).

The first layer involved circulating a questionnaire to all 83 Luton SENCOs (Table 4.1). The questionnaire sought to elicit SENCOs’ views about behaviour support services to their schools through the SCM process.

Table 4.1 Biographical Profile of all Luton SENCOs

Gender of SENCO	No	%
Phase of Schooling		
Female Secondary	2	2.40%
Female Primary	69	83.10%
Male Secondary	10	12.10%
Male Primary	2	2.40%
Total	83	100%

The second layer involved semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of SENCOs. In this layer the study explored how SENCOs used SCMs to access

behaviour support. Another aspect was to investigate how LA staff worked with schools to provide behaviour support and whether this support focussed on pupil deficits or their strengths. I had intended to interview 20 SENCOs but because of their availability and my time constraints I interviewed 13 SENCOs (Table 4.2). These SENCOs were attributed a number by the LA which provides anonymity for them in this thesis. SENCO experience ranged from one academic year to a secondary school SENCO who had been in the post for twenty years. The interviews explored issues raised by questionnaire responses and focused on how support services work with schools and pupils to include them in mainstream school.

The sample was chosen as a result of the questionnaire responses and how they related to key questions of the study. The SENCOs interviewed included a range of primary and secondary (Table 4.2). These SENCOs were from a spread of clusters to reflect a Luton wide perspective as far as possible. The clustering system for managing SEN in Luton is explained on pages six and seven. Primary SENCOs are represented but are in a minority as a result of their availability to be interviewed. Secondary SENCOs are over represented as a result their accessibility plus the emerging concern in 1999 (DfEE, 1999a) about the inclusion of pupils with SEBD. It appeared from the questionnaires that secondary SENCOs were under considerable pressure from their institution to exclude these pupils through provision of curriculum outside mainstream schools.

Table 4.2 Characteristics of SENCOs Interviewed

Gender	Phase	Cluster	Experience
Male	Secondary	East	20 Years
Female	Primary	North	3-4 Years
Female	Primary	West	1 Year
Female	Secondary	North	15 Years
Female	Secondary	North	2 Years
Female	Secondary	West	3 Years
Female	Secondary	Mid	15 Years
Male	Secondary	Mid	3 Years
Female	Secondary	West	10 Years
Male	Secondary	South	17 Years
Female	Primary	East	10 Years
Male	Secondary	East	3 Years
Female	Infant	South	15 Years

The third layer involved observation of SCMs. These meetings are usually composed of the school SENCO and a senior manager from the school plus the LA cluster team. The team consisted of an educational psychologist; a member from learning support and behaviour support team plus additional LA personnel may attend e.g. members of the educational welfare team. Eight SCMs were observed in total, seven of these were secondary schools and I observed one primary school (Table 4.3) and covered all clusters. Four of the SENCOs interviewed were also involved in the SCM observations.

Table 4.3 School Consultation Meeting Observations

School	Date	Cluster	Phase	Staff Present
1	22/6/00	East	Secondary	HoY, SENCO, EP, LS, BS.
8	13/6/00	Mid	Secondary	SENCO, BS, EP, LS.
9	15/1/01	North	Secondary	SENCO, LM, BC, EWO, LS, BS
15	22/6/00	Mid	Secondary	LM, SENCO, LS, EP, BS.
19	1/5/01	Mid	Primary	HT (SENCO), EP, LS, BS.
29	20/6/00	West	Secondary	HT, EP, SENCO, BC, LS, BS.
38	24/9/01	North	Secondary	HT, SENCO, LSA, HoY, BS, EP, LS
59	5/700	South	Secondary	DH, SENCO, EP, BS, LS.

Key

- BC-Behaviour Co-ordinator School
- BS-Behaviour Support LEA
- DH-Deputy Headteacher
- EP-Educational Psychologist
- EWO-Education Welfare Officer
- HT-Headteacher
- HT (SENCO)-Headteacher who is also the school SENCO
- LM-Learning Manager School
- LS-Learning Support LEA
- SENCO- Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator

In the next section I will outline SENCO responses to the questionnaire this will follow the pattern of the questions asked in the questionnaire and in relation to the key questions of the study. Discussion of questionnaire responses will focus on how schools use SCMs and the staff involved in this process. The analysis will consider how staff from schools and the LA work to support, and include or exclude, pupils from mainstream school.

The First Layer: Questionnaire Data Analysis

This section will display questionnaire data around the key research questions:

- 1) How do schools use SCMs to access behaviour support?
- 2) Who from the LEA carries out the behaviour support work with schools?
- 3) Why have SEN support services, which focus on pupil's deficits instead of pupils strengths?

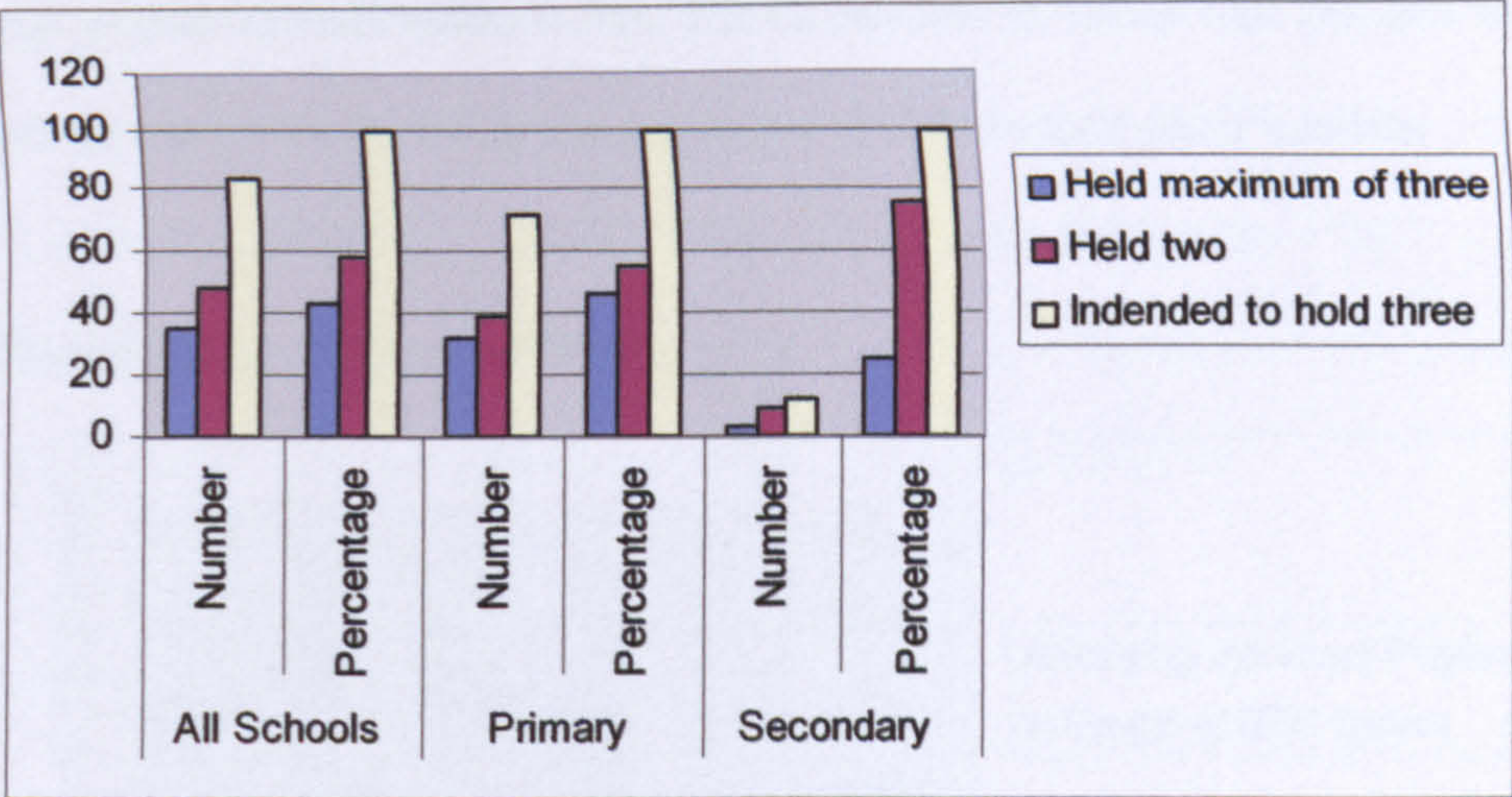
Within each key question the data will be discussed around some of the emerging categories from data analysis i.e. exclusion/inclusion, partnerships and enculturement.

How schools use SCMs to access Behaviour Support Services

Exclusion

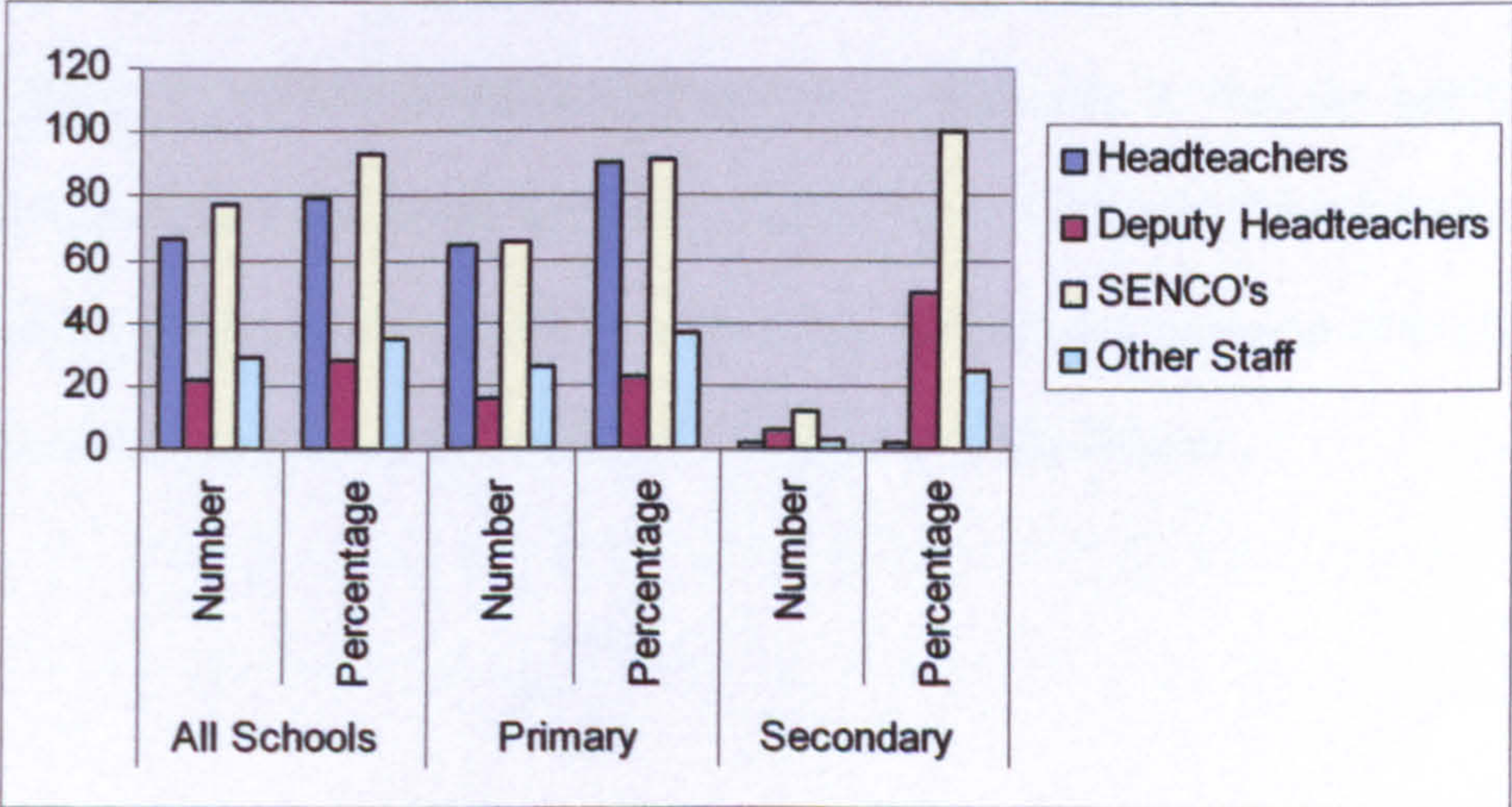
All Luton schools use SCMs (Table 4.4) and they appear to be accepted by schools as the mechanism, set up by the LA since September 1997, to access SEN Support Services. All school SENCOs who responded (83/83) held, or were going to hold, their allocation of 3 SCMs meetings in the academic year (Luton, LEA 1999). Sixty eight of the eighty three SENCOs said that the purpose of SCMs was to develop SEN provision for pupils who were of concern. SENCOs from all 83 Luton schools cited individual pupils with behaviour concerns being discussed at SCMs. These meetings appear to be valued by schools and respondents to the questionnaire indicated total participation in SCMs (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Number of SCMs held by Schools



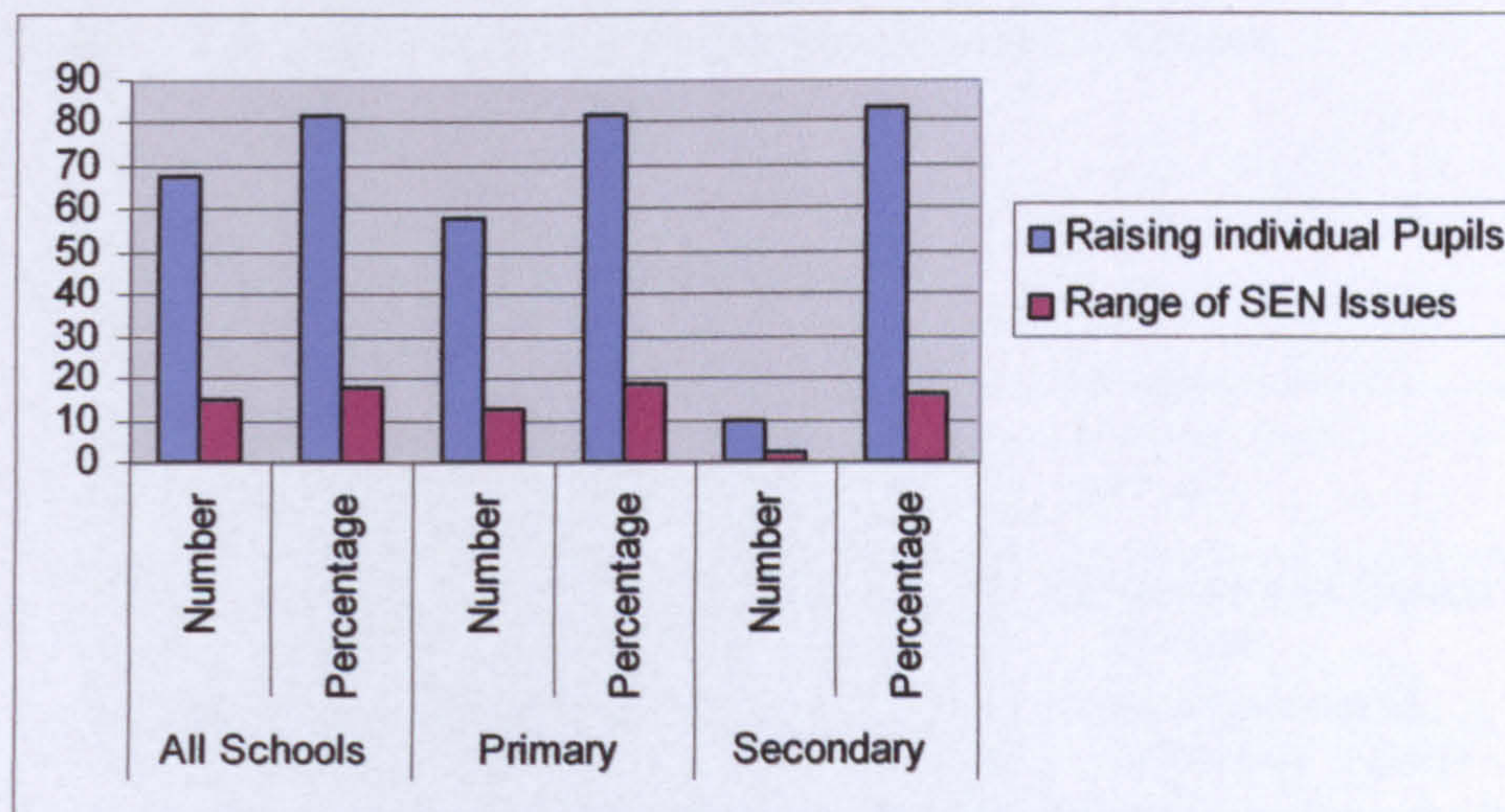
When this data (Table 4.4) is compared with SCM participation data, (Table 4.5), it appears that Luton schools senior management teams (SMTs) also regarded SCMs as important to their school. Within the primary sector SMT attendance was very high with over 90% of headteachers and SENCOs attending SCMs. In the secondary sector this was counter balanced by 100% attendance of SENCOs who are usually members of SMTs. It was exceptional for SENCOs in Luton schools to have the dual role of headteacher and SENCO.

Table 4.5 Staff Participating in SCMs



Data from the first three questions appears to indicate schools and senior members of staff within schools value SCMs. All 83 schools in Luton had decided to prioritise time to meet with the LA support services to discuss their pupil's needs.

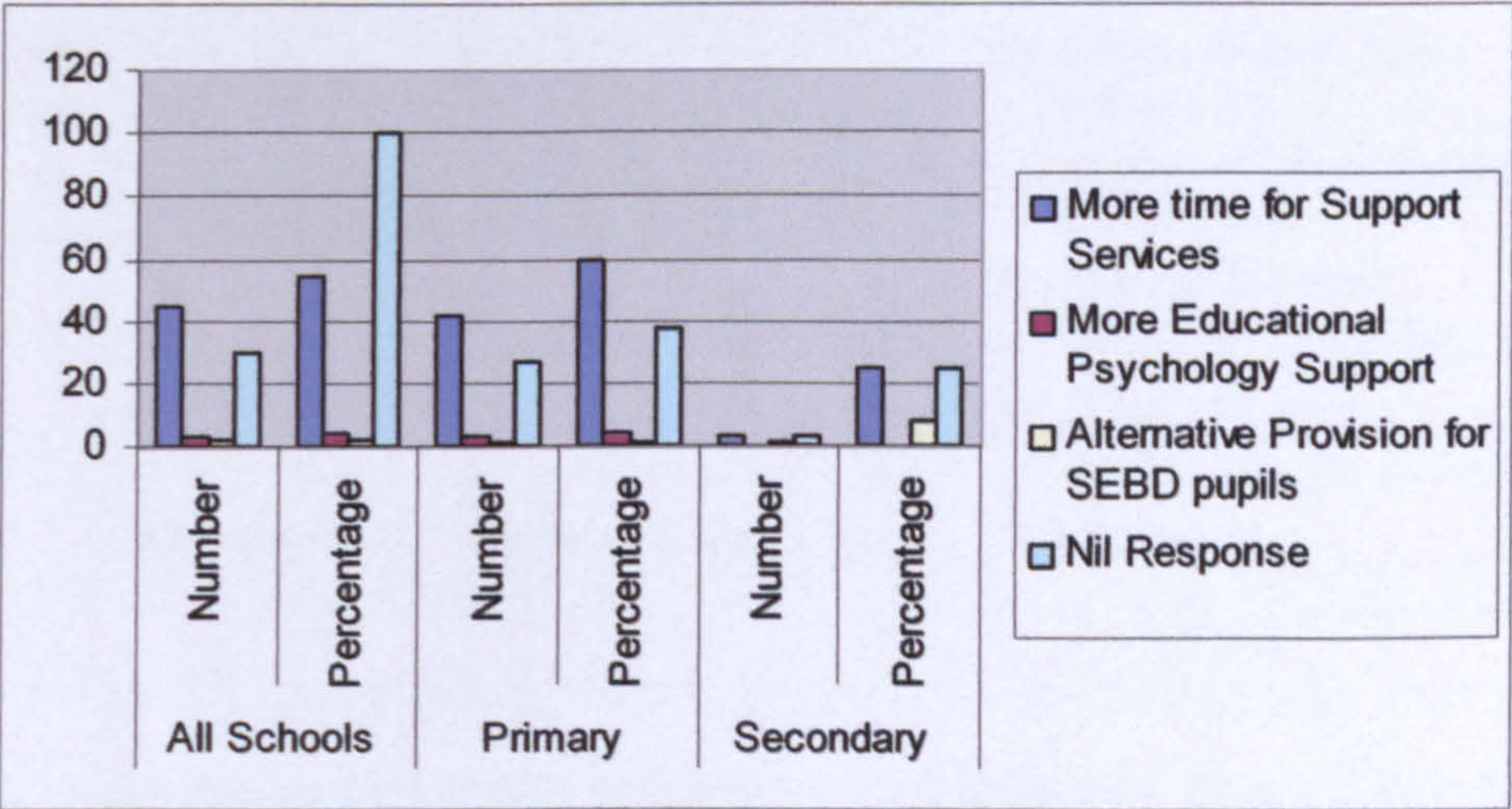
Table 4.6 The Purpose of SCMs



When SENCOs were asked about the purpose of SCMs (Table 4.6) 68 indicated that they used SCMs for raising individual pupil concerns. Data from the questionnaire indicated that SCMs are viewed by SENCOs as the forum in which to discuss individual pupils with representatives from the LA. SENCOs also used SCMs for discussing a range of SEN issues including support for hearing impairment, the National Curriculum, exclusion from school, Early Years and Educational Psychology support. SCM fora could be regarded as exclusionary in that the pupils discussed cannot have their needs met from within the resources of the school. The SCM 'problem solving' fora could be regarded as an additional resource which schools may use to develop inclusive or exclusive responses to pupil need.

SENCOs were also asked about how the LA could improve support services to them and schools. All SENCOs identified a range of additional support, which took the form of increased individual pupil work (Table 4.7), which could be regarded, as exclusionary. When examining primary school responses nearly 60% of them wanted additional support service input, which could be regarded as the primary school attempting to reduce exclusion by gaining additional resources.

Table 4.7 Improved SCM Response



When SENCOs were asked about the purpose of SCMs the majority highlighted individual pupil issues as the primary purpose for SCMs as is shown in Table 4.6. Again this highlights the individualised focus of SCMs.

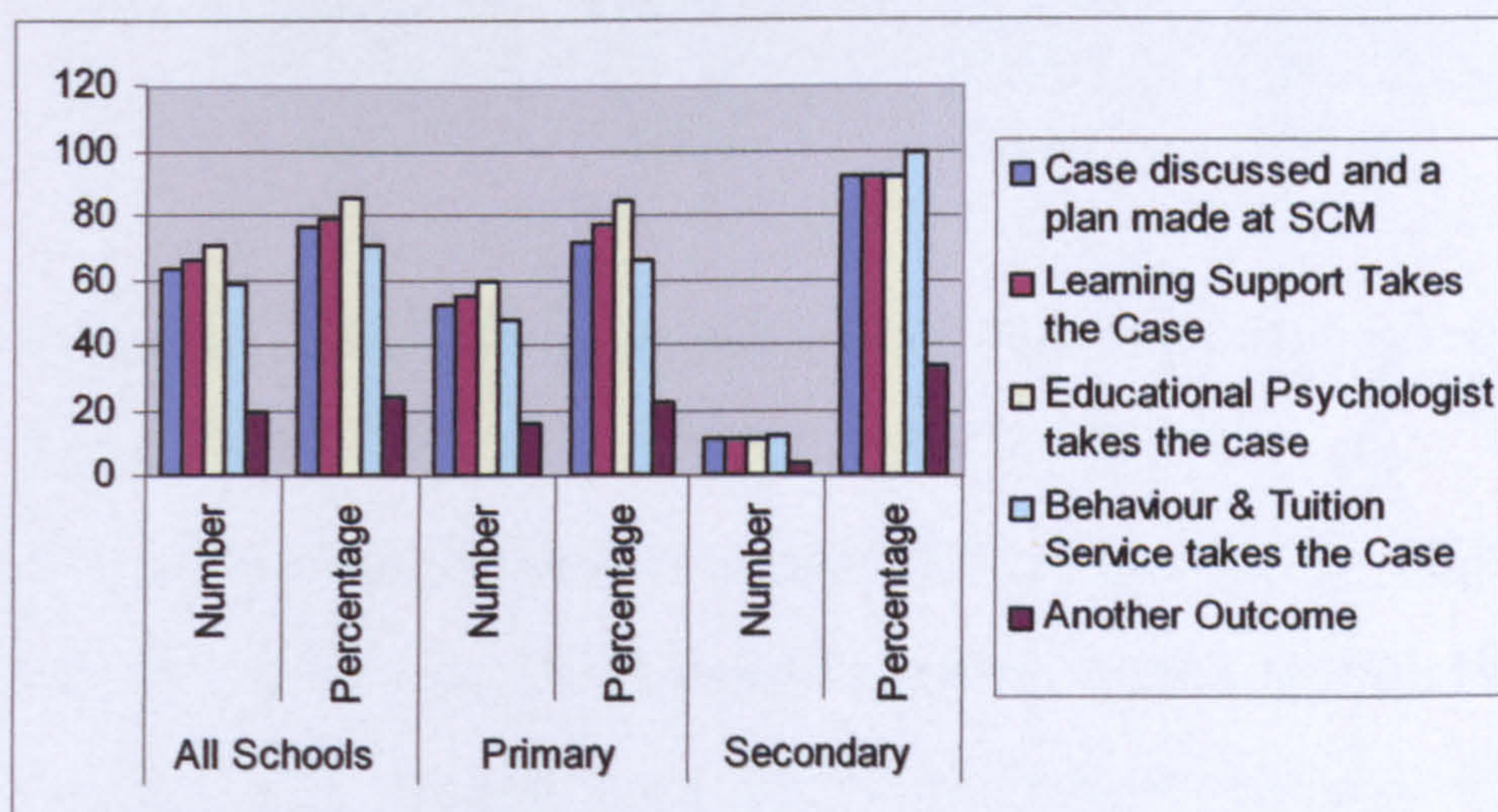
LA Staff and Behaviour Support work with Schools

Inclusion

SENCO responses regarding who carries out the casework as a result of the discussions at SCMs are shown in Table 4.8. This indicates that the majority of casework 75.90% is discussed during the SCM and a plan is also discussed during the

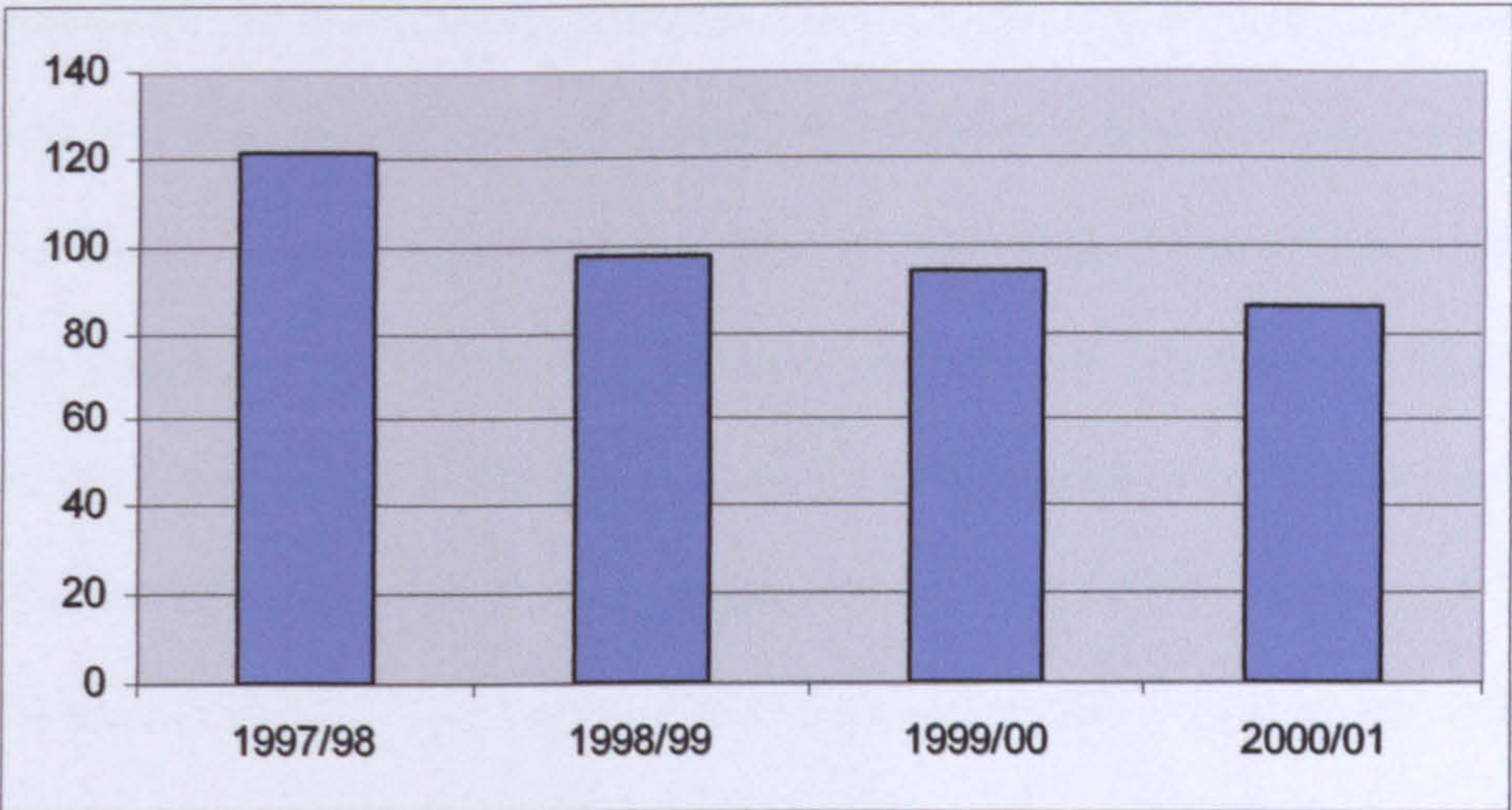
meeting. Table 4.8 shows that over 75% of the cases raised at SCMs are 'problem solved' within the meeting. Usually this means a plan is made during the SCM and the SENCO will work with colleagues within school to develop provision for the pupil in school.

Table 4. 8 Work Distribution



Work distribution (Table 4.8) indicates the remaining work from SCMs is taken on by LA support services and is work with individual pupils. Identification at the SCM creates the 'duality' of exclusion or inclusion. The 'pressures' of inclusion or exclusion appear to be mediated through the casework LA and school staff develop. Educational Psychology is perceived as taking a greater share of support service work which may be to do with SENCOs seeking access to additional resources even though the number formal assessments in Luton are declining year on year (Table 4.9). The problem solving fora of SCMs may act to counter the exclusionary dynamic from mainstream schools. The engagement of school and LA staff may provide an arena for partnership working with pupils who have SEBD.

Table 4. 9 Number of Formal Assessments Issued During Year

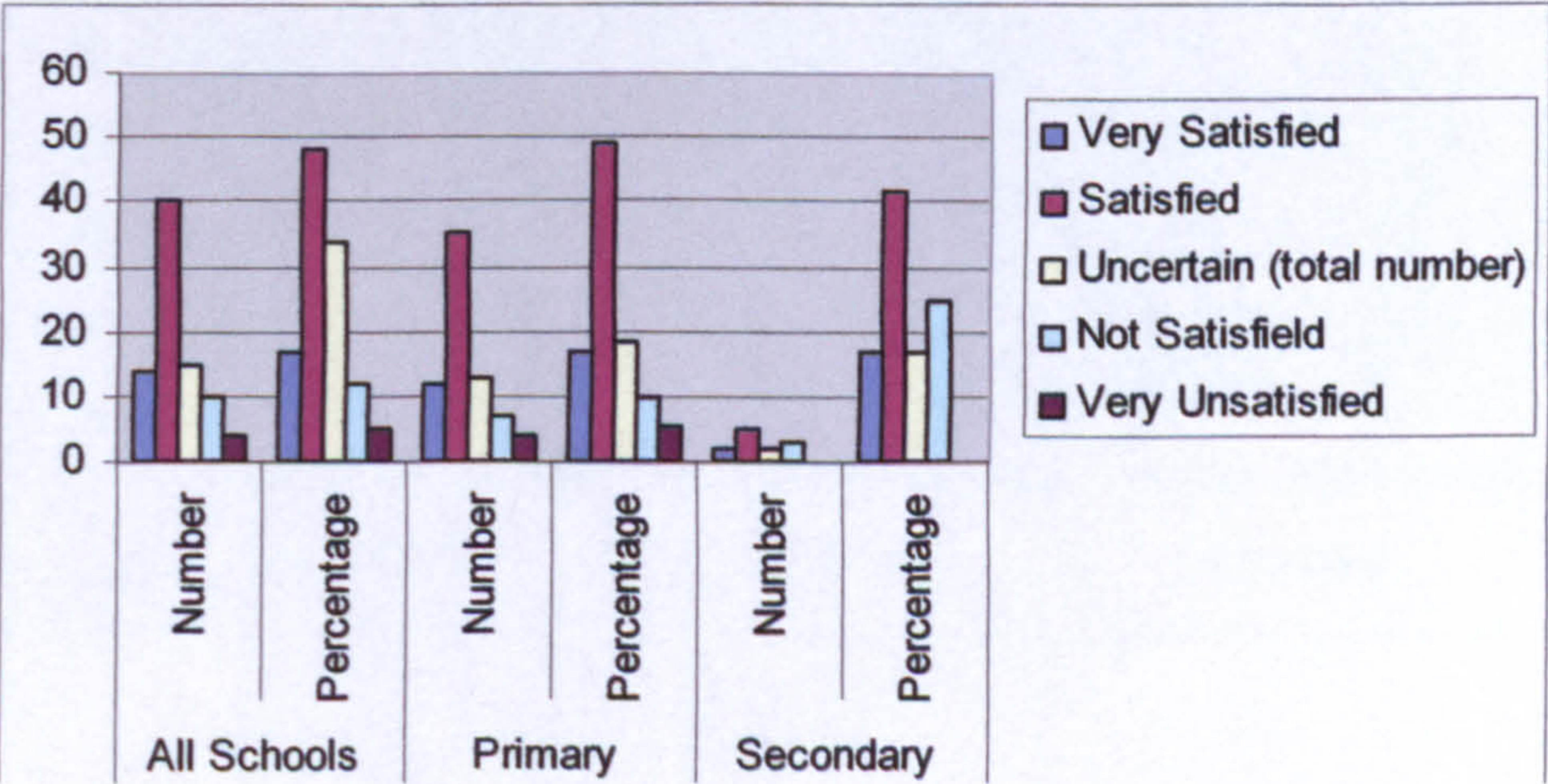


Special Educational Needs Support Services: Pupil deficits or Pupil strengths

Exclusion

This question relates to traditional model of SEN support services using a ‘medical’ model or ‘deficit’ model for intervention rather than focusing on the pupils’ strengths (Hornby, 2002). Although Luton SENCOs and schools were using SCMs almost universally, nearly a third of all participants were uncertain about how useful they are and just over 12% were not satisfied with the SCMs as a way of working with the Luton LA (Table 4.10). When responses from primary and secondary schools are analysed for statistical differences, although raw numbers of SENCOs varies, this is not enough to demonstrate statistical difference by phase of education.

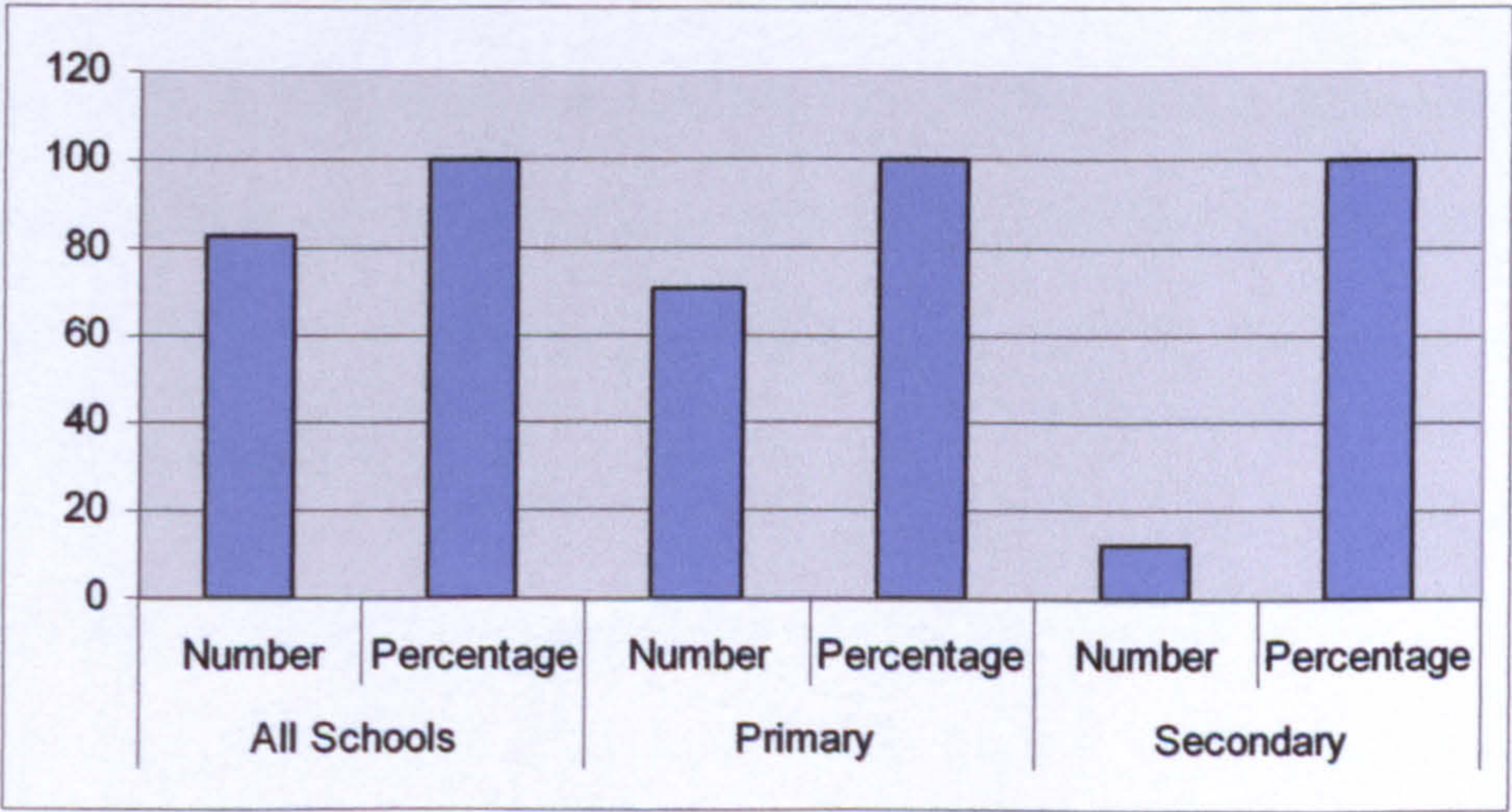
Table 4.10 SENCO Satisfaction with SCMs



Partnerships

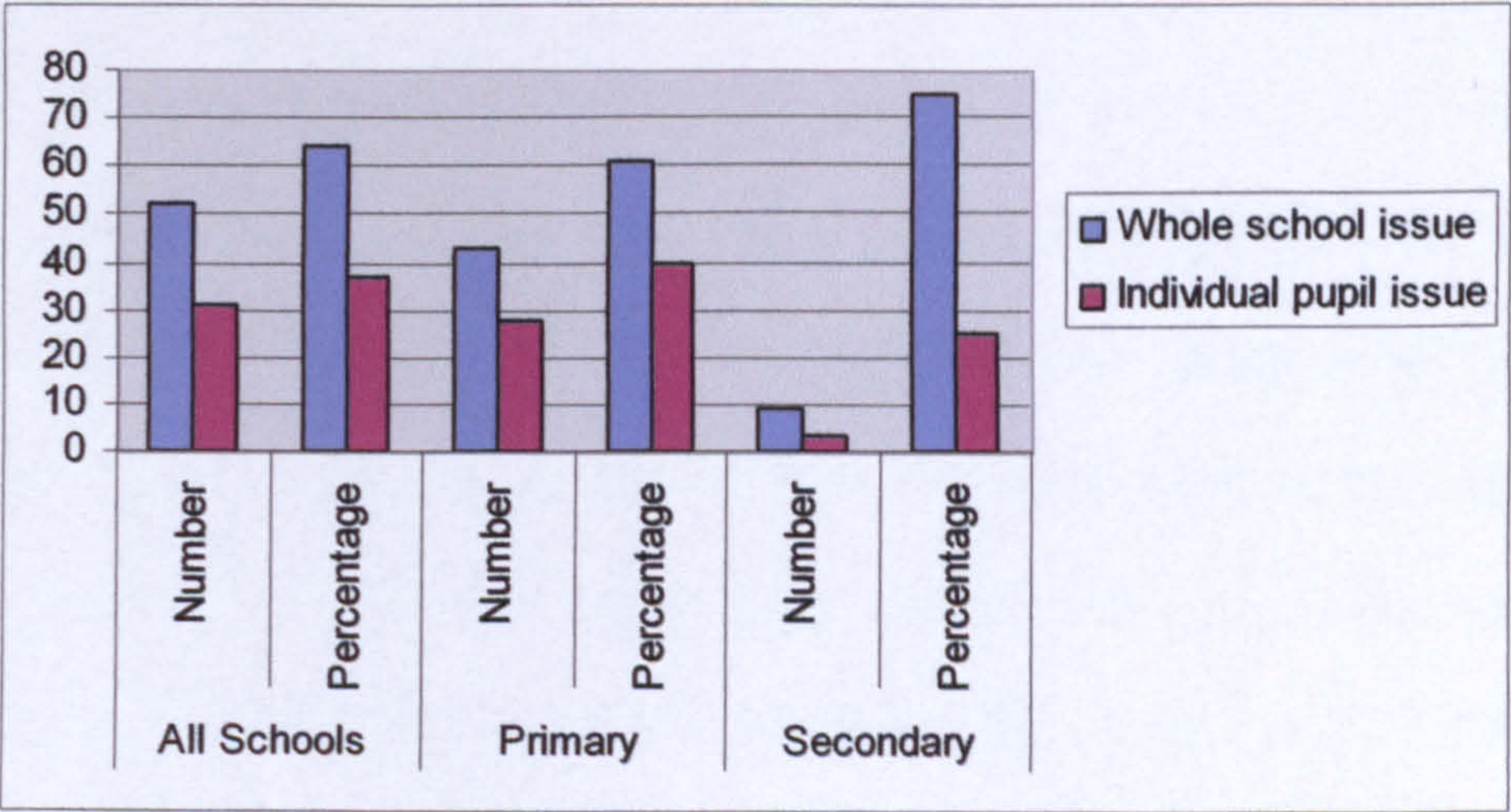
Table 4.10 raises important questions about the tension between LA management of SEN within an inclusive policy framework plus monitoring SEN resources, which the LA ‘pumps’ into schools so that SENCOs can manage most pupils with SEN in mainstream school. Perhaps the stresses of the ‘ecology’ of managing SEN in schools are illustrated by SENCOs who wanted more time from the support services. Over 54% of SENCOs wanted more support service time (Table 4.7). Also within this response (Table 4.7) the individualised view about behaviour support continues with requests for more time from educational psychology and alternative provision for pupils with SEBD. SENCOs in Luton wanted more time from the support services with individual pupils and they wanted this increased level of support to include more intensive casework. Within schools management of SEN and demands for increased support could diffuse the inclusive LA policy framework of ‘whole school’ resourcing for pupils. Table 4.11 indicates 100% of the responses focussed on individual pupils as their priority for SCMs. Although the raw numbers by phase of education are slightly different this is not enough to be statistically different by phase.

Table 4.11 SENCOs Raising Behaviour Concerns at SCMs



Interestingly, nearly two thirds of SENCOs indicated that they raised whole school issues at the termly meetings. The topics included support for managing autism, developing whole school behaviour policies, developing lunchtime behaviour programmes and Assertive Discipline, using a Behaviour Co-ordinator and Mentoring. There was also a significant group of SENCOs, over a third, who did not discuss whole school issues at SCMs as shown in Table 4.12. The tension here between the ‘quick fix’ of managing individual pupil behaviour and whole school approaches to managing behaviour through collaborative and inclusive management strategies is highlighted here.

Table 4.12 SENCO Responses: Whole School Behaviour



The 100% of SENCOs indicated that they use SCMs to discuss pupils with behaviour concerns (Table 4.11). This data is corroborated by interview (p 132) and observation data (p 149), which suggests that pupils raised at SCMs are mainly pupils with behaviour concerns.

Questionnaire responses indicated the ‘universality’ of SCMs in Luton schools with all schools using them and SENCOs and senior school staff taking part. SCMs are used by schools to ‘select’ pupils for additional support and assessment of their SEN this may have the effect of either ‘including’ them in their mainstream school or ‘excluding’ them from their mainstream school. SCMs are used mainly for discussing pupils who have behaviour needs. Pupils who have other complex needs are also discussed. SENCOs are generally satisfied with SCMs and over 75% of SENCOs being satisfied or very satisfied with the responses from the SCM. The next section summarises the questionnaire data.

Summary of Findings

Layer One: Questionnaire Data

The questionnaire response rate was 100% and this data layer provided an overview of SENCO involvement in SCMs. Data indicated that although the LA policy of ‘Achievement and Access for All’ promoted SCMs as fora, which could problem solve SEN issues at a whole school level. Evidence from the questionnaire showed SCMs focussed overwhelmingly on individual pupils. Pupils with SEBD dominated the discussions within SCMs and there appeared to be a divide between primary and secondary school practice. Primary schools ‘sought’ inclusive ways of supporting pupils i.e. through developing stronger links with the family and using LA staff to help with this. The presence of primary headteachers at most of the SCMs appeared to raise the status of SCMs. It appeared that through the SCM process the status of SENCOs appeared to be raised and the ‘professionalisation’ of SENCOs could be indicated by the 100% return of the questionnaire where SENCOs in Luton consider

themselves central in ‘whole school’ management of SEN. The next section explores SENCO semi-structured interviews and issues raised by the questionnaire.

The Second Layer: SENCO Interview Data Analysis

Responses from each participant is indicated by a code number e.g female Primary SENCO (47) the number refers to the school number allocated to each school by the LA support services. Data from the interviews has been analysed using grounded theory and the key questions of the study.

Analysing the Data

Initial data analysis involved transcribing taped interviews and then using the key research questions to organise the data. This involved reading and re-reading the transcripts and cutting and pasting text into a data matrix under each key question. I also followed this procedure for observation data. This process reduced the data so that I could code the data and develop emerging categories. Interview data is displayed under the key research questions and within each question under the emerging categories i.e. exclusion/inclusion, partnerships and enculturement.

Interviews with SENCOs usually took place within the school in which they worked. These interviews were semi-structured around the key questions of the study and also included an additional question about an issue, e.g. pupils being sent out into the corridor because of inappropriate behaviour, which they had raised in the questionnaire.

How schools use SCMs to access Behaviour Support Services

Exclusion

SENCOs from primary and secondary schools acknowledge that a 'system' is required for SEN support services. Within this overall view SENCOs expressed differing views regarding the rationale for using SCMs. A group of SENCOs not split by phase of education, 'accepting' that the LA has a role to play in supporting them with pupils who have SEBD and this support leading to the LA providing 'alternative' education for these pupils. There was a group of SENCOs, not split by phase of education, who appear to 'resent' LA intervention in their management of SEN except when a pupil is close to permanent exclusion.

Female Secondary SENCO (29) pointed out that SCMs are used by the school to let the LA know the names of pupils who the school is concerned about and the work they are doing with them. SENCO (29) added that 'In general the SCMs have been to let the LA know of our concerns and what we have already done for a student'. Most schools hold an internal meeting prior to the SCM to consult with their colleagues regarding pupils to be discussed at a forthcoming SCM. Female Primary SENCO (50) indicated that, 'Well I construct an agenda which is partly set by the previous meeting, things you have to follow up, and then I liaise with year co-ordinators and their staff'. She went on to describe how she uses the agenda:

'Because it is an SCM we have this item, Stage Three priorities, so to be quite honest if I think we are actually meeting a child's needs at Stage Two in order to access support from SCM, I make them a three because as it stands at the moment they are

supposed to be a three before we can talk about them, that is my understanding, so that is what I do’.

Male Secondary SENCO (1) reflected on previous SCMs and looked back in the SCM record book pointing out:

‘One, two-two of those were new a sixth one was brought up by the EWO and a seventh that was really just to pass information about being taken into care. Now if I go back to the previous SCM one, two, three, four, five again six’

Male Secondary SENCO (1) went on to argue that he uses SCMs for a very small group of pupils. These cases are referred to the SENCO by heads of house in this case and by the pastoral deputy head and pastoral consultant within the school. SENCO (1) used the SCM process to discuss pupils with complex needs. The small number of pupils he placed on the agenda, usually about six, and four of these pupils had SEBD concerns. All SENCOs interviewed used SCMs to identify pupils who were of concern for SEN and the majority of the pupils raised at SCMs were of concern because of their behaviour needs. Most SENCOs discussed a small number of pupils at SCMs realising that the meeting, which usually runs for two hours, could not be used to discuss more than about six pupils in depth.

Significantly one school did raise 52 pupils at their SCM and SENCO (38) realised this was exceptional. Female Secondary SENCO (38) valued SCMs because they are ‘useful for having everybody there’ i.e. all the support services attend, however she added that the participants at the SCM ‘responded with horror’ when 52 pupils were raised at the last SCM.

In accessing LA services secondary school SENCOs 1, 29, 34 and 40 talked a great deal about extra resources and gaining something, which was additional through SCM. In the secondary sector SENCOs 29, 40 and 34 i.e. 3 SENCOs from the 13 interviewed viewed SCMs as a method by which schools could pass information about pupils through to the LA. Perhaps secondary SENCOs also appeared to take the view that SCMs allowed the LA to have a view about their school and pupils.

Female Secondary SENCO (29) said:

‘I like to make sure that I get every name in that might be mentioned on a subsequent request for help, it is very important because it is like a hurdle, one of the questions you will be asked is, ‘Was this student’s name brought up at an SCM?’ so I make sure, the final agenda item for an SCM is individual students’

the statement above could sum up the responses from secondary SENCOs regarding SCMS.

SENCO (34) viewed SCMs as a control mechanism for the LA, and on the one hand approves of the LA in terms of accessibility of the officers through the SCMs.

SENCO (34) was critical of LA when he pointed out that:

‘When it comes to consultation meetings em, especially if you are going for formal assessment they are actually saying you have got to have discussed this child at the SCM and applied various measures in terms of the old Code of Practice stages...The authority will not accept the word of a school. I think that is what I’m trying to say. And so you have this conflict’.

This view is shared by other secondary SENCOs. Male Secondary SENCO (40) said that: ‘we understand that they [the LA] have got to have some sort of formalised route and it is useful to say we did discuss it at the SCM’.

Male Secondary SENCO (34) talked about LA support for including pupils, with behaviour concerns and he described the Behaviour and Tuition Service running anger management classes for a group of pupils who were at risk of exclusion and he said:

‘I think it, I know this sounds awful, but I’m long enough in the tooth to say it, it’s beneficial to the school on a containment level it’s not beneficial to the pupils because it would take more than an hour a week for 8 weeks.’

SENCO 34 recognised that there was limited support for pupils at risk of exclusion but he thought these pupils required longer-term support for their ‘psychological problems’. Male secondary SENCOs wanted more ‘practical work’ which SENCO (40) described as ‘hands on with the kids’.

Female Secondary SENCO (29) pointed out that:

‘It is very difficult when you have people coming in to talk to you, to advise you, yes, we can discuss the provision within school but there is no provision outside of school, no meaningful provision outside of school, that we can use and that is very difficult’.

Female Secondary SENCO (29) talked about resources for inclusion in terms of being more than financial support the LA could provide. This SENCO immediately

focussed on pupils with SEBD as being the most problematic to support and she said that:

‘It’s not about money, it is about how you spend it and it is very difficult to set up because those three people can’t be ‘held’ in a social inclusion unit, they ruin it for everybody else eventually, they come for a short time’.

Inclusion

Female Primary SENCO (47) response about the use of SCMs indicates that she accepted the imposition of SCMs and was prepared to use them. As a school she said that, ‘They have never felt like that (about SCMs), not at our school but we don’t feel like that about visitors coming in, that is how our school is’. This school had not viewed SCMs as an imposition. Schools use SCMs because they assume there is no other system for accessing SEN support. SENCO 47 said her school used them because, ‘we thought we had to but they are useful’. She also indicated that the whole of the SCM was being used to discuss pupils with behavioural concerns; she said that, ‘all the school consultation meeting time was taken up with talking about behavioural – the same sorts of behavioural issues’. The overall consensus from SENCOs confirms SENCO 47 view that SCMs are used to discuss behaviour needs of pupils and the emphasis, particularly in primary schools, is on how these pupils can be kept in mainstream school. Female Primary SENCO (47), said in relation to inclusion of pupils with SEBD, ‘Yes, we don’t have a problem with that but we have a problem with the resources for that, training for that, funding for that and all those sorts of things’.

Male Secondary SENCO (40) said he had set up a Social Inclusion facility, which was developing inclusive approaches to supporting pupils with SEBD he described this development saying:

‘we used to timetable loads of kids and it was really chocker.

It changed because the staff told us they wanted something different really. So the emphasis has changed very much to kids in classrooms...intervening if need be but doing it in departments, putting the pressure on the head of department to deal with the stuff’.

SENCO (40) had managed to move away from the exclusionary ‘unit’ approach to managing pupils with (SEBD) but he added that when the Social Inclusion facility opened:

‘That is what we found the first term, big time. Especially when you name five kids you want to work with, you say, OK these kids are at the extremes, at the most risk, we will run an EBD style total provision, we will do all the curriculum for them which is great for the kids, they loved it, their attendance went up and they came in every day but it wasn’t addressing the school issues’.

Including pupils with SEBD in school is a major issue for secondary schools, there appears to be a ‘moral panic’ about whether these pupils ‘deserve’ to be included in school. Pressure from headteachers and parents to exclude pupils with behavioural difficulties continues to be a concern.

Partnerships

Schools seem to accept that there needs to be a system for accessing SEN support. Male Secondary SENCO (40) said 'In terms of accessing the actual services, we understand that they have to have some sort of formalised route and it is useful to say that we did discuss it at SCM'. SENCO (40) indicated that he felt that by using the SCMs the LA could:

'see that schools have done these interventions and they have to see that from what the school is asking for that the people need to be directed almost to what needs to be done in terms of outside interventions'.

Primary female SENCOs said they wanted more family work, this is usually work with parents and children together either in school or in the home to take place as result of SCMs. This group recognised that SCMs could be regarded as 'talking shops' but were none-the-less useful because pupil focussed work emanates from SCMs. In secondary schools female SENCOs appear to agree with their primary colleagues about the usefulness of SCMs as information sharing arenas and work allocation takes place after the meeting. There appeared to be division along gender lines in that SENCOs (47) and (50), who are primary female SENCOs and SENCO (38) a secondary female SENCO all seemed to be very accepting about the LA intervention of SCMs and view the meetings as method of gaining additional support for pupils. Additional support in this case was viewed as helping pupils remain in mainstream school as opposed to 'support', which excluded pupils from school.

The responses from this group of SENCOs included Secondary Female SENCO (38) who used SCMs 'to check on new initiatives on behaviour' and Female Primary

SENCO (50) said ‘the support is very practical’ also Female Primary SENCO (47) said support from SCM ‘makes a real difference to pupils lives’.

Enculturement

Secondary school SENCOs viewed SCMs as the process the LA uses to ‘gate keep’ SEN resources to schools. Male Secondary SENCO (34) pointed out that, ‘when I filled in your questionnaire there is a fairly overt sense of gatekeeping and I mean I understand it’s finances and resources, but as a teacher I’m concerned about kids that isn’t my problem’. This illustrates the differences between LA and school management of SEN where SENCOs recognise the inclusive LA policy and being ‘torn’ between this and in school management of the exclusive ‘ecology’ of SEN.

Male Secondary SENCO (1) described the responses from the SCMs as the school ‘looking for something extra, something additional’ however SENCO (1) thought that the LA provided services to schools on their terms. It was the LA who decided what support the school should have and what form it would take. SENCO (1) cited the example of The Behaviour and Tuition Service providing support for a pupil, which would be confidential counselling, and no alternative was offered. Female Secondary SENCO (7) described the support their school received as being: ‘advice as well as physical support for a mixture of cases’ and the support ‘varies between support for us, for teachers and pupils and whole school issues’.

LA Staff and Behaviour Support work with Schools

In this section Luton SENCOs will be commenting on how LA staff work with them in school to provide their schools with behaviour support. Luton LA (1999) points out

support services which provide ‘core membership’ for the SCMs will be the Educational Psychologist (EP), the Learning Support Advisory Teacher (LS) and the Behaviour and Tuition Service Teacher (BTS) other support staff may be invited as appropriate and these might include Education Welfare Officers (EWOs) Home/School Liaison Officers (HSLO) etc. Luton LA (1999) also suggests that, ‘LEA staff can be contacted by schools, if priorities arise between meetings’ (Appendix 1).

Exclusion

There are differences in how SENCOs use SCMs and this appears to be based to a certain extent, on how experienced the SENCO happens to be. Male Secondary SENCO (1) for instance is well established and is seeking a ‘quality response’ from support services, which would be additional to anything the school may have already tried. SENCO (1) expressed this additional support as, ‘what I am interested in is some sort of practical input’. Female Secondary SENCO (29) another established SENCO suggests that SCMs are for telling the LA what they are doing ‘because their involvement isn’t practical’ but there is support ‘in terms of advice given as how to best manage provision’. Male Secondary SENCO (40) indicated that SCMs were ‘unwieldy’ and SENCO 40 wants ‘half a day for hands on with the kids’.

All the SENCOs above are well established and work in secondary schools. They all appear to indicate that SCMs should provide practical support for pupils they are concerned about. There is a sense from these established SENCOs that additional work should be direct work with pupils, because they would have tried ‘everything else’ before raising the pupil at the SCM. Although the dominant view, eight out the nine secondary SENCOs interviewed, was that SCM support was not ‘practical’ or

‘additional’ support. Female Secondary SENCO (38) pointed out that; ‘SCMs are useful for having everybody there [all the support services] and pupils are allocated to a named professional and a follow up date for a visit’ is arranged. There is a wide variation in the type and also the level of work provided to school through the SCM process. This variation appears to depend on a mixture of the school and pupil needs as defined by the SENCO and the cluster personnel supporting schools. Responses from SENCOs about the behaviour support work fall into two categories as defined by SENCOs. ‘Practical’ work which is usually with pupils and could consist of a range of activities from observing pupils in the classroom to working directly with pupils in the classroom. The majority of SENCOs interviewed indicated that ‘practical’ work was taking place within their schools and that this is what they wanted as an outcome from the SCM.

Female Primary SENCO (47) said, ‘But what I would like is to have people coming into school each week to work with some of our pupils’. During the interview she said that:

‘The impact of ... (Behaviour & Tuition Service Teacher), when she went to visit a particular family and in the hour or half-hour or whatever she spent there, gave the family a lot of support and she does the same in school’.

This SENCO wanted support services to act as a link between the pupil’s home and school. SENCO (47) thought the use of time for a home visit was valuable to the family and the school. Male Secondary SENCO (40), said:

‘Yes generally, I understand you can’t do that all the time [work with pupils], for example... (BTS) has got lots of

different schools to deal with, but I think that he could commit half-a-day a week whether it is one of our multi-disciplinary meetings, it gives us two hours a week basically, but it is another two hours a week that he could be hands-on with kids, whatever’.

Inclusion

SENCO dissatisfaction centred on advisory or ‘non-practical’ work. This included advice about how SENCOs manage provision in school, and developing problem solving approaches to particular issues. SENCOs were dissatisfied with consultation approaches being used by support services. Male Secondary SENCO (1) summed up this dissatisfaction by suggesting that:

‘what I am interested in is some sort of practical input’ and he argued that, ‘if those type of things are not being offered I just wonder whether a two hour slot with that degree of expertise around the table is justifying its existence’.

Female Primary SENCO (47) pointed that, ‘The Behaviour and Tuition Service can offer advice.

Partnerships

Female Primary SENCO (50) described the allocation of work in SCMs in the following terms:

‘We do a lot of talking in the SCM and then at the end of the meeting, EdPsych will agree to see two and LSS will agree to see two and then the other actions are agreed for

the others, so there might be an EBD team here. So I wouldn't say that we actually come away with every child having something different, even though I have raised their names at an SCM, it might still be, 'carry on with what you are doing and we will see how things are at the next SCM'.

The response outlined above charts the 'normal' course of events within most SCMs and is supported throughout the interview data by the 13 SENCOs. The problem solving style of meeting outlined above is corroborated by questionnaire data where 63 of Luton's 83 SENCOs indicated that 75.90% of the cases had plans made during SCMs (Table 4.8).

Educational psychology support across the clusters was viewed by SENCOs as helpful and in some cases highly valued so that male Secondary SENCO (40) commented:

'we have got a really good EdPsych and we have taken up a lot of her time and now she has to go back and say she has spent 35% of her time at Sandown, and that is because we have given her work, we have given her stuff that has been really effective with the kids she is working with but at a cost, probably, to other schools'.

Female Primary SENCO (47) said 'we are very grateful for the support we have received from our educational psychologist who is fantastic, she goes out and visits families at home and she comes into school and meets parents, wherever they feel best'. This SENCO was so impressed with the educational psychologist that she said 'That (her work) is brilliant and we wish she worked for us that is the gist of it'.

Female Primary SENCO (50) talked about the Educational Psychologist (EP) providing behaviour policy support and said:

‘We have had behaviour input, we did Assertive Discipline here with the EdPsych and we had very mixed feelings, it was received in a very mixed way by members of staff, because we are all individuals and we have different attitudes about things, but as a result we are working out our own sort of version of it’.

Female Secondary SENCO (29) talked about LA work by saying, ‘Yes, after the meeting we have followed up with an EP for certain children, we would get the help, we would get their visits here but the provision hasn’t changed substantially’. Female Primary SENCO (4) pointed out that as a result of the SCM, ‘whenever I wanted someone to come and help I have never had any problem with people coming in or giving me advice or trying to help teachers... learning support are in and out all the time’. This SENCO values the support accessed through the SCM and appears open to all the advice and support provided by the support services.

Female Primary SENCO (50) indicated that the SCM process enables the support services and the school to share out the work. In this case SENCO (50) indicated that Learning Support would ‘agree to see two’ pupils and this was viewed by the SENCO as ‘practical’ therefore valuable work, from the school’s point of view, for Learning Support to become involved in. Typically when Learning Support became involved the process below would be followed:

SENCO (50) Oh, they do observations, yes.

MC And then feedback to you about that?

SENCO (50) And then feedback with some advice, yes.

MC Work out a plan?

SENCO (50) It could be a long time but yes, and the reports we receive are more user friendly now, they are not pages and pages, they have headings and columns and they are a lot more user-friendly, so yes the advice does come.'

Male Secondary SENCO (40) talked about LA support on attendance. The Educational Welfare Officer (EWO) is in the school 3 days a week and he said:

'The EWO feed in people to us who are just pure attendance ones, the lad who has just come through the door now, a month ago he wasn't attending at all, we have got him into school and now we are at the stage where he is going to lessons, we do have those sort of issues pushing him through the system, but he is using the Centre as a sort of staging post really between home and school'.

Enculturement

I asked SENCO (40) about including pupils with behaviour difficulties and whether they would resist the pressure to exclude these pupils. He said:

'we are saying that these kids have got to cope with the school system, we would like the school system to change a bit, to be more sympathetic to these kids sometimes, but the kids when there in lessons have the normal school

sanctions, detentions if they misbehave, school detentions and they do get exclusions’.

Female Primary SENCO (47) talked about family support in these terms:

‘I am thinking of one family in particular here, but it is not just them, this is a sort of example I am using, they have got serious problems within the family and that impacts on what happens at school with these kids and they actually need some long term – my idea is something like a family worker who is attached to the school, probably somebody with a social work background, who can be somebody who is not really with the school but like a link person who works with the school based on what the needs are’.

SENCOs valued support for schools when it was ‘practical’ and Female Primary SENCO (50) liked LA support through the cluster team and said:

‘Where support people go to Infants, Juniors and High school, I think that is good as well and I think a lot is in place now that we are forewarned and children are in the system before they come to you, we do have more time to get things sorted out for them’.

These are examples of work, which is viewed as valuable to SENCOs because this type of support helps them in their daily task of developing provision, usually for individual pupils.

Female Secondary SENCO (29) said, ‘I think in terms of advice given as to how to best manage provision, for instance, I serve on the moderation group (a gate keeping group for initiating statutory assessments) and I have learnt a huge amount from that’.

She went on to say that:

‘I think in terms of accessing the provision that there is, they are supportive, for hearing impairment, visual impairment, you can get advice, but it isn’t always satisfactory, as in the visual impairment, we still haven’t made enough contact about that over a particular student that is itty-bitty, in general they are supportive for visual impairment, hearing impairment, the Learning Support Service’.

The above illustrates how work produced as a result of SCMs can support SENCOs to develop mainstream behaviour support even when there is resistance and perhaps a pressure to exclude. The next section summarises the interview data.

Summary of Findings

Layer Two: Interview Data

SENCO interviews provided an ‘inside’ glimpse of how SEN was being managed in Luton schools. The ever present tension between ‘whole school’ and individual management of SEN was illustrated by SENCOs who recognised the LA policy of whole school resourcing of SEN but also wanted LA staff to work ‘hands on with the kids’. The overall view of SENCOs was that SCMs were needed even though some secondary SENCOs said that SCMs are a form of ‘gate keeping’ and that the LA

needed a 'formalised route' through which they could monitor the whole area of SEN and in particular pupils who may be at risk of exclusion.

Primary SENCOs welcomed SCMs and found them helpful fora in which to discuss pupils they were concerned about with LA staff. They indicated that through SCMs they accessed practical help with pupils. The concept of the cluster team approach was evident with primary SENCOs where the cluster team worked more collaboratively with schools. The next section outlines the observation data.

Layer Three: Observation Data

Observation data was collected during the academic year 2000/01 from a total of eight School Consultation Meetings (SCMs) (Table 4.13). Access to these meetings was negotiated through the SENCOs and headteachers of each school. The small number of meetings observed reflects the extreme sensitivity schools felt about maintaining the confidentiality of SCMs. Seven of the eight observations were with secondary schools and one with a primary school. The imbalance highlights the concern of this study with pupil exclusion from school and in particular from secondary school (Table 4.13). Although the number of SCMs observed is small all five clusters are represented in the observation data.

Table 4. 13 Inclusive & Exclusive Characteristics of SCM Observation Schools 2001/2002

School Number & Phase	Permanent Exclusion (Number of Pupils)	Fixed Term Exclusion (Number of Days)	Attendance	All Absence	Unauthorised Absence	Cluster	SENCO Experience
1 (S)	3	95	89.90%	10.10%	1.50%	East	20 Years
8 (S)	0	1	92.00%	8.00%	0.30%	Mid	15Years
9 (S)	1	51	91.40%	8.60%	0.30%	Mid	2 Years
15 (S)	2	26	92.70%	7.30%	0.00%	Mid	1 Year
19 (P)	0	0	92.40%	7.60%	2.00%%	Mid	2 years
29 (S)	3	30	90.00%	10.00%	0.50%	West	3 Years
38 (S)	4	30	90.00%	10.00%	1.50%	North	10 years
59 (S)	2	91	89.30%	11.70%	0.90%	South	5 Years

Key: (S) Secondary School (P) Primary School

The observation sites relate to the dual concepts of inclusion and exclusion, which are constantly in tension, and the predominance of secondary schools highlights the secondary phenomena of exclusion (Parsons, 1999). In Luton this relates to observing SCMs in high and low excluding schools (Table 4.13). Secondary School 8 had not permanently excluded any pupil and only one day of fixed term exclusion and 92% attendance compared to Secondary School 1 with 3 permanent and 95 days fixed term exclusions and 89.9% attendance. Nationally secondary school exclusion accounts for 80% of all permanent exclusion (DfES, 2003) and within Luton secondary schools account for 75% permanent exclusion from secondary school with 25% from primary schools during the academic year 2001/2 (Luton LEA Exclusions, 2002). Within the SCMs observed particular attention was focused on the participants talk (Table 4.14) i.e. how long did an Educational Psychologist talk for compared to the SENCO or the Behaviour and Tuition Service Teacher to gain a ‘sense’ of who ‘owned’ the meeting. By doing this it was envisaged that judgements could be made about how the various participants within the SCM influenced the outcomes for pupils within the problem-solving fora.

Observation data was recorded on a tally sheet throughout the meeting and collated under the main headings of talk time of less than 30 seconds and longer than 30 seconds (Appendix Two) in order to gain a ‘sense’ of who appeared to dominate the meetings (Williams, 1994). In each SCM meeting talk time was then sub-divided by main participants in the meeting (Table 4.14). I used descriptive statistics to gain a sense of who dominated the meetings and how this provided evidence for the key questions of the study.

Table 4.14 Talk Time at Observed SCMs

School Number & Phase	Educational Psychologist	Behaviour Support	Learning Support	School Staff	SENCO
1(S)	100/ 1	102/ 0	22/0	84/8	140/6
8(S)	84/ 2	75/ 1	80/1		140/1
10(S)		254/ 1	90/1	437/6	256/7
15(S)	180/ 0	110/ 0	110/0	2/1	220/1
19(P)	50/ 1	3/ 1	7/4	70/6	1/4
29(S)	40/ 0	52/ 3	40/0	104/2	113/0
38(S)	85/ 2	28/ 4	5/0	112/4	104/2
59(S)	11/ 0	30/ 1	50/4	4/13	160/0
Total	550/6	654/11	394/10	313/40	1131/21

Key:

Red: Talk Time Less Than 30 Seconds

Black: Talk Time More Than 30 seconds

All SCMs, which were observed, used the outline agenda suggested in the Luton LEA’s Guidance on School Consultation Meetings (1999). Agendas for SCMs (Figure 4.1) contain items to review previous actions, and a standard item on Children in Public Care then individual pupils and whole school issues, the agenda concludes with any other business and finally the date for the next meeting is agreed.

The agenda format outlined above provided a structure within which SCMs took place this meant that there was a definite problem-solving model of SCMs within Luton LA. Unfortunately the agenda appears to undermine the LA's whole school approach to managing SEN by focusing on actions from previous meetings, which this research demonstrated is about individual pupils. The second agenda item focussed on individual pupils and whole school issues is the third agenda item. Although the agenda provided the structure for the meeting LA participants and school staff had competing perspectives regarding the management of SEN. LA staff would ask the school what had been done with the pupils before referral to the SCM and in one SCM the educational psychologist pointed out that 'at risk of sounding like a cracked record could you tell me what the school has done?' Schools always allocated a room for the meeting, this was either the headteachers office or dedicated meeting room and

Figure 4.1 Suggested Agenda

- **Review of Agreed Actions from previous SCM**
- **Children in Public Care**
- **Individual Pupil Priorities**
- **Whole School Issues**
- e.g. * **identifying priorities for new development,**
- ***support initiatives arising from School Development Plan**
- ***Request for INSET**
- **AOB**
- **Date and Time of next Meeting.**

(Luton, 1997)

appeared to indicate to me that SCMs were being given significant status by schools. Also at all SCMs special needs coordinators were released from their normal teaching duties to attend the meetings and at half the SCMs observed either the headteacher or the deputy headteacher attended the meetings (Table 4.3). Similarity of approach was consistent across schools with the 'culture' of SCMs aiming to develop educational plans for pupils, which would keep them in school.

How Schools use SCMs to access Behaviour Support Services

Exclusion

All eight SCMs observed were dominated by SENCO talk about individual pupils (Table 4.14). SENCOs were seeking advice from LA staff on how to manage pupils SEN and this was reinforced by questionnaire (Table 4.10) and interview data (p. 145). SENCOS were involved in seeking opinions from LA staff about the pupils being discussed during the meeting. It was this seeking of 'something extra' which were at the heart of the SENCOs questions to LA staff. Another feature of this questioning was to get 'someone to come and help' and also to 'give us more ideas'. In this sense the SCM process might be regarded as a strategy to absorb schools anxiety about pupils who the SENCOs regarded as being at risk of exclusion. There was an ever-present tension within SCMs where the school through the headteacher or SENCO are seeking that 'something extra' from the LA. Comments from SENCOs during SCMs illustrate these tensions, 'his needs can't be met here' or 'we are only containing him' or 'he needs boundaries which we can't give' or a very popular response 'he needs 1:1' usually followed up with 'but we can't afford this'. The notion here is that schools in general, and secondary schools in particular, are pointing

out to the LA that they have tried ‘everything’ with these pupils and they are ‘looking for something extra’ before they exclude the pupil. LA staff on the other hand were ‘steering’ the pupil and the provision for (usually) his needs back to the school. This was illustrated by an educational psychologist at SCM 38 asking the SENCO ‘how have the school worked to meet his needs?’ The educational psychologist had repeatedly asked the SENCO what she had done to stop the pupil being excluded.

Where a headteacher was present at SCM they asked the majority of the questions about pupils and they took the ‘floor’ indicating their dominant status. In Table 4.14 the headteacher of school 38 spoke on 8 occasions for longer than 30 seconds and dominated the ‘floor’ seeking information about work being carried out with pupils. This taking the ‘floor’ usually took the form of the headteacher reviewing the actions from the previous meeting with the LA. A headteacher commented, ‘That very often I will start the SCM by doing a follow up on youngsters that were discussed previously’. This ‘checking out’ also came up in the questionnaire and interview data with SENCOs pointing out that SCMs should not be merely ‘talking shops’. The headteacher appeared to be involved in highlighting LA accountability ensuring SCM actions actually took place even though these actions may be joint work between school and the LA. This might account for the high level of school staff talk at the SCM held at school 38.

SENCOs tried to take on the role played by the headteacher if they were not present. Participants who viewed SENCOs as less powerful than them attempted to fill the vacuum left by the headteacher. In SCMs observed this meant that educational psychologists attempted to take the headteacher role when they tended to sum up the

outcomes of the meeting. In my observation notes I recorded that, 'although at first glance it appears the school is running the meetings they operate within the framework of the LA funding aimed at supporting whole school development of SEN'. Educational psychologists might sum up actions to be taken and this usually meant secondary schools seeking provision out of school. The educational psychologist would gather together the possible action from the meeting and include a follow up visit by the behaviour support teacher or themselves to devise educational provision for the pupil in school.

Secondary school SCMs were dominated by discussion about alternative provision for pupils at Key Stage Four. Some secondary schools felt they had reached the 'limit' of what they could provide for these pupils and were 'looking for another angle or strategy'. These discussions included a debate at SCM 38 about the input of other agencies into school such as the Social Service Department, Health and Youth Offending Teams. Some of the meetings focused on the use of community resources. This is illustrated by the SCM discussion at school 38 about the work of the coordinator of a local charity, who works with young people in Luton schools at risk of exclusion and the SENCO, pointed out that:

SENCO - I say Stephen (the charity coordinator) has been having her since February.

Educational Psychologist - What's he doing with her.

SENCO - Making home visits and trying to encourage her to go there during the day so that she can use the computer systems and get a bit of counselling and advice.

Secondary schools sought this intervention when they had excluded pupils from school. Despite the school still being responsible for curriculum provision for pupils who have been excluded from school for a fixed term.

Throughout these meetings individual pupils were the focus of the discussion about the educational provision, which seemed to be excluding pupils from school. This process was driven by the identification of pupil needs/deficits when compared to how an 'idealised' pupil should be behaving or achieving. The SCM process may have been responsible for adding to the marginalisation of pupils with SEBD.

SENCOs wanted to define the work they could do with certain pupils, particularly pupils with SEBD, and they used SCMs to let the LA know about this. Male Secondary SENCO (1) highlighted this when he indicated that they [the school] had now done all they can for this pupil. As a result this pupil was on a 'reduced' timetable following a fixed term exclusion and the school wanted this pupil to attend a re-admission interview at which she must 'show remorse' to gain re-admission to school even though the pupil had been 'punished' by a fixed term exclusion. In one SCM the SENCO wanted Behaviour and Tuition Service (BTS) to arrange this meeting. The difficulty between the school and the BTS was that BTS wanted this meeting to be used for a 'fresh start' and the school wanted to punish the pupil again. There is sense here, of the school through the SCM, indicating that the LA could take responsibility for this pupil's education. The pupil's head of year reinforced this when she said; 'this girl has a screw loose and needs to be in a residential school'. The head of year and the SENCO dominated the discussion in the meeting at school one. SENCO (1) controlled the meeting by using the agenda. He said, 'Oh yes, and I am

going back, now... I can go back to 1999 with agendas for SCMs'. SENCO (1) had indicated that he used SCMs to discuss a small number of pupils and this is reflected in the agenda, which he sent to the LA, which has only new pupil to be discussed, and updates on progress of six pupils. The SENCO had prepared the way for the head of year to use the meeting as a forum in which she could describe to the group the unbalanced nature of the pupil who she described as requiring residential education. The head of year appeared to be seeking legitimation for her 'diagnosis' and prescription of 'residential' educational provision, which, in her view, would meet the pupil's needs. The SENCO took control of the meeting by adopting a very traditional role of working through the agenda point by point and questioning the LA representatives on the action they had taken since the last meeting. Incidentally the educational psychologist was given the task of note taking in the meeting, which may have reduced his verbal contributions (Table 4.14).

The tension between the school and LA behaviour staff was visible in relation to the 'fresh start' notion put forward by the LA and 'punishment' notion by the school. There appears to be great difficulty for a pupil to return to mainstream school once they have been excluded. The defining element, to enable their return, appears to be whether the pupil 'deserves' to be allowed to re-engage in their mainstream education by 'genuflection' to a senior teacher during re-admission meetings. This particular case at school one also illuminates the tension, which exists between schools and the LA regarding 'ownership' of pupils with SEBD who are at risk of exclusion.

SENCOs were very keen to use SCMs to catch up on actions from previous meetings. They would seek the views of the support services about the input they had made with

the pupils since the last SCM. From a random sample of 12 SCM agendas, which included the eight SCMs observed, actions from the previous meeting is listed in nine and in two written updates were provided by the school on the SCM agenda. Again in this SCM 38 the agenda was arranged and operated by the SENCO and focused on individual pupil needs. Great emphasis was placed on the outcomes for students as a result of the work done within the SCM group or the services from the LA. SENCOs appear to feel that SCMs are their meetings and this is illustrated by their domination of talk during these meetings (Table 4.14). SENCOs use the preparation and operation of the SCM agenda to dominate SCMs. Observation notes also indicate this domination leads to the SENCOs controlling the allocation of the work to participants of the SCM. In this case the observation at school 38 (Table 4.14) though the Headteacher, SENCO and Head of Key Stage 3 dominate the discussion of a pupil who the school have excluded for up to 45 days. The school was seeking a solution, which included using LA facilities, to support the pupil outside school because their return to school after a very long period of exclusion is viewed as problematic.

As mentioned earlier re-integration of pupils after exclusion or having had time out of school is a major issue for schools and the LA. The LA has a statutory responsibility to provide education for pupils who are permanently excluded from school. Pupils educated outside mainstream educational provision cost more to educate (Parsons, 1999) therefore LAs want to work with schools to meet the needs of pupils and keep them in mainstream. The SCM observation data illustrated how some schools reached a certain point with pupils where exclusion almost appeared to be inevitable and beyond the school's control. This very difficult issue came up in all secondary SCMs and appeared to be about the difficulty of getting pupils back to school after a

behaviour breakdown. The SCM at school 38 (Table 4. 14) highlighted this where a great deal of the input at the SCM was from the headteacher, SENCO, and Key Stage Three Manager. Much of the discussion concerned pupils who were either excluded by the school or refusing to attend school. The transcript below illustrates the dilemmas and mixed emotions raised by a 45-day exclusion, which this female pupil was experiencing. The Head of Key Stage 3 (HoKS3) was concerned about the well being of Lola who had been excluded for 45 days for violence to a teacher. The HoKS3 pointed out, she is ‘out’ for so long and may develop ‘bad habits’ associated with being away from the ‘school regime’. However there was little or no thought given to reducing the period of exclusion and get Lola back to school. Indeed the reference the HoKS3 makes about speaking to BTS is about using an LA tuition base for Lola. By doing this school appears to be passing the solution to Lola’s ‘bad habits’ back to the LA. The HoKS3 comments above highlight the danger for pupils who are excluded from school even for a fixed term. During the period of exclusion pupils become ‘disengaged’ from school the perception of the school appears to be that pupils become more deviant when they are out of school. This may be the result of mixing with other ‘deviant’ pupils and also being away from the structure of a school for the period of exclusion and they may not be able to adjust to school when they return. The section of dialogue from a secondary school 38 SCM illustrates how 45-day fixed term exclusion could easily become a permanent exclusion from school. The Educational Psychologist at the SCM points out to the meeting the length of time Lola will be out of school:

EP	It’s nine school weeks that’s half a term plus
a couple of weeks	
SENCO	Plus the holiday

HoKS3 Six weeks holiday so I mean we're looking
at, you know, very nearly half a year by the time she comes
back.

It is at this point when the school realises the excluded pupil will be coming back that school wants LA support services to intervene to 'support' them through the re-integration process. This was highlighted by the Head of Key Stage 3 asking a member of the Behaviour and Tuition Service (BTS) if Lola can attend Rose Hill which is an LA resource. The HoKS3 appeared to want to place Lola in another setting, however there are dangers of further exclusion if this takes place and the LA support staff made an interesting response. The member of the BTS reinforces the return to school by pointing out that:

BTS I have spoken to PH (head of service) and she [Lola]
has to appear on this Friday morning's allocation meeting, what
ever happens there has to be plans made for her return in the
second week of November.

The BTS specifies the time of this and proposes that there is no alternative to Lola's return to school and therefore this needs to be planned for and the process of re-integration is essential. The issue of pupil 'ownership' is key in this process and the SCM evidence appears to indicate that if the school refuses to 'own' the pupil the re-integration process will either not take place or fail. During this SCM there was a discussion between the HoKS3 and the educational psychologist about working with pupils who have SEBD and who 'owns' these pupils the LA or schools.

Inclusion

Although I only observed one primary school SCM (Table 4.14) this was distinctly different to the seven secondary meetings. Throughout the primary SCM no mention was made of exclusion this is illustrated by the dialogue below.

Learning Support - Do you feel at the moment you are coping with him as far as the school goes, you don't need extra support?

Headteacher - Oh yeah, yes and I think he's made really good relationships with Phyl as well so, that's been helpful.

In fact discussion did take place about a pupil who had difficult behaviour and the school did not even consider the possibility of exclusion instead they were seeking advice on how they could continue supporting him until he transferred to secondary school.

Partnerships

SENCOs also used SCMs to 'problem solve' pupil needs with the support services. This process involved the SENCO asking the LA representatives how they could support the pupil being discussed i.e. what could they do for the pupil. In the case below the pupil had been excluded for 45 days and the Head of Key Stage 3 wanted the pupil to attend Rose Hill (a LA Pupil Referral Unit) before coming back to school. Another example of the difficulty pupils have returning to school after exclusion is illustrated below.

HoKS3 Yes she's due back, em, just after half term,
November 2nd I did speak again with BTS about whether she
could have some Rose Hill input ah but...

The style of the SCMs, which I observed, therefore, became fora for exploring information which the school had about particular pupils and they tried to use this information to structure additional provision. An example of this is illustrated by the following extract from observation of an SCM at school 8 where a pupil with SEBD was discussed:

SENCO 'I think VG who is her year head and who has a good relationship with her and is approaching mum for a meeting to discuss Somia's progress.

Behaviour Support 'So some of your meeting with mum will be, perhaps, to set up an IEP because you need to talk about that any way so not only might mum shed some light on some of the behaviours but you might need to start looking at some targets for that (the IEP).

Advice from the support services might be sufficient. In many cases it would mean that a specific member of a service would arrange to meet with the SENCO after the meeting to arrange a follow up visit. In the example outlined above the LA representative from the Behaviour Service asked:

'Are you going to be at that meeting as well?

SENCO 'Yeah'

LA 'Then you can see if you want me to come or...'

The LA staff member in this case has left her involvement open to the discretion of the school.

The most difficult work to define is multi-agency work. This might involve the school, the LA, Social Service Department (SSD), Health and other agencies working with a pupil. Sharing and co-ordinating this work is a key issue and the SENCOs at SCMs were particularly interested in mapping out who does what, where and when. This was usually written down on the SCM Summary Sheet where action is agreed and a time set and a person or agency nominated to do the work.

Enculturement

LA support services account for over half of the talk time less than 30 seconds (Table 4.14). The frequency of talk time greater than 30 is also dominated by SENCOs. This seems to indicate that SENCOs were very involved in these meetings and were seeking that 'something extra' from LA representatives. The tension between the participants involved in the process of problem solving discussion during SCMs is about how LA staff and school staff manage to work to competing goals. On the one hand LAs are charged with keeping pupils in mainstream school. Schools on the other hand were telling the LA that they cannot meet the needs of all their pupils, particularly pupils with SEBD, and may have no alternative but to exclude them.

LA support staff and schools are implementing Luton LA guidance for the operation of SCMs. Schools and LA staff is embracing the problem-solving model of the meetings. From the eight observations and the other datum collected discussion of individual pupils is the primary function of SCMs. This could mean that the LA has a mechanism in place to affect provision for SEN pupils. The aspiration to affect SEN policy through SCMs and promote inclusion of pupils with SEBD is in constant

tension schools and SENCOs and is being ‘checked out’ during SCMs. Observation findings are summarised in the next section.

Summary of Findings

Layer Three: Observation Data

SENCO discussions in the SCMs observed illuminated the dominance of these meeting by pupils with SEBD. Observing SCMs highlighted the constant tension between school and LA staff to maintain pupils with SEBD in school or seeking alternatives to mainstream school. Pupils with behaviour needs raised profound ‘management’ challenges for all schools. Secondary school SCMs were not attended by headteachers but usually by their deputies and this appeared to reduce the status of the SCM. The status of SEN within secondary school seems reduced to a parallel system of education for pupils with SEN. Where a secondary headteacher did attend the school was in special measures and the headteacher dominated the meeting. Observation of SCMs also demonstrated these meeting meetings had become a part of the school structure and culture with a designated room for the meeting and the SENCO and other participants had prepared for the meeting. The SCMs observed all had an agenda and other participants such as head of year attended with files and other records to aid the discussion. There was a real sense of this being an important school event.

Conclusion

At the heart of managing SEN within Luton is the ever-present tension of inclusion and exclusion. Levels of access to mainstream education for pupils who have been ‘deemed’ to have SEN permeate the management of SEN, which is an exclusionary

concept. The emerging management model within Luton appears to be contained within a policy framework of inclusive resourcing of schools. This policy is reinforced by the infrastructure of five geographical clusters with their cluster teams meeting with schools three times each academic year. The SCMs are the conduits through which the LA and schools communicate about management of SEN in terms of how pupils are included or excluded. Central to the management of SEN within Luton schools is the SENCO. The role of the SENCO, in collaboration with senior management within schools, is crucial to the development of 'inclusive' management of SEN and particularly pupils with SEBD.

Management is a dynamic process and therefore subject to social forces and pressures of government and local policy. The findings from this study indicate that in Luton pupils with SEBD are highly identified within SEN management processes, which exist in Luton. The SCM process appears to 'absorb' school anxiety about these pupils and the 'aids' schools and SENCOs to manage most pupils in school.

In the next chapter the findings outlined above will be discussed in relation to the reviewed literature and the key research questions.

Chapter Five - Discussion of Findings

This chapter will use the three key research questions of the study to structure each section. The discussion will take place within the conceptual framework outlined in the literature review and the findings from the study. Under each key question the discussion will centre on the categories from data analysis i.e. exclusion, inclusion, partnerships and enculturement.

How schools use SCMs to access Behaviour Support Services

The three data sets indicate that schools use SCMs to access behaviour support services. Questionnaire data confirmed that all 83 Luton schools had held or intended to hold their allocation of 3 SCMs. All 83 SENCOs said they used SCMs to discuss individual pupils with behaviour concerns or other individualised SEN issues. Interview data corroborates questionnaire data when SENCOs said that all their SCMs were used to discuss pupils with SEBD. Observation data found that most of the pupils discussed during these meetings were pupils with SEBD.

Exclusion of pupils with SEBD

All data sets corroborated SCMs focus on pupils with SEBD and this identification through SCMs could be viewed as the first step to exclusion or provision of behaviour support. Florian (1998). However this may be overcome by the LA and schools constructing and operating within an 'inclusive' policy framework in which the key 'actors' understand their role (Ainscow, 1999). Observation data suggests that during SCM discussions there was the opportunity for the pupils to have their needs 'assessed'

as being 'deserving' if they are compliant and therefore remain included in school. Pupils may have their needs 'assessed' as being 'undeserving' (Parsons, 1999) or non-compliant and therefore have an increased risk of being excluded from school or to another educational setting (p 137). The policy of social control of the children of the perishing and dangerous classes (Carpenter, 1851) continues. Within this debate is the notion of duality where the duality consists of positive and negative elements (Paechter, 1998). The duality of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' is of central importance with the notion of inclusion being viewed as positive by some within education and exclusion being negative. The social construction of this duality resides within the social construction of SEN (Ainscow, 2000 & Dyson 1997), which interrelates with power elites in society. SEN was not created from benign and philanthropic reasoning but was designed to control and segregate usually working class children and children of the poor (Tomlinson, 1988 & Armstrong, 1995). This segregation appears to have continued in the form of the promotion of 'Learning Support Units' (LSUs) (DfEE, 1999b) for pupils who find it difficult to access the National Curriculum. LSUs have developed into units that are used to support pupils with SEBD and this support separates them from mainstream education for specified amounts of time. SCM observation data (p 151-2) reinforces how this segregation takes place. Enmeshed within categories of SEN is the decision making by the powerful about the least powerful (Tomlinson 2001 & Armstrong 1995). The Audit Commission (2002) found that some parents involved with educational psychologists 'assessing' their child's needs had the experience of being 'passed from pillar to post' (p 19) when seeking advice and support to meet their child's needs. Armstrong (1995) suggests that parents contributions were accepted when they were in agreement with the

‘professionals’ assessing their children. It is the powerful that make decisions about who is allowed to be a part of the mainstream education system or apart from mainstream education or indeed defined as SEN within mainstream education. Ainscow *et al* (1999) suggest that unless policy, practice and implementation of the LA inclusion policy is owned and promoted by the LA then SEN provision will simply operate along side mainstream education. They suggest that pupils with SEN experience a separate and inferior education. Findings from the Luton study indicate this particularly the case for pupils with SEBD (p 156).

It appears that this contesting of power with regard to allocation of ‘scarce’ resources to ‘deserving’ pupils and parents which is of central importance to meeting the needs of pupils with SEBD. The duality of ‘mainstream education’ and ‘special education’ is at the centre of the discussion about who is allowed to remain in mainstream and who is segregated to special education. Access routes to ‘special’ support through SCMs could be viewed as either maintaining the pupil in mainstream or the first step in identification for ‘special education’.

This study found that SCMs operate almost exclusively around the identification and discussion of individual pupils and individual pupil need being the dominant feature of the meetings. Identification as Florian (1998) points out serves to exclude pupils i.e. they become ‘special’. Bayliss (1998) argues that this ‘specialness’ implies there is a need for change and educators should take some action to make the ‘special’ ‘ordinary’ (Dessent, 1997). Tomlinson (1982) suggests this intervention in the name of ‘benevolent

humanitarianism' to make things better, is intervention by the powerful to the least powerful. Bayliss (1998) amplifies this by pointing out that the 'special' equals pathology within the pupil, which requires intervention to re-mediate pathology.

Findings from this study through the SCM observations indicate that pupils discussed during the SCMs had predominantly SEBD needs. In primary schools these pupils appeared to experience 'equity' of provision but in the sense of a parallel system of education highlighted by Ainscow *et al* (1999). The secondary schools in Luton appeared to seek 'alternative' education (p 156) for pupils with SEBD. Valuing or devaluing of pupils according to their category of need is highlighted by Macleod (2001). Within the Luton study the fora of SCMs provided an opportunity for large numbers of pupils throughout the Borough of Luton to be identified as in need of individual provision or support. However Norwich (1999) argues that failure to identify pupil need may be at the cost of not meeting their needs. Dyson (2001) suggests that the equity sought through the identification of pupils, as having SEN may be counterproductive in that all the identification does is to individualise their learning experience in what is conventionally group or joint learning.

Identification and subsequent intervention through the mechanism of SCMs is viewed by Florian (1998) as exclusionary and against the pupil's human rights. The process of identifying pupils in Luton schools through SCMs features mainly pupils with behaviour difficulties. The findings from the SENCO questionnaires indicate that 100% of SENCOs discuss pupils with SEBD at SCMs. The agendas and observations of SCMs indicate that

secondary school in particular discuss pupils with behaviour needs at SCMs. It appears that identification and subsequent segregation of pupils with behaviour difficulties could feed into the development of 'special' curricula for 'bad' pupils (Dyson 2001). The marginalisation of pupils considered to be bad is at odds with the 'apparent' hegemonic discourse of special education as a route to promoting social justice within an intrinsically segregationist education system. Certain pupils who are described as having SEN but are deferential to the powerful can stay in the 'system' and have individualised education under the banner of SEN intervention. However pupils categorised as having SEBD usually have their education made available outside mainstream education at another location for added control of the 'bad' pupils. This segregated education is usually of inferior quality and does not provide the pupils with their entitlement of the full National Curriculum. The education of pupils who are excluded from school usually takes place within a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) which can be small units with 2 or 3 teachers and many of which receive negative OfSTED reports which highlight the poor quality of teaching and learning as a weakness (Blair, 1994, Armstrong, 1995, Florian, 1998, Parsons, 1999, & Osler & Hill, 1999).

What is interesting in Luton is that this does not appear to be taking place with Luton being the fifth lowest LA for permanent exclusion (Table 1.1) and a reducing rate of formal assessment of pupils with SEN (Table 4.9). The policy framework within Luton LA is implemented through SCMs and appears to have the effect of maintaining most pupils with SEBD within mainstream education. This contradicts the views of Clark *et al* 1990 study, which found that LA influence over inclusion was limited because LAs had

delegated increasing amount of their budget to schools. In a study of four secondary schools Clark *et al* (1998) found that including pupils with SEBD met with teacher resistance and the 'technology' of inclusion, i.e. the support systems, which schools used to include these pupils was not up the job.

Observation data (p 149) from the Luton study indicated that a key process in disseminating the Luton policy was the SCM. Within SCMs the tensions of whole school versus individual funding of SEN were explored and developed around keeping pupils with SEBD within the mainstream education system. Where LA support staff suggest that the school has the resources, which have been delegated by the LA, to provide for pupils. Ainscow *et al* (1999), in their study of 12 LAs, found that where funding, policy and practice about inclusion was understood by the key 'actors' within the LA and schools then a powerful model of inclusive education may emerge. It is this tension, which Gray (2001) highlights as having the potential for conflict between support services expectations and school expectations. SENCOs in Luton attended all SCMs this involved freeing these middle managers so that their involvement with LA staff and discussion of how inclusion in Luton is 'created' could take place. The potential for conflict between school need and LA need is ever present and is reinforced by pupils with SEBD. This potential conflict is fractured by phase of education with primary schools in the Luton study working with support services to maintain pupils in school and secondary school seeking alternative education outside mainstream school.

Inclusion of pupils with SEBD

The management values underpinning the rationale for holding SCMs is of central importance. Luton LA structures demonstrate its commitment to developing inclusive practice through the policy of 'Achievement and Access for All' (Luton, LEA, 1997). The central tenet of this policy is a move 'to a whole school approach to resourcing special educational needs' (Luton, LEA, 1998, 2.3). Inclusive management of SEN resources in school is essential if Luton schools are to manage pupils with SEBD in mainstream schools. Gray (2001) in his study of English LA support services argues that these services should evaluate in relation to how inclusive their work is with schools and pupils. The overwhelming response from Luton SENCOs 73 of the 83 said the purpose of SCMs was to develop SEN provision for pupils and all 83 schools used SCMs to discuss their pupil's needs. SENCOs from all 83 Luton schools used SCMs to discuss pupils with SEBD. The Luton study found that 75% of the cases discussed at SCMs were 'problem solved' within the meeting (p 123). Gray (2001) also points out that schools should provide evidence of the progress they are making on inclusion including OfSTED inspections.

Findings from the study indicate when LA support services meet with school based staff at SCM the 'management' of pupils with SEBD becomes a tense debate. It is at the interface of SCMs that the tension between the LA and school management of pupils with SEBD becomes a debate. Marsh (1998) argues that, 'If mainstream schools perceive a relative lack of funds to meet pupil need they will push for a Statement of SEN' (p 66). The effect of increased statements could mean increased individualisation of SEN and

increased segregated education for pupils. Busher & Hodgkinson (1995) in their case study of nine secondary and thirteen primary schools point to the 'push-pull' dynamic between LEAs and schools. LAs seek to 'push' SEN resources into schools to promote inclusion through the reduction of statements and schools seek to 'pull' in additional resources through gaining a statement of SEN. The resources, which have been delegated to mainstream schools, enable those schools to develop provision for pupils with SEBD. The DfES (2002) suggest that distributing resources on a 'whole school basis' will support inclusion of pupils and they also argue that this should take place with a context of partnership.

Evidence from this study indicates that SENCOs work with LA support services to meet the needs of most pupils with SEBD (p 123). In Luton schools the support services work together to maintain the pupils in mainstream school (p 121). Millward & Skidmore (1998) suggest since the ERA 1998 the relationship between LAs and schools has moved from a 'centre periphery model' to more collaborative models of management. These forms of management of SEN may involve clusters of schools working together to support inclusion of pupils with SEN (DfES, 2002).

Although Luton LA 'pump' resources into schools 54% of SENCOs wanted more time from the support services. This appears to highlight the 'pressure' SENCOs may be under when managing pupils with SEBD within mainstream schools. In the Luton study female SENCOs appeared to welcome the LA intervention of SCM as a means of supporting pupils with SEBD in mainstream education (p 135). Clark *et al* (1999) in their study of

four secondary schools found that the support systems and structures i.e. the 'technology of inclusion' for pupils with SEBD may not be up to the job. Clark *et al* (1999) argue that the mainstay of the 'technology of inclusion' was in class support but this varied and in short supply. Male Secondary SENCOs in Luton wanted 'practical work' which was defined by a Secondary SENCO as 'hands on with the kids' (p 139). These tensions are 'acted' out by the various participants within SCMs e.g. Behaviour Support Teachers and how they are resolved will depend on how the 'actors' within SCMs bring their values and power to bear in resolving questions of maintaining pupils with SEBD in school. SENCOs understanding of Luton's Achievement and Access policy varied across schools and was considered by secondary schools as 'gate keeping' where the LEA asked schools to 'jump through hoops' in order to obtain a statement of SEN for pupils (p 131). In primary schools there appeared to be a realisation by SENCOs that less SEN statements would be provided by the LA and increased support for SEN would be provided through SCMs (p 129).

Adopting a financial framework for resourcing SEN policy through whole school funding reflects the inclusive policy within Luton LA. Luton LA aspires to 'Every child having the opportunity to be educated as close to home as possible and within his/her home authority where adequate provision can be made for his/her needs' (Luton, LEA. 1998. 2.1 (f). To achieve the development of local provision where it is needed for the education of non-statemented pupils with SEN requires the LA to create an acceptable formula for allocating these resources to schools. Marsh (1998) argues that devising such a formula has been difficult and politically sensitive for LAs. Ainscow *et al* (1999)

argues that if SEN formula funding is to achieve 'inclusion' that widespread support for and ownership of the funding strategy is required. Furthermore they argue that all participants within the LA should understand how and why the funding strategy has been adopted. SENCOs and other participants in delivering SEN service should feel ownership of the local policy for inclusion (Ainscow, 1999, Gray, 2001 & DfES, 2002). Within policy development Ainscow *et al* (1999) found that close attention should be paid to the scrutiny of practice and how this relates to LA policy for the allocation of resources throughout the LA and to individual schools. Before and since its inception Luton LA consulted with schools and members of the council regarding resourcing SEN through the SEN Review Group. 'This policy review group included representatives from schools (i.e. Headteachers and SENCOs) local communities and parent representatives' (Luton, LEA. 1998. 10.2). The LA decided that, 'Funding to meet the needs of children with high incidence special educational needs (specific learning difficulties and moderate learning difficulties) has been delegated into general school budgets' (ibid). This policy was delivered to all key partners in education to highlight the inclusive framework of SEN policy within Luton. This is reinforced by Gray (2001) when he points out that delegating funds to clusters of schools could reduce barriers to inclusion of pupils with complex needs (Gains, 1994 & Milward & Skidmore, 1998).

In Luton SENCOs are aware of the directive nature of SEN service delivery to promote inclusion (p 131) and they are aware of the LA 'gate keeping' and monitoring schools and the SEN provision they make for pupils (p 131). Part of Luton's inclusive SEN policy was the development of a co-ordinated delivery system for SEN support through

the process of SCMs (p 133 & 134). Service delivery development in Luton was built on whole school funding and regular engagement with schools through SCMs based on sharing information between school-based (p 122) staff and the LA. The perception of the SENCOs involved across the phases is that this is beneficial to the schools in terms of resources and gaining something additional for pupils through the SCM process (p 130). Female SENCOs regarded SCMs as useful because they were pupil focussed but male secondary SENCOs wanted 'practical work' and 'hands on with the kids' (p 137). It appears that through these termly meetings collaborative approaches to working with secondary female SENCOs (p 135) and schools was evolving within the framework of SEN whole school funding. An integral element in this process was the setting up of five geographical clusters within which to deliver these services. This co-ordinated approach to SEN service delivery was central to the development of inclusive SEN service delivery.

Holding termly SCMs with all Luton schools was initiated not only to be an SEN service delivery mechanism, but also as a vehicle for adopting a problem solving approach to meeting the needs of pupils with complex SEN. The regular contact between schools and the LA aimed to 'educate' SENCOs, headteachers and senior staff in schools about the LA approach to SEN in Luton. This process also served as a conduit for the 'education' of LA personnel about the issues, which schools wanted to talk about during the SCMs. Data from the Luton study, suggests SENCOs are well aware of the LA's strategy of whole school funding of SEN (p 137). The SCM process of sharing 'good practice' in terms of maintaining most pupils within mainstream schools may be part of a 'duality' in

which some pupils are maintained in mainstream school and yet the SCM mechanism designed to include pupils may actually identify the most 'troublesome' pupils for exclusion. Secondary SENCOs thought that the LA wanted them to be 'creative' when working with pupils with SEBD. Ainscow *et al* (1999) stress the importance of linking policy, practice and funding within an ownership culture so that inclusive SEN service delivery can operate. Gray (2001) argues that LA support services should evaluate their service delivery in terms of supporting inclusion of excluded groups. Gray 2001 & Clarke *et al* 1999 do not outline how schools engage with LAs to provide additional support for pupils with SEBD. The development of inclusive support services through regular meetings with all schools appears to be creating a situation where schools are able, or enabled by working with the LA to manage the vast majority of pupils with SEBD within mainstream school (p 138). The LA policy of regular and co-ordinated meetings with schools by multi-professional cluster teams appears to provide schools with a sense of confidence when working with pupils who have SEBD. This confidence appears to have the effect of empowering schools to develop educational provision, which maintains most pupils in school.

The Luton model reflects the policy and funding elements of Ainscow *et al* (1999) study but goes further in that the LA allocates a multi disciplinary team to a 'cluster' of schools and ensures this team meets with each school at least once a term to promote the LA policy of 'Achievement and Access for All' (Luton, 1997). The service delivery dynamic within the Luton model is from policy to practice and the 'prescriptive' nature of the engagement with schools through SCM advice on organising the meetings is a major

feature in this policy. Ainscow *et al* (1999) stress the linkages between policy, funding, and ownership and understanding these is essential to the implementation of inclusive SEN service delivery. Gray (2001) does not outline how or what form engagement between the LA support services might take. The Luton model of service delivery is quite specific about the development of 'learning' between school and LA staff working together in a 'problem solving' context. The Luton SEN service delivery model promotes collaborative working between schools and the LA where the potential for conflict between the LA and schools over the competition for scarce resources exists. The Luton model of collaborative service delivery attempts to 'integrate' schools with a multi-disciplinary cluster team. Evidence from this study (p 139-140) suggests that the cluster teams work with schools through SCM to operate within the 'whole school' inclusive funding policy. SCMs provide 'problem solving' fora where casework can be planned following the SCM (Table 4.8). The inclusive SEN service delivery system within Luton appears to 'permeate' the market driven education system with a 'social justice' model of education where all pupils could be valued within education. Inclusive SEN services concern themselves with meeting the needs of pupil's complex needs maintaining these pupils within their neighbourhood schools. Inclusive support appears to be strained by pupils who have SEBD. This occurs usually in secondary school and presents teachers with challenges, which they sometimes cannot meet, and as a result permanent exclusion takes place. The curricula responses in mainstream school appear unable to 'contain' the most challenging pupils. Supportive adult responses to pupils with SEBD appear to require something, which is additional to mainstream school Cooper (1994).

LA staff and Behaviour Support work with Schools

In this section the discussion will highlight how SCMs may support inclusion of pupils with SEBD and who does the work with these pupils.

Inclusion of pupils with SEBD

School Consultation Meetings (SCMs) play a central role in developing inclusive responses to pupils with SEBD. The termly SCMs are fora in which school SEN policy and the needs of the most exceptional pupils in Luton are discussed. Luton LA guidance suggests ‘SCMs should: Support schools to develop their policies to include all pupils by the effective collaborative work of LA staff and school staff’ (Luton, LEA. 1998. Appendix 1). SCMs are also designed to ‘support new developments and transfer of ideas across schools (i.e. through cluster meetings)’ (ibid).

Questionnaire data indicated that SCM fora provided an arena to discuss and make a plan for over 75% of the cases discussed. The other professionals represented also took work from the SCMs, which was shared throughout the SEN support services. The SCM as the structure for allocation of work appeared to be embedded within the LA and schools. It was recognised by schools and LA staff that the SCM process was fundamental to SEN support to schools.

From observation data it is apparent that some cluster teams do discuss the strategies other schools in their cluster use with pupils who have SEBD. This was illustrated at a secondary SCM. During the meeting the discussion focussed on alternative curriculum

for pupils with behaviour difficulties. During the SCM it was established this provision was developed as a result of discussion with a member of the Behaviour and Tuition Service who had discussed what another secondary school was doing with pupils who had SEBD. By working with a small number of schools the multi-disciplinary team can share practice between schools and promote inclusive practice across their cluster. The effective team approach which Luton wished to promote was also observed during SCMs when a member of the cluster team pointed out that they had carried out a similar piece of work and the EP had taken the lead role on this because the issue was about the way in which the pupil was learning and she felt best placed to work with the teacher and the pupil. This aspect of developing close working relationships between LA personnel and school personnel enabled school 'knowledge' and the LA 'knowledge' to be 'pooled'. This sharing of knowledge helped the problem solving approach to operate within the SCM and provides support to pupils who had very complex needs. The effectiveness of teams can have particular strengths:

‘A well co-ordinated team can, in many cases, lead to better use of individual skills and more effective implementation of resources especially when there is a danger of duplication or children ‘slipping through the net’ (Lacey and Thomas 1993, p 141, in Coleman & Bush, 1994.)

Partnerships between schools and the local authority

Developing partnerships is a key aim for Luton LA and is outlined in the assertion that they will be: ‘working in close partnership with parents and children themselves and with

other statutory and voluntary agencies in the identification and assessment of the needs and the provision made for individual pupils' (Luton, LEA. 1998. 2.1. (1). This co-ordinated and collaborative approach to working with schools is a deliberate attempt to keep pace with the evolving and diminishing role of the LA. It was evident in the Luton study particularly where cluster teams had been working with their schools for over four years. Organising schools into geographical clusters allows schools to develop relationships with a range of service providers to meet their individual needs. The DfEE anticipates LAs becoming more focused in their work to improve schools (DfEE, 2000). Ainscow *et al* (1999) argue that 'the challenge for local education authorities is to plan and manage progress towards more inclusive practices in a way that uses the imperative to raise educational standards' (p 139). Therefore, LAs, which have already developed a tight infrastructure, within which to deliver services, will have sound knowledge of their school strengths and weaknesses and know where to focus their support for school improvement (Clark *et al* 1990, Milward & Skidmore, 1998, Ainscow *et al* 1999 & Gray, 2002).

The dual strategy of 'centre-periphery' management through clusters and SCMs and 'whole school' resourcing of SEN is eminently suited to developing inclusive educational practice. This policy also helps prepare the LA for its new role in 'working with groups of schools selected on a geographical or other basis' (DfE, 2000. p 14). The aim being to increase the autonomy of groups of schools to work together on school improvement. The LA structuring of SCMs in order to deliver services which the schools want but which

they may not use to include the most exceptional pupils is a tension running through the process of SEN service delivery to mainstream school.

Enculturement

Meeting regularly with schools and developing the relationship of the 'critical friend' with LA support teams is built on by:

'Monitoring the quality of standards within Luton schools...by School Development Advisors through termly visits to linked schools, monitoring attainment of pupils, quality of teaching and the leadership and management of schools' (Luton, LEA. 1999. p.19. 11.1).

Involving the whole education department in developing closer relationships with schools and their cluster teams means these meetings can become the catalyst for sharing inclusive practice throughout Luton schools. The notion of 'supportive challenge' to enhance school improvement is also an LA strategy which can operate through these forums.

The termly meetings instigated by Luton LA bring together a wide range of professionals who meet as a result of SCMs. School managers also come together and meet with the LA representatives at SCMs. Observation of SCMs indicates this 'mix' of professionals promoted by the LAs policy of co-ordinated service delivery based on regular meetings appears to be a form of continuing professional development for schools and LA personnel. The professional exchanges, which take place within the fora of SCMs, from

LA personnel to school based personnel, appear to be 'enculturing' schools to think about developing problem solving approaches to supporting pupils who might otherwise have been excluded. Including pupils at risk of exclusion was very 'visible' at SCMs particularly primary school meetings. In secondary school SCMs although the inclusive dynamic was not as 'visible' the problem solving culture of the meeting almost 'ensured' that alternatives to exclusion were considered before permanent exclusion was considered as an option. During SCMs the exchange of 'tacit' knowledge regarding pupils and provision for pupils was continually taking place. As a result of the knowledge exchange educational plans evolved which appear to provide additional support for pupils in mainstream school, but also may have the effect of separating pupils from their peers (Dyson, 2001; Ainscow *et al*, 1999; Corbett, 2001). The tension between inclusion and exclusion is ever present within this study and the policy framework within Luton enables this tension to flow from exclusion to inclusion provided the key 'actors' play their 'inclusive' role. Enculturing schools to become more inclusive appears to require a consistent strategy implemented over prolonged period (Clark *et al* 1994 & Ainscow *et al* 1999). This inclusive enculturation can only take place at the learning rate of the organisation. As schools become 'learning' organisations (Wenger, 1998) their rate and capacity to include the previously excluded will increase and develop.

The dual role of the LA as the agency to implement government policy, in this case inclusive education, plus allowing schools their autonomy presents a tension. Busher & Hodgkinson (1995) argue that, 'The 'push' by LAs towards closer inter-school networks has been augmented by the 'pull' created by the decline of LA support of in-service

support for schools' (p 331) The 'push-pull' dynamic can be applied to Luton's cluster approach in relation to SEN (Luton LEA, 1998. 3.4). The 'push' of Luton LEA towards closer collaboration with schools, about the provision of SEN services to schools, reflects the evolving relationship between LAs and schools post ERA. The pivotal forum for developing the relationship between the LA and schools is the SCM. Luton LA takes a lead in this in guidance about preparing for SCMs which suggests:

'School and LEA to identify priorities for inclusion on the agenda. Agenda to be arranged in advance of the meeting. This will give opportunities so that other relevant services can attend, as required. (Luton, LEA. 1998. Appendix. 1)

Through joint agenda setting at SCMs, the LA and schools can share valuable information about the range of support services, and voluntary agencies available in the local community to support schools, pupils' teachers and parents.

LA Influence

Evidence from questionnaire data indicated that LA support services are doing over 70% of the casework discussed at SCMs. Interview data suggests that schools and SENCOs accepted SCMs and some found these useful. Within this view there appears to be an inevitability factor regarding the LA being in 'control' of SEN provision throughout the Borough. There is recognition by SENCOs that the LA policy is well understood and the aim of the LA is to fund schools for SEN on a whole school basis. There seems to be an acceptance that there is no 'magic' solution to the schools most intractable SEN issues, which are usually posed as the inappropriate behaviour of some pupils. This is reflected

in the predominance of individual pupils with behaviour difficulties being raised within SCMs. Ainscow *et al* (1999) argue that funding strategies, policy and partnership need to be synchronised if the most exceptional pupils are to be included in mainstream education. This view is tempered by Gray (2002) who points out that inclusion does not happen spontaneously and his research indicated that schools and support services required 'external' input 'particularly in cases where pupils are more socially and behaviourally challenging' (p 7).

Within the Luton model of SEN service delivery there is an acknowledgement that the SCM 'intervention' is in fact the LA 'intervention' and therefore some SENCOs use this as an opportunity to let the LA know about pupils. These concerns are usually about the pupil being permanently excluded or the LA finding another placement where the pupil can continue their education, at another venue which is not a school and which in general offer inferior educational provision.

SENCO Influence

SENCO expectation regarding the support LAs can provide for schools is a feature of the findings from questionnaire data. A number of SENCOs indicated that they view the LA as having the capacity to solve the most complex cases which schools deal with in the area of SEBD. There appears to be a contradiction here as far as the funding of LAs and schools is concerned. On the one hand an increasing percentage of the SSA is being devolved to schools leaving LAs with less money to provide services, yet schools have an expectation that LAs have resources to meet the needs of their most complex SEN pupils.

This strand of school and LA mismatch of expectations is a feature of the working relationships LA personnel have with school personnel.

Special Education Support Services: Pupil strengths or pupil deficits

The support services within Luton LA have operated within the cluster model of service delivery through SCMs and this has been aimed at promoting inclusion. However the duality of promoting inclusion and the SEN deficit model are in tension. If the support services focus on pupil deficits then they are at risk of becoming part of the dynamic to exclude pupils. On the other hand support services can operate inclusively to promote the strengths of pupils. Traditionally SEN support services have concentrated on the notion of special education as 'based upon a 'medical' or deficit model of intervention as opposed to focusing on a student's needs or strengths' (Hornby, 2002, p10).

Exclusion of pupils with SEBD

Paechter (1998) uses the notion of being 'othered' to highlight how marginalisation can take place within institutions. This could apply to how curricula for all can be redesigned under the educational rationale of not being suitable for certain groups of pupils. In redesigning curricula for specific groups of pupils under the 'banner' of 'vocational' pupils who are provided this curriculum can be 'othered' and marginalized as a result. The rhetoric of emancipatory education i.e. special education can cloak a system, which is based on division and segregation. The establishment of separate SEN provision is a first step to social exclusion which is built in to the education system. This is reinforced by the market and schools seeking to recruit 'ideal' pupils which will enable it to achieve

pupil performance targets prescribed by national government. The survival of the 'fittest' within the education marketplace therefore means a rationing of education to the least 'fit' and inevitably multiplies these divisions. Gillborn & Youdell (2000) argue that rationing education takes place along ethnic, class, and gender lines. These inequitable divisions are the first signs of the exclusion process within education. Pupils who are viewed by schools as having SEBD are perceived to have needs, which are not 'educational', (Armstrong, 1995) and they may be 'pathological' and are viewed as being outside the remit of schools. There is a sense that these needs are 'othered' and as a result they are without 'legitimacy' in schools and are more to do with psychosocial (Cooper, 2001) or medical needs. Linked to this is the differential nature in which pupils with SEBD are divided as precursor to exclusion. Exclusion is a process which emanates from the separate or 'other' provision initially set up under the social justice nature of special education but having its philosophical roots based on the 'care and control' of the troubled or troublesome (Armstrong, 1995 & Tomlinson, 1982). The separation of special education could be the initial step towards exclusion within the school organisation and may be gradually moving almost inexorably to outside the institution (DfES, 1999b). Dyson (1997) suggests the individual focus and nature of SEN is in contrast to the rhetoric of inclusion, which appears to assume inclusion in mainstream classes or in mainstream school.

The discussion in this chapter related to the findings of the study is at the centre of the debate about inclusion of pupils with SEBD and inclusion of some pupil with SEN who are included (Corbett, 2001). The reasons for the resilience of SEN is a major issue

steeped in power and control by vested interests within the special education system (Dyson, 1999 & Croll & Moses, 2000) and is far from being benign. Indeed it could be argued that SEN actually works to segregate and marginalize the least powerful within society.

Inclusion of pupils with SEBD

Luton LA has developed a SEN funding system, which is based on devolving increasing proportion of the budget to schools. Also by reducing the number of statements, 'Reduction in total number of statements: April 1997-April 2000: 31%' (Luton, LEA. 1999. p 12 & Busher & Hodgkinson 1995) with the LA seeking to promote its policy of 'Achievement and Access for All'. Through the reduction in statements the LA 'have recycled a total amount of £629,000 since April 1997' (Luton, LEA. 1999. p 22). The LA and its support services encourage schools to use this money to make provision for pupils once they have identified additional needs of pupils in school. Schools on the other hand are 'steeped' in the notion of accessing additional resources by obtaining a statement for individual needs of pupils. Luton LA is focused on funding SEN at a 'whole school' level and Ainscow, *et al* (1999) point out that:

'LEA funding policies will inevitably have a significant and direct bearing on the progress towards inclusive practices. To be effective, an LEA's policy has to be underpinned by a funding strategy that has been designed specifically to support that policy. Ideally, there should be wide support for, and ownership, of the policy, and hence

an understanding of why and how the funding arrangement
are so constructed' (p 137).

The LA funding policy that Ainscow, *et al* (1999) highlights is interwoven with the LAs policy of inclusive education for all Luton pupils. This is clearly illustrated by the movement of centrally held funds into school budgets. The LA has an 'expectation that schools should give detailed information about their use of resources and budget for SEN within their SEN policy document' (Luton, LEA. 1999, p. 22. 13.1). This suggests that the LA is not going to closely monitor the SEN budget but adopt a 'light touch' approach. There is great emphasis on developing a working relationship with schools, which highlights a systematic approach to LA provision of SEN services. The LA wants to develop these systems so that they can control and target assessment and intervention strategies at the most complex cases. This is an attempt by the LA to develop joint management of the, ever increasing, statementing budget. Luton LA is attempting to develop a system which brings together the three strands of managing SEN illustrated by Clark *et al* (1990).

The possible effect of Luton LA support services regularly meeting with schools is that there is a constant conduit established for sharing of information about school and pupil issues. From the SENCO questionnaire response it is clear many SENCOs view the SCMs as their method of alerting the LA about issues or pupils, whom the schools will need support with (p 121).

Within the area of statutory assessment in Luton these have been declining year on year (Table 4.9) and the number of pupils being educated outside Luton as a result of their SEN has also been declining year on year (Luton, 2000). This may be due to the combined strategy of providing regular SCMs, where pupil and school issues are dealt with at a relatively early stage, and the overt SEN funding strategy of maintaining whole school SEN budgets to the highest possible level. This seems to allow the LA to exert considerable control over their SEN budget whilst at the same time funding schools well for pupils who have SEN. The evidence for this within the Luton study emanates from questionnaire data relating to work distribution (Table 4.8) where about a quarter of the work distributed at and after SCMs is allocated to educational psychologists.

Data from the Luton study illustrates the individual nature of responses to pupils who have SEN and in particular to pupils who are regarded as having SEBD (Clark *et al* 1990, Dyson 1999, & Ainscow 1999). There appears to be a situation in the Luton case that SEN around 'learning' can be dealt with by schools and this is the legitimate business of schools, teachers and pupils. The structure of the school curriculum works to separate pupils and to ensure the curriculum continues in its present form i.e. highly prescriptive along nationalistic lines and reflecting the power elites position within society.

Conclusion: Inclusive SEN Support Services

The model of inclusive SEN support services should be underpinned by service delivery, which is constantly aware of the exclusionary tendency the SEN 'industry' has within it (Armstrong, 1995, Bayliss, 1998, Gray, 2001 & Tomlinson, 1982). Inclusive SEN

support services could play an integral role in the improvement of schools if they were a part of school development services supplied to schools and were not a separate SEN service. This could lead to all services, which are supplied to using a common and inclusive service delivery mechanism perhaps through a system such as SCMs.

This research has found that schools will engage with the LA through SCMs and that educational provision can be developed as a result of the discussion, which takes place within these fora. SCMs could be developed to move away from the discussion of individual pupils SEN to a school wide discussion of reducing the barriers to learning for all pupils (Booth, 1995 & Florian, 2003). Corporate management of learning is essential if all pupils are to be included in school and perform to their optimum. Corporately managing learning will mean the LAs and schools develop a joint notion of inclusion, which ensures all pupils regardless of their needs are enabled to access a curriculum, which is relevant, and of high quality. It is important that the concept of SEN is viewed as central to improving the school experience for all pupils. Corporate management of learning will be based on improving the learning of all in schools and have at its centre the flourishing of all children in school (Bottery, 2002). Social justice in managing and leading corporate learning of all pupils is essential in providing inclusive SEN support services to schools and pupils.

The Luton Model of SEN Service Delivery

The Luton model of inclusive SEN support services attempts to overcome the powerful dynamic to exclude pupils with SEBD from the education system and is constantly in

tension with Luton LA's policy of Achievement and Access for All (Luton, 1997). This policy attempts to 'include' as many pupils as possible within mainstream education.

Nationally exclusion of pupils with SEBD, although temporarily reduced between 1997 and 2000, has been rising since national targets to reduce permanent exclusion were abandoned. Central government on the other hand has redefined the concept of inclusion to the extent that pupils are included in mainstream education if they 'deserve' to be and if they are compliant. The so-called 'zero-tolerance' for pupils with SEBD is at odds with the notion of inclusion of pupils with special needs. Since 1997 the National Government have aligned themselves with the powerful elites within education i.e. headteachers and teachers to maintain the status quo for idealised pupils who are compliant and legitimise the exclusion of pupils with 'bad' behaviour.

The Luton model of SEN service delivery struggles to create an 'island' of inclusion within the national context of exclusion of pupils with SEBD. The exclusionary pressure within mainstream education is ever present for pupils who are viewed as having additional needs, which are categorised around psychosocial, class and ethnicity. These pupils have their education 'rationed' to them (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000) sometimes in mainstream schools but increasingly in Pupil Referral Units, which provide a limited curriculum compared to mainstream school.

Creating inclusive SEN support services requires a rare mix of ingredients as described by Ainscow (1999) where issues of inclusion and exclusion are being debated between

LA and school based staff. The Luton model of SEN support services delivery is based on an inclusive financial infrastructure for schools where schools receive a high percentage of the Standard Spending Assessment budget. The LA through termly SCMs engage with schools to promote inclusive ways of working with pupils who have SEBD. SCMs are crucial in determining how schools and the LA 'include' or 'exclude' pupils with SEBD while secondary schools seek alternative education for these pupils. Inclusion of pupils within Luton schools can be achieved if schools and the LA work in 'partnership', which requires all participants to implement the policy of Achievement and Access for All. This policy can only be implemented if LA staff are committed to working with schools to keep some of the most challenging pupils in schools. The process of inclusion is a 'live' issue and ever evolving within the socio-economic structure within which it exists. Within SCMs the palpable tension which existed when discussing pupils who have been excluded or returning from exclusion (p 153) require all participants to be prepared to work in 'partnership' but also to share their cultures to some extent. This requires LA staff to be able to 'open' up their culture of inclusion to schools so that 'enculturation' can take place, i.e. where some overlapping of cultures can take place to develop positive ways of working with pupils who have SEBD. This could then result in the reduction in the marginalisation of pupils with SEBD where positive alternatives to exclusion are developed (Cooper *et al*, 2000).

Within Luton LA an inclusive financial framework for resourcing schools has been established since 1997. This framework aims to address the forces of the market in education to separate and segregate the least powerful within mainstream education. By

‘enhancing’ school budgets to the highest possible levels it is anticipated that schools are ‘enabled’ to make educational provision for all but the most exceptional pupils.

The geographical clusters reinforce inclusive financial arrangements for schools and their multi-disciplinary SEN support teams. Within the Luton model there could be ‘insulation’ against exclusion where the education system is ‘permeated’ by a financial ‘mesh’, which encourages schools to maintain most pupils in mainstream school. Interwoven with the inclusive financial ‘mesh’ are the small geographical clusters of around 20 schools. Each cluster has dedicated multi-disciplinary support team, which has, over seven years since 1997, become very ‘knowledgeable’ about the schools in their ‘patch’. The combination of the ‘tacit’ knowledge of the cluster team and termly SCMs acts to ‘contain’ most pupils within the mainstream education system on the Borough of Luton.

In the next chapter exploration of how the study within Luton LA has managed to answer the key research questions will take place. Particular attention will be given to how the ‘knowledge’ of the Luton model of SEN service delivery can be applied to enhance including the excluded. Areas for further research will also be discussed.

Chapter Six - Conclusions

In this chapter the discussion will focus on the extent to which the study has managed to answer the key research questions. Exploration of the research data will assess how effectively the study answered the key research questions. Discussion of the study's findings in relation to theory and practice will also be explored. The findings will be discussed in relation to the literature and theorising these findings in relation to chapter five. Exploration of how the findings might affect the practice of inclusive support service delivery will take place. Discussion of the study will take place regarding the quality and the limitations of the study.

How schools use SCMs to access Behaviour Support Services

All three data sets indicated that Luton schools use SCMs to access behaviour support services (p 127, 144 & 160). SCM intervention with pupils took usually an individual approach to providing additional support for pupils with SEBD (p 153). This individualisation could mean that educational provision for pupils with social emotional and behavioural difficulties (SEBD) adopt an exclusionary dynamic (p 156) from the outset. Within this potentially segregationist approach powerful professionals can decide who remains in mainstream education and who cannot (Armstrong, 1995). Decisions of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' for pupils with SEBD appear to be made within the social constructions of class, ethnicity and gender, which fracture educational equity along these social dimensions (Parsons, 1999). How pupils are identified and the social construction of their needs is of paramount importance in the 'creation' of pupil identity within special education (Cooper, 2000). The subsequent categorisation of pupils according to 'need' then leads to either 'exclusive' or 'inclusive' education within mainstream school or apart from

mainstream school (p 157). Pupils who are included in mainstream education are perceived to be compliant and 'deserving' of additional provision which is provided through mainstream SEN resourcing (MacLeod, 2001). The phenomena of discussing pupils at SCMs and 'problem solving' the case may mean that the pupils will have a SEN plan devised for them and special educational provision is made for them within mainstream school. Pupil identity appears to be constructed through the 'lens' of their needs. Pupils who are described as having SEBD can be viewed at the very least, as being difficult or threatening the learning and well being of other pupils, parents and teachers, and these 'deviant' pupils needs can be regarded as being 'illegitimate'. This may then lead to pupils not having their needs met within mainstream education. If pupils needs are constructed by SEN professionals to be 'psycho-social' rather than educational (p 156) then there appears to be a tendency, especially in the secondary phase of education, for the introduction of an exclusive dynamic to their education i.e. pupils being educated apart from their peers (p 157).

There was evidence that secondary male SENCOs regarded SCMs as impositions by the LA to either 'gate keep' (p 131) resources or check on school provision for pupils with SEN (p 131). Primary and secondary female SENCOs differed in that they appeared to understand that Luton LA used the SCM as a strategy to implement the inclusion of pupils with SEBD (p 135). Secondary male SENCOs wanted their professional 'autonomy' recognised by not having to comply with the LA management structure of SEN through SCMs. LA 'managerialism' (Wright, 2001) with regard to LA special needs policy was viewed by a secondary male SENCO as raising issues about professional autonomy and integrity of SENCOs in schools. In this case a secondary male SENCO suggested the LA 'will not accept the word of a

school' and so he points out you have this conflict (p 131). Another secondary male SENCO pointed out that LA support is provided on their terms (p 136) and it was the LA who decided who should provide the support and what form it should take. This secondary SENCO also wanted 'something extra something additional' to the educational provision available in school.

Primary SENCOs appreciated the support that came through the SCM system particularly the ongoing casework emanating from SCMs (p 135). All SENCOs thought SCMs were almost totally devoted to discussion of pupils who had SEBD (p 125) and in the primary phase these discussions focussed on how to keep these pupils in mainstream school (p 141). Primary and secondary SENCOs indicated that they used SCMs to communicate with the LA about a range of SEN issues and keep informed about any new initiatives on behaviour (p 129). Secondary male SENCOs recognised that SCMs were used to discuss pupils who had SEBD however the emphasis in the secondary phase was about how the LA could provide the 'additional or extra something' which mainstream Secondary schools did not seem to have within their 'technology of inclusion' Clark *et al* (1999).

In attempting to answer question one the study was able to show that all schools use SCMs. Primary schools were particularly 'inclusive' in their approach to these meetings. Although primary schools used SCMs to identify pupils for discussion and this was focussed on how to keep pupils attending school (p 156). In the secondary sector it could be argued that SCM discussion had the potential to accelerate exclusion of pupils with SEBD from school (p 155) when alternatives to mainstream education were discussed. The Luton model of whole school funding of SEN service

delivery, through SCMs, appeared to constrain the exclusionary potential of categorising pupils as having SEN.

LA Staff and Behaviour Support work with the Schools

Most of the cases brought to the SCMs are ‘problem solved’ during the SCM 75% (Table 4.8) according to the questionnaire data (p 123). Collaborative and shared work between school staff and LA support service staff made up the majority of the work following an SCM. Through this casework the development of inclusive working practices seem to have evolved (p 123). Educational psychologists still appear to be taking a slightly greater share of case work (Table 4.8) than other support services. This may be due to school staff perception that they are the gate keepers to additional resources through statutory assessment. Overall primary and secondary schools feel that they accept LA support service interventions through SCMs to support pupils with SEBD (p 131 & 132). In the secondary sector the overt ‘self management’ approach (DfES, 2001a) within the educational management culture can lead to tension between LA and schools. This may be caused by the policy of funding SEN through a whole school-funding regime, which favours mainstream school intervention to support pupils with SEBD and has the effect of moving resources from secondary to primary schools.

One of the consequences of differential SEN funding for primary and secondary schools is that some secondary schools perceive themselves as being ‘under funded’ for pupils who have SEBD. A rationale may evolve within secondary schools for these pupils to become the responsibility of the LA because they are ‘excludable’ from mainstream school. Secondary school SENCO responses suggest there is a

strand of thinking around seeking 'alternative' curricula for pupils with SEBD where alternative usually means away from the school campus.

Prior to SCMs, SENCOs appear to act as a 'filtering' device to the SCM with most SENCOs collaborating with their colleagues regarding pupils to be discussed (p 130). Then a very small number of pupils are usually discussed at the SCM (p 130) most of these pupils had behaviour needs. The LA management of SEN service delivery through the SCM process had enabled schools to focus on pupils with the most complex needs. This in turn has allowed the LA to provide schools with dedicated small multi-disciplinary teams. These teams advise and encourage schools to work inclusively with pupils using SEN funding delegated to the school; however this process is steeped in the tensions of inclusion (p 149). A small number of pupils are perceived by secondary schools as having a detrimental effect on the learning and performance of other pupils and 'they ruin it for everybody else' (p 133). Where schools become confident about managing pupils with SEBD they say this comes from working well with their support team or particular members of their support team (p 137 & 138). SENCOs spoke about practical support (p 139 & 140) and quality advice on how to manage SEN provision for pupils. More experienced SENCOs appeared to be able to access LA services through SCMs more effectively.

The second key research question was partially answered by the study in that work emanating from the SCMs taken on by schools and support services so the study was able to show a collaborative approach was usually adopted with pupils who were on the 'edge' of mainstream education. The SEN management approach within Luton appears to 'include' most pupils but further work is required to find out about the

processes in which pupils become involved if they are 'excludable' and how they may be diverted from exclusion. Pupil identity is crucial in managing social inclusion within schools (Parsons, 1999). Interestingly with the enormous 'growth' in out of school provision, usually in the form of LA operated Pupil Referral Units or 'alternative education' of dubious quality. A great deal of work is needed in researching this whole area of 'alternative' and 'vocational' education.

Special Educational Needs Support Services: Pupil deficits or Pupil strengths

The collaborative approach to SEN service delivery through multi-professional cluster teams attempts to promote the inclusion of pupils with SEN in mainstream schools (p 137). The duality of promoting inclusion within an SEN deficit model culture can create tensions. The focus of SEN support services provided through these models risk interventions, which may exclude pupils from mainstream education (Osler & Hill, 1999). Interwoven tensions within an inclusive SEN support service delivery mechanism are ameliorated by the LA sustaining and promoting positive working relationships with schools and in particular SENCOs (p 138). Senior management teams taking part in SCMs and engaging with LA support teams to discuss a wide range of SEN issues also supports including SEN pupils (Table 4.5). SENCOs also use SCMs to alert the LA about pupil issues and in particular who they will need support for. This highly individualistic notion of SEN as being 'within' the pupil is based on the deficit model of SEN and appears to operate in an exclusive manner (p 156). SENCOs wanted more support for individual pupils and this reflects the individualised 'conceptualisation' of SEN in schools (Table 4.6). SEN support was usually visualised as being another adult attached to a pupil to moderate the pupil's behaviour.

SEN continues to be viewed by SENCOs as an individual's deficits. The collaborative and systematic approach to SEN service delivery in Luton has had the effect of reducing the number of statutory assessments (p 124) and also reducing permanent exclusions (Table 1.1). The combination of these two 'proxy' indicators of inclusion combined with the declining number of Luton pupils being educated outside the Borough (Luton, 2000) is evidence of the inclusive strategy of SEN policy within Luton. Evidence from the study indicates that SCMs are used by the school and the support teams to discuss the most complex cases and make a plan during the SCM (p 123). Where pupils are segregated it is usually as result of inappropriate behaviour and secondary schools in particular view 'alternative' educational provision as to strategy to 'support' these pupils (p 132). Alternative educational provision was discussed a great deal by secondary schools (p 156) where it was thought that the LA could provide 'alternative' education for a group of pupils who disrupt the learning of others and who are considered to be 'out of control' (p 132).

Within the framework of SEN support services and the delivery of those services there is the implicit notion that SEN is about pupils who do not learn or develop socially at the same rate as most other pupils and that this can be rectified by the intervention of an 'expert' in learning or behaviour. Additional pressure in terms of the culture of 'performativity' of pupils and schools may have the effect of socially constructing SEN for many more pupils than is necessary. A 'performativity' culture which is promoted by New Labour has been beset by 'the negativity generated by the terrible 'Ts' of 'targets' 'tests and tables' Dessent, (2004 p 3). This performativity culture is an attempt to 'demonstrate' that 'improvements' are taking place within the education system in England. As discussed in chapter five the model of SEN service

delivery in Luton is framed by financially resourcing schools at a whole school level. The LA school cluster teams engage with schools to support the SEN financial framework on a termly basis through the SCM process. This study was able to research how services were delivered to Luton schools and how schools accessed LA services through the SCM process.

The third key question, about SEN services focussing on pupil deficits instead of pupil strengths, has been partially answered by the Luton LA service delivery model attempting to overlay a national segregated model of SEN, which allows social forces within the system to separate and exclude large sections of the school population (Tomlinson, 2001). The rationale for segregation appears to be based on an 'idealised' notion of pupil identity i.e. white middle class and deferential and a linear progression model of 'education' or 'schooling'.

Corporate Management of Inclusion

The Luton case study has illuminated the separate and segregationist 'nature' of the concept of SEN, in general, and the exclusionary dimension of categorising pupils as having SEBD in particular (Dyson, 1999 & Cooper, 2000). Evidence from the research indicates that SCMs are used to individualise the needs of pupils with behavioural difficulties (Table 4.12). The identification process-taking place through SCMs is occurring within a context of reducing permanent exclusion (Table 1.1) and reducing formal assessment (Table 4.9). It could be argued that LA and school management of SEN and, in particular, the issue of SEBD is being 'corporately' managed by the policy of 'Achievement and Access for All'. This corporate management may have a 'cushioning' effect on the social forces of the market within

education. This has been a key issue permeating the study and managing the ‘social justice’ dynamic of education is constantly in tension with the notion of the ‘survival of the fittest’ within the education market.

Overcoming the segregation ‘caused’ by the social construction of SEN within a market driven education system appears to be the aspiration of Luton LA (Tomlinson, 2001). This aspiration is driven by the policy of ‘Achievement and Access for All’, which promotes the inclusion of pupils within their neighbourhood school. The Luton study found that the policy of inclusion and whole school funding of schools should be interlinked. What was found in Luton was that LA management, policy and practice should be understood by schools if school policy is to reflect LA policy. Engagement between the LA and schools is essential so that schools are made fully aware of LA policy and practice. SCMs provided fora within which the LA and schools could discuss pupil’s needs and devise plans for them, which could ‘roll out’ within Luton LA. SCMs provided an arena for support services and schools to ‘explore’ educational opportunities and possibilities for pupils with SEBD. The engagement ‘opportunity’ provided by SCMs appeared to enable the LA and schools to work together within the ‘turbulence’ of the market in education. Within the market driven system headteachers strive to recruit pupils who are able to achieve five GCSEs with grades of *A-C. SCMs also provided a mechanism, which allowed LA support services to work with schools and use the SEN resources, delegated to schools to include all pupils with the exception of those with the most complex needs. Research evidence from the study indicates that LA policy must be ‘backed’ up by SEN support services, which work with schools to develop inclusive methods of working.

Collaborative management between the LA and schools is highlighted by this study as an essential 'ingredient' in promoting inclusion (Gray, 2001). The study found school management should understand the strategic management of SEN by the LA so that LA and school policy may reflect each other. SCMs provided the 'space' within which this collaboration could be 'worked out'. The regular engagement between the LA and schools through SCMs is a key strategy, which has promoted joint working between the LA and schools. Even when working within the very complex and contentious area of providing support for pupils with SEBD there is the ever-present tension of 'care' and 'control' of pupils. If schools with the LA decide to 'care' then this usually results in the pupil remaining in mainstream education particularly in primary schools. In secondary schools the 'care' option may mean the pupil remains in education but may have an alternative to mainstream school. The 'control' option may mean formal assessment i.e. a statement of SEN to gain extra resources to enhance school provision for the pupil. The 'control' option can also take the form of exclusion from school particularly in the secondary sector. The 'reality' of education provision for pupils with SEBD is that a 'mixture' of 'mainstream' and 'alternative' education is developed for them.

Pupils with SEBD can be viewed as 'mad' or 'bad'. Working with pupils with SEBD within the 'performativity' culture of schools where including 'deviant' pupils can mean LA and school based staff find themselves caught within a 'moral panic' climate which could undermine their work with pupils and schools. The case study found that the policy of 'Achievement and Access for All' was actually being played out in Luton schools through the fora of SCMs. There are clear signs that the exclusionary dynamic of SEN is 'alive and well' and the social construction of SEN is

evolving as the English education system becomes increasingly segregationist (Gillborn & Youdell, 2000). Luton LA can to some extent modify the exclusionary tendency of SEN and data from the study indicates this is taking place within Luton.

The corporate management of inclusion (p 197 & 198) which aims to reduce barriers to learning for all pupils is highlighted in this study. This study has found that the social construction of SEN is divisive and pupils who are categorised as SEBD are highly marginalized. The Luton case study does indicate that to some extent this marginalisation may be mediated by providing an inclusive financial structure, which encourages schools to develop mainstream special education provision for most pupils. The Luton study breaks new ground in that there is regular engagement between LA staff and school based staff through the SCM fora. The SCM provides an arena where sharing of cultures can take place around the area of developing special education provision for pupils with SEBD.

Limitations of the Study

This study has been limited in terms of the resources of a single researcher and the time the researcher will be able to devote to the study. The study will be regarded as a 'snap shot' of the case study at a particular point in time. Another limitation of this study was the failure to investigate the plans made for pupils as a result of discussions at SCMs and whether these plans served to include these pupils or added to their exclusion. An area for research could be the investigation of the role of parents, school, staff and pupils played in the implementation of these plans. Whilst this study was being written up i.e. after the data collection period the Every Child Matters came into being through the 2004 Children Act. This Act provided a legislative framework

for developing inter-agency collaboration to provide integrated services for children and the development of children's services department within LAs. The ECM agenda is a further development of the of the multi-professional working which was taking place in Luton schools.

Integrated Children's Services

The SCM process for delivery of services to children in schools was established in 1997 when Luton became a Unitary Authority. At that time multi-professional educational teams were set to work with teachers and pupils to deliver SEN services. This system reflected the move to integrated multi-agency services for children being promoted by the Labour government of the time (Little *et al*, 2003 & Warin, 2007). The Government's idea was to bring together practitioners in health, education, social services, law, youth work and child welfare (Blair, 1998 & DfES, 1998). This strategy to integrate services for children was further developed by the legislative framework of Every Child Matters (DfES, 2003) which was introduced after the data was collected for this study. At the time of data collection LEAs and SSDs were usually separate organizations working to their own guidelines and targets. Multi-professional working was emerging between LEAs and SSDs were being encouraged to work in partnership (see Little *et al* 2003). The questions in this study focused on the delivery of support services to schools for pupils with SEBD and on the whole these services were provided by 'educational' services.

In 2003 the Government published a green paper called Every Child Matters and this aimed to build on providing preventative services for children and families by focusing on four themes:

- Increasing the focus on supporting families and carers
- Ensuring intervention takes place before children reach crisis point and preventing children from falling through the net
- Addressing the underlying problems identified in the report into the death of Victoria Climbié-weak accountability and poor integration
- Ensuring that the people working with children are valued rewarded and trained (ECM, 2005 p 1).

In 2004 the Children Act enshrined in law Every Child Matters (ECM) which sought to promote the delivery of children's services by a greater range of agencies. 'The Government's aim is for every child, whatever their background or their circumstances, to have the support they need to be: healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution and achieve economic well-being' (ECM, 2005 p 1). The Children Act 2004 gave a leadership role to LAs to set up arrangements to promote cooperation between local partners such as PCTs and YOTs (DfES, 2004). Under the ECM agenda the government is committed to integration and improved communication between related children's services to prevent children 'falling through the cracks' between them (Warin, 2007). It was also anticipated that more effective use of resources could be achieved through this 'joined up' approach. The ECM strategy aimed to reduce duplication of services by providing one-stop shops which could serve family needs in one go. The rationale being that a comprehensive range of services from health, education, legal, financial, therapeutic, emotional, social and recreational services could be provided from one base (Cummings *et al* 2007).

Delivering integrated multi-agency children's services will require developing new ways of working and this may involve co-location of managers and frontline staff. 'This cross- agency coordination of services is seen as the key element in achieving for children set out in Every Child Matters' (Moran, *et al* 2007 p 145). Realigning service delivery can present professional groups with 'identity' and working practice concerns (see Sloper, P. 2004 & Little *et al*, 2003). The move to multi-agency working may involve the remodelling of teams to meet the needs of children in particular localities. This reshaping of delivery teams could also help the emphasis of teams away from intervention to prevention and to preventative methods of working. In Luton this has meant 'merging of education and social services' in line with ECM. This 'integration' of services and increased inter agency collaboration and coordination presents professionals groups with key difficulties and differences between social care and education professionals. In the area of 'consent' to work with service users social care usually want written consent to work with families whereas schools see less need for this (Moran *et al*, 2007). Moran (2007) also found that professionals viewed interagency communication as a potential difficulty which could be overcome by regular interagency meetings at an operational level.

The findings from this study indicate that schools welcome SCMs and appreciate the multi-professional dimension these meetings provide for school based staff and particularly SENCOs. The model of SCMs could be extended under the ECM framework to incorporate inter-agency working to safeguard children under the five key outcomes of ECM.

Managing Special Educational Needs: Recommendations for Future Practice

Whole school funding of SEN is essential if inclusive SEN practice is to be achieved so that all pupils are able to take part in mainstream education (Luton, 1997). The process of holding SCMs with schools enables them to use the delegated resources to work with pupils in mainstream school. It is essential that SEN funding is 'transparent' to all and this particularly includes SENCOs and SEN staff within schools. Support services should be fully aware of the funding arrangements and be skilled in describing this to school based staff. This will require ongoing training for all SEN support teams. Other agencies such as social services and health should be aware of the funding approaches which the LA adopt and how schools and the LA work to develop inclusive working practices through the SCM system.

The SCM process has enabled SENCOs to become central to the development of Luton LA's special education strategy (Table 4.5). The termly meetings between schools and the LA have had the effect of 'professionalising' the role of SENCO in Luton schools. Most Luton schools have a dedicated SENCO and it is a rare occurrence when the headteacher or deputy is the SENCO. The SCM process has served to highlight the importance of SEN throughout the LA and the fora of SCMs has reinforced the 'notion' that issues of SEN can be addressed through a planned and strategic response.

Data from this study suggests that collaborative management approaches to delivering SEN (Table 4.6) support services is essential if positive working relationships are to be established between schools and the LA. The use of clusters of schools where a multi-disciplinary team works with about twenty schools allows for development of

supportive working relationships. This is needed in an area of work where competition for scarce resources could lead to conflict between the LA and schools. Luton SENCOs wanted more time from the support services for work with individual pupils.

Key Areas for Further Research

The Luton case study enabled research to take place in relation to the delivery of SEN services to school and in particular delivery of behaviour support services. Observation and interview data highlighted the possible tensions, which arise during this process (p 154 & p 132). The study was able to provide a good insight into the Luton model of service delivery to schools through the SCM process (p 145) and the setting up work to support pupils and schools. The study enabled investigation of who did the work with the schools (Table 4.8) and how the support services engaged with schools and SENCOs (p 125). The research also highlighted a number of areas, which could benefit from further research and these are outlined below.

The Role of SENCO in Managing Inclusion in Mainstream Schools

Evidence from the study indicates that SENCOs are crucial in managing SEN between the LA and school (p133). The study was unable to follow through the plans made at SCMs (Table 4.8) in school and research how the casework operated within schools. Also whether this casework promoted inclusion or was merely a holding operation within mainstream school where pupils were educated with additional support devised by the SENCO and away from their peers. There are indications from the study that SCMs in secondary schools can become very tense when the possibility of exclusion is raised or has taken place (p 153). The micro-politics of how these

tensions are 'managed' is key area for research. Crucially the insider role of the SENCO as part of the management of SEN throughout schools could form part of this research. The role of the SENCO as part of the overall management of social inclusion within school and how LA management of SEN affects in-school management of SEN is a key area of study for the future. Investigating mainstream school management of SEN would link in with researching the relationship between self-managing and apparently autonomous schools. This research would examine how these management models affect LAs in carrying out their statutory duties with regard to their responsibility for managing SEN and exclusions.

Managing Alternatives to Mainstream Curriculum

The Luton study highlighted issues to do with schools being funded on a whole schools basis (Luton, 1997) to support the most vulnerable pupils in the education system. Data from secondary school SCMs and interviews (p153 & 135) indicates that schools want to seek alternative education for pupils who have SEBD. The increase in school exclusion since 2002 when targets to reduce permanent exclusion were withdrawn means that more pupils are being educated outside mainstream school. LAs have responsibility for exclusion and making 'full time' provision for pupils who are permanently excluded. It would seem appropriate to investigate the processes involved in how pupils are referred to alternative education, who is involved and what are the outcomes for the pupil, parents and school. Researching LA involvement in these processes would allow such a study to illuminate how LAs and schools work to promote social inclusion of the most vulnerable pupils within the education system and also be part of raising achievement of these pupils.

The ‘invisibility’ of the market in education is the backcloth against which the Luton study must be seen. The relative ‘value’ of pupils within the education market is of paramount importance when the least powerful pupils within the market are attempting to remain in education and therefore remain to some extent ‘socially included’ (Tomlinson, 2001). The social forces of the ‘performativity’ and school ‘effectiveness’ culture act to demonise pupils (Blair, 2001) who do not have the social skills to survive within the performance culture of mainstream and are therefore ‘squeezed’ to marginalized forms of education described as ‘vocational’ or ‘work related’ form of education. Indeed the growth of Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) may have opened the ‘floodgates’ where thousands of mainly male pupils are educated in a second rate education system for already low achieving and vulnerable pupils. The whole area of ‘alternatives’ to mainstream education is ‘ripe’ for research.

Collaborative Management: Federations and Clusters of Schools

The Luton study raised issues about clusters of schools and collaborative management of multidisciplinary support teams (p 129, 132 & 135). Further research is needed into how collaborative management can be engendered between LAs and federations of schools (DfES, 2003).

A key area for research is how clusters or federations develop inclusive cultures to include the most ‘excludable’ pupils. This might mean the development of ‘zero’ exclusion clusters or federations of schools. Questions to be addressed in this research could be, do clusters or federations of schools intensify the market in education. Or can federations of schools act to magnify the ‘performativity’ and ‘effectiveness’ culture within LAs and schools or can these groupings promote social inclusion.

Researching educational management both in school and LAs which are aimed at promoting social justice is a key area of research aimed at 'unlocking' the magical mix which promotes social justice of pupils and allow all to achieve their full potential in schools. Research could involve studying schools that have very low exclusion and high attendance and achievement levels. If this could be combined with researching the LA and a school or schools which operated within LA policy guidelines this research could help to illuminate successful inclusion policy developments.

Pupil Identity and Exclusion from School

Exclusion from school is not a random process but is highly differentiated along gender, ethnic, class and educational 'ability' dimensions. The social construction of pupil identity (p 132 & 133) is of crucial importance in how they can maintain themselves within mainstream education. It is essential to research how pupil identity relates to contributing to their inclusion or exclusion.

This area of research could focus on a group of pupils who may be at risk of exclusion in primary school perhaps year six. The study could focus on the group transferring to secondary school and their progress could be followed up through to year seven and their progress reviewed at the end of their first year at secondary school. The study would attempt to focus on perhaps six groups who transfer to six different secondary schools.

The study would research the management of pupils within their schools and the different approaches the schools take with the pupils. The study could take account of

the perceptions teachers have of pupils at risk of exclusion and how SENCOs, social inclusion managers or senior management teams interact with the 'at risk' groups.

How the findings have made a major contribution to knowledge

The findings indicate that the system of SCMs set up by the LA in Luton is being used by all Luton schools (p 119 & 135) and most SENCOs understand the funding of SEN. Ainscow *et al* (1999) view was that when policy and funding is put in place by local authorities to support inclusion of pupils with SEN and this is fully understood by the key players then inclusion can be 'kick started' (Gray, 2002). The Luton study builds on this and illustrates the difficulty of including pupils with SEBD, even within a LA which has support services regularly meeting with schools and is also inclusively financed. The investigation of the SCM system in relation to supporting pupils with SEBD highlights the 'paradox' of the individualisation of pupils with SEBD during SCMs and their possible exclusion. This is coupled with the discussions, during SCMs, of alternatives to exclusion (p 153 & 156).

The discussions at SCMs support the inclusion of pupils with SEBD (p 130) where nearly 76% of the cases discussed have a plan developed for them (Table 4.8). The insight the study provides within SCMs is the major contribution to knowledge where a range of professionals within schools can contribute to the construction (p 133-134) of programmes of work for pupils who are excluded or at risk of exclusion (p 151). It is this 'insider' aspect of the study which is adding to the knowledge of how support services actually work with schools to help them develop alternatives to exclusion. The main findings from the study will be written up and submitted to The British Journal of Special Education, and the journals of Emotional and Behavioural

Difficulties and Educational Management Administration and Leadership. The main findings are being discussed with strategic managers in Luton LA and this may lead to further development of the SCM process. It is anticipated that this could involve minimising the number of pupils discussed at SCM and a move to more developmental projects such whole school behaviour reviews.

What the author has learnt from the process of investigation and reporting the results

From carrying out this project as a single researcher I have learnt that the data could have been managed more effectively. I was surprised by the volume of data and I think a software package may have helped me organise the data more quickly and assisted and given me more time to analyse the data more rigorously. Also because of the vast amount of data and the time involved collecting it I would have planned the data collection around my time off work. This would have given me more time to reflect on the data as I collected it. I would also have had additional time to devote to data analysis before collecting more data. On reflection I would now give more attention to time management and earlier in the project established a time line with completion dates for sections and chapters of the study.

Conclusion

This study sought to research Luton LA's approach to supporting pupils with SEBD through the process of school consultation meetings (SCMs). The investigation aimed to research policy and practice by asking all Luton SENCOs to respond to a questionnaire and subsequently interviewing a sample of them and the third element was observation of eight SCMs.

The study found that most SCM time was devoted to discussing pupils who had behaviour needs. Primary schools appeared to be able to 'include' most of their pupils whilst secondary schools were seeking alternative education for the most challenging pupils. The overall 'climate' within Luton LA appears to be one of 'including' pupils where possible. This 'climate' must be viewed through a 'lens' of increasing segregation and 'rationing' of education to 'deserving' pupils who are able to remain in mainstream education as a result of their class, their ethnicity, their 'ability' and their willingness to obey the 'rules' (Gillborn & Youdall, 2000).

It is still the case that the most vulnerable are educated outside mainstream education and if a pupil is labelled SEBD this education may take a number of forms from placement within a pupil referral unit to a 'vocational' course such as motor mechanics. These 'alternatives' do not usually give the pupil their full entitlement of twenty-five hours education a week. The overriding question, which still remains and requires serious and sustained investigation is: Why the most vulnerable pupils with greatest need are excluded from an education system, which should be supporting them?

Appendix One

SENCO Questionnaire on Behaviour
SUPPORT TO SCHOOLS THROUGH
THE SCHOOL CONSULTATION MEETINGS (SCMs)

THE CONTENTS OF THIS FORM ARE ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL.
 INFORMATION IDENTIFYING THE RESPONDENT WILL NOT BE DISCLOSED
 UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

1. How many SCMs have you held at your school this academic year?

2. Did you take part in all of them?

3. Which staff usually takes part in SCMs in your School? (please specify)

☐ Headteacher ☐ Deputy Headteacher ☐ SENCO ☐ Other

4. What is the purpose of SCMs?.....

5. Which whole-school behaviour issues have you discussed at SCMs?.....

6. Do you use SCMs to discuss individual pupils with behaviour concerns?.....

7. Can you indicate the response/s made either during or after an SCM from the
 following ? (You can tick more than one box.)

- (a) Case discussed and a plan made during the SCM ☐
 - (b) Learning support takes on the case ☐
 - (c) Educational Psychologist takes on the case ☐
 - (d) SENCO to contact Behaviour & Tuition Service ☐
 - (e) Another outcome please describe ☐
-

8. How satisfied were you with the response?

☐ very satisfied ☐ satisfied ☐ uncertain ☐ not satisfied ☐ very unsatisfied

9. Could the response have been improved? Please describe

10. Would you be willing to talk to me about particular aspects of the questionnaire?

☐ Yes ☐ No

SENCO Name..... School.....

Please return using the fax back, or e-mail mclarke2@westminster.gov.uk or use the S.A.E.
 provided to Mick Clarke, Strategic Manager for Social Inclusion, Inclusive Education
 Service, 2nd Floor, 4 Frampton St., London NW8 8EA.

Appendix Two

[illegible]

Key 1 = indicates contribution

Appendix Three

Analysis of Interviews

The initial analysis involved transcribing the audio tapes so that I had data in a form I could work with. The analysis also involved reading and re-reading the transcripts to gain a sense of what the data might mean and the issues being raised. As I was reading the transcripts I began to label the data and this can be seen on the index cards with the page number and the paragraph number and the initial dialogue. The initial labels included joint work, work division, work outside, time etc. The labels were then assigned emerging categories under the following headings, deserving SEN, undeserving SEN inclusion, exclusion etc (p 1).

As you can see from the transcript I numbered the paragraphs so that I could easily locate the text and classify the text under these labels. This process allowed me to organise the data related to the conceptual framework of the study. The transcript on page six and seven is from an interview with a male secondary SENCO and part of it is written up in the thesis under the inclusion category (p 134). You can see from the label index cards that this and other dialogue falls into joint work on page five paragraph eight. At this stage of the analysis emerging headings were being developed in data analysis and you can see these on page one (p 1) . As part of the analysis interview data was also separated and placed under the key question headings, again to help me organise the data. As the analysis continued the categories were gradually reduced to inclusion, exclusion, partnership and enculturation and these are written up in the thesis.

Index Cards

Work - division ①

Yes, she has been here, they really did p7 p10, 11
 this more likely to be that or that (p7 p10) p11
 but Paul looking @ so. learning diff. " "
 @ SM in case if tends to be whatever p5
 a school might take that on well perhaps school
 can do that all p5
 talked about referring children to MY group
 never got to referring approach p12 p5
 p5 p6 allocation of an amount of time to school
 p5 p8+9 school will take advice weekly.

Work - joint ①

One boy ... he is going to High School in Sept p5 p8
 so we try + look also with parents p5 p9
 B work checking by LEA p1 p7 + p2 p2
 B wants SSD + Health in school p4 p2 link to school
 B outside in and refers to social exclusion p9 p5
 B schools working together p18 p4-6
 B schools can't work together with money p18 p9-12
 C school would like to specify work p5 p5-13
 C SENDO + LEA staff write IEP p12 p4+5

Emerging Headings: SENCO Questionnaires Interviews and Observations

	Deserving SEN	Undeserving SEN	Inclusion	Exclusion	SENCO Influence	LEA Influence	Valued Work	Devalued Work	
SENCO									
1	Use SCMs to discuss ind pupils chairs meetings uses other agencies SMT get quicker responses than termly SCM Puts forward about 4 pupils with SEBD for each SCM and seeks to implement suggested strategies or plans discussed at SCMs Problem solving culture of the meeting appears inclusive although in/exclusive tension palpable	Structurally exclusive see perm ex & attendance School structure limits SENCO influence in exclusive school Ex culture of school permeates SCM and creates ex/in tension	Pupils who are taken on by HoY more likely to be included SENCO the route to exclusion Pupils included who do not present SEBD SCM pocess is operated within the culture of exclusion & results in exclusive responses to pupils discussed	SEN stratifies exclusion High excluding culture low attendance and high permanent exclusion SCM process advocates problem solving which is undermined by ex culture of the school	Limited to curricular response to SEN otherwise pastoral leaders take over SENCO influence within school undermined by pastoral arrangements where HoY are held in higher regard than SENCO SENCO controlled the meeting in the agenda sense LEA controlled the meeting in terms of work they were prepared to do	SMT know can circumvent the SCM system Foundation status regards LEA as useful when an alternative placement is sought for SEBD pupil LEA influence during SCM advocated the LEA policy & did not affect the ex culture of school	Pupil worked with away from school and then difficult to reintegrate Work the school can 'see is taking place or SEBD pupil educated away from school SCM school personnel persue ex provision even for younger pupils	LEA work regarded as unsatisfactory Reintegrating pupil after exclusion pupil labelled and therefore should not be allowed back in school SCM discussed reintegration to be done by LEA reinforcing exclusion by another agency	

practical, give me the day-to-day, how do I work with this kid, nitty-gritty', as opposed to having a referral system where ???? might find some time to come in and have a chat.

1

If the teacher gets disaffected they turn round and say, 'Well, that is all very well, they haven't told me anything new and they don't necessarily know the context of the kid himself', whereas if you are in every week, you do get to know because they are here, they will be sat outside the room seeing them.

2

MC So would you like the behaviour tuition service to allocate you an amount of hours?

3

RS Yes.

4

MC Over a term or a week?

5

RS Well, we are having a few problems with that because all the services have to be accountable and we have demanded, for example, the EdPsych, we have got a really good EdPsych and we have taken up a lot of her time and now she has got to go back and say that she spent 35% of her time at Lealands, and that is because we have given her work, we have given her stuff that has been effective and she has actually been really effective with the kids she is working with but at a cost, probably, to other schools.

6

MC And is she working, actually direct work, with students?

7

RS Yes, there is some of that, she comes to the multi-agency and there is a lot of really good advice at the multi-agency, we talk about a pupil, this is the pupil what do you think we should do about it, try this, try that, if it doesn't work come back next week and we will try something else.

8

Or we say, 'We really need someone to get an idea of what is going on at home', and she will say, 'I'll do it, I will go and make a home visit, I will go and see what the situation is like', and that sort of stuff is much more active isn't it?

9

It is much better than waiting for the normal SCM route, that would be, 'We have got this kid, there is a problem at home, we will refer to what agencies we have got, we have got Child and Family, so we will think about referring to Child and Family', so you spend between one SCM and the next one making that referral and waiting for the reply to come back.

1

You get it back at the SCM and now it is six months later and somebody might actually get round there and do the work.

2

INTERRUPTION ON TAPE

MC they used to be coming to you didn't they?

3

RS Yes, we used to timetable loads of kids and it was really chocker.

4

MC So how did that change then?

5

RS It changed because the staff told us that they wanted something different really.

6

We did a couple of INSETs fairly early on and said, 'These are the models of social inclusion as we see it, we would like to move to one of these three types, we want to move to a more solution-focused approach and we want to work in school'.

7

So the emphasis has changed very much to kids in classrooms, Sue and myself going round and going in to lessons, checking on them, intervening if need be but doing it in departments, putting pressure on the head of department to deal with stuff.

8

Anthony has just been sent now to the head of English because really he has been sent down and he shouldn't be down here, he is out of English so he should be with the head of department, so I have sent him back to the head of department to get the work and she will make the decision whether he works with her or comes back down again.

9

MC With work though? 1

RS Yes, with work. 2

But there is flexibility in that because, that is a good example, the circumstance there is that the class teacher herself is finding it difficult dealing with that pupil, what the head of department has been encouraged to do is address that class issue as opposed to me doing it. 3

MC So the head of department could come to you? 4

RS She could come to me for advice, what should she do, she could come to me for pressure if I need to exert pressure on that teacher but, I have got a lot of faith in the head of English, she will be really good and she will say that. 5

The lad has been sent down here the last couple of weeks because he wanted to catch up on watching a video, ??? so we provided that, a nice safe place to do it and now the video is over he wants to stay down here and we are saying, 'No, back to lessons'. 6

MC He has found this a bit of a haven, really, has he? 7

RS In the past, yes, they all do, it is safe to come down here and have a nice cosy lesson with one or two people and whatever, we try to always push them out ??? 8

MC Is one of the dangers of having a social inclusion unit or resource-base or area that in a funny way it can become exclusionary? 9

RS That is what we found the first term, big-time. 10

Especially when you name five kids you want to work with, you say, 'OK these kids are at the extremes, at the most risk, we will run an EBD style total provision, we will do all their curriculum for them', which was great for the kids, they loved it, their attendance went up and they came in every day. 11

INTERVIEW DATA

S C H O O L	How do schools use SCMs to access SEN support services? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why do schools use SCMs? Does the support include? Does it exclude? Who provides the support? 	Who from the LEA does the work with the schools? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What form does it take? Does it lead to inclusion or exclusion? 	Why have support services, which focus on pupils deficits? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Should/could these services be incorporated into achievement and school improvement service?
4 7 P H	Well because we thought we had to but they are useful Never felt like that at our school (imposed) Difficult cases All SCMs behavioural issues similar issues (behaviour/social) Project-Pirton Hill Project Multi-agency Practical support Making a difference Individual pupils Same sorts of pupils Yes, we don't have a problem with that but we have a problem with resources for that (developing inclusive provision) funding from outside	Very grateful for the support we have received from our educational psychologist Home visits families meets parents Wished she worked for us Training LSA p5 par1 SCMs as problem solving p5 p6 Inclusive work in primary & undone in secondary p6p3&4 nature of primary school Therapy work The lady from BTS p7p5 & LEA office p7p6 LSS p7p8&9 p7p11 practical p8p1 inclusion p8p5 joint work EP&BTS p8p8 health visitors p9p2 outsiders coming in to work p10p1 outside can solve it AD policy inside support p10p8 P11p1-6 taking on work P12 links with other schools	P14 p6 separate P15 p2 individuals P15p4-12 achievement separate from SEN & behaviour P16 LEA support P17 peer support
2 9 H	P1p4 let LEA know & work done p1p9 seek advice p2p1 check support p2p2	P2p5 EP p6 & p4p1 no support out p2p8 inclusion within school	P6p6 I think possibly more curriculum changes are needed

Number of
in SCMs
as
% of
school
population

Heck those
resources
to 1.100/100
review

Joint

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