

GENDER, DEVIANCE AND EXCLUSION

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A thesis submitted to
The University of Birmingham
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Education
The University of Birmingham
March 2005

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For Matthew Navarro Leoni
with love

ABSTRACT

This study investigated why boys were more likely to be excluded than girls. The main research site was an 11-16 comprehensive in a market town, although findings were triangulated through a project in a feeder junior school. The research evolved in two phases. Phase One involved 67 loosely structured, fifty minute interviews with pupils who had been excluded for a fixed term. Phase Two involved four action research projects which triangulated and developed the Phase One findings. The projects consisted of an Anger Management therapeutic group with some of the excluded boys interviewed in Phase One, two days of staff training in Transactional Analysis, a self-discovery club with junior school pupils at risk of exclusion and a year 7 drama curriculum which taught Transactional Analysis, conflict resolution, meditation, emotional literacy and self-awareness. Findings were analysed using Strauss and Glaser's concepts of grounded theory, emergent themes and the constant comparative method. Transactional Analysis was used as a practical as well as an analytic tool. The practical research took place between 1999 and 2002.

The study found that all of the children who had been excluded were either threatened with loss or had suffered or were suffering from losses which threatened their safety and/or security. The effects of these losses gave rise to the emotions of bereavement which included anger. Boys and some girls used the emotion of anger as a mask for other emotions such as sadness and fear. The masking of vulnerable emotions was part of the way in which the boys constructed their masculinities. The losses brought with them loss of attachment and low self-esteem which led to students being more influenced by their peer group than by the adults around them.

It was found that it was possible to counter the effect of these losses and the negative effects of the anger. The action research methods proved to offer part of the answer to the research questions. Trust was central to the development of new attachments and teachers could develop this trust using Adult-Adult behaviours, from an 'I'm OK, You're OK' life position. Positive strokes encouraged desired behaviour. However, central to the ability to use these techniques was the concept of self-awareness that could be accessed through talking and being listened to by some one who did not judge. Meditation also proved to be helpful in bringing awareness and minimising stress. The concept of the Drama Triangle proved invaluable in understanding what occurred during exclusion incidents. Techniques were found to work with staff, secondary and primary school pupils.

The implications of the research are that it is possible for staff to minimise exclusion incidents directly and indirectly by modelling peaceful behaviours. The research shows that pupils get excluded when they are under stress and that it might be profitable to listen to them after an exclusion to elicit their feelings. The study recommends future research which develops these ideas in other settings and investigates what happens for the teachers during an exclusion incident.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the students who agreed to be interviewed and who took part in the various aspects of the research. They trusted me with their thoughts and feelings and their self-awareness gave rise to many of the themes which arose. I apologise to those students who wanted more than I could give them, and hope that this work in some way goes towards meeting the needs of young people like them in the future. Thank you all for your trust.

I imagined that when I asked the Head teacher of the school, Alan Cooper, to let me do the research, that he would simply agree. However, his tough questioning and wide knowledge of much of the literature which I was reviewing, made me work hard for the privilege of having access to his staff and pupils. Once I had passed his tests, he completely supported the work and trusted me enough to take some of the risks that I took in the Phase Two projects. Thank you Alan for your critical reading of various drafts, for your suggestions for literature and for your thoughts on how I could represent my ideas as models. Thank you also for your faith in my abilities, for your respect and for sharing some of your own experiences with me.

Thank you also to the staff at the both the primary and secondary schools who allowed me access to students. Thank you to the staff who agreed to be interviewed and who took part in the TA101. Thanks to Bob Knowles who taught TA in drama with me and worked on the junior school project. A special thanks to the administrative team, Glen Coldwell, Anne Liquorish, Sharon Evans, Helen Lloyd and Becky Smith, who posted letters, made phone calls and kept lessons free for me, and all with good humour and grace. Big thanks Hel for the cover arrangements and to Becky for helping me get the layout right on my various drafts and for turning my pencil scrawls into the neat and clear diagrams which now appear. You all have such patience! Thanks to Barbara Mainwaring for your tea and time. Thank you to the Educational Action Zone and the DFEE for funding aspects of the research.

As I arrived at Birmingham University for the first time, I nearly turned away due to the little voice in my head which said 'Who do you think you are doing a PhD? You're not up to this'. It was a great relief to have the door opened by Lynn Davies who offered me a cup of tea and apologised for the mess her office was in. She offered me a model of an academic who combined intellect with emotion. Lynn has been demanding, critical, thorough, available and open to a good argument. She has pushed me beyond where I thought I could go and has put up with the moments when I wanted to give up. Thank you Lynn for being the rigorous professor I needed, but also for being so warm, interested and completely human.

Thanks to Michael Sclater for his part in the Anger Management project and for his feedback on my first draft. Thanks Michael for encouraging me to walk my own path and for sharing your meditation and psychoanalytic insights and skills with me. I have learned a lot from you about myself. Thank you most for your irreverent laughter and ability to see the light inside the pain.

Thanks to Gordon Law who taught me TA for a year. Thank you for sharing your own writings with me, for helping me clarify what it was I was trying to say and for giving me a language with which I could say it. Thank you for your contact and care. Thank you also to Caz, Mick and the students in other years who shared TA training and from whom I received love, support and a wealth of experience.

Thank you to Jon Mills and the staff at Hope House Children's Hospice. You allowed me to share your experiences and to learn about bereavement and how to work with it. Thanks to Sandy for your therapeutic play ideas and to the Millennium Fund for paying for my TA training.

Thank you to Veronica Andres, Robert Reasoner and SEAL in Spain who introduced me to the idea of self-esteem.

The people who follow, my friends, were not directly involved in the research but provided the love and security and back up I needed to be able to write. They cooked meals, baby sat, listened and talked. They have given me contacts, stored books, mended cars, picked up the phone, unpacked cellars, dog sat, massaged, let me sleep, planted and driven. They have given advice, calmed me down and stirred me up, encouraged, danced and laughed and believed that all things could be possible. Love to you all: Becky Ford, Teresa Baimbridge, Chris Bruce, Nige and Sal, Lizzie Flanagan, Jo, Mark and Beth Ebrey, Heather Pennock, Andy, Tolli and Elodie, Phil and Rachel Woods, Rhian Lloyd, Sali James, Alix Wilson, Amanda, Jon, Lorni, Liam, Jonathon and Naomi Mills, Clare Humphries, Geraldine Bennett, Ian Wilson, Julie, Tim, Max and Rosie Newman, Jean Brackpool, Janet Handley, Nilsa Pereyra Climent, Sarah Longville, Suzanne Ridley, Suzanne Fitzsimons, Steve, Ros, Alex, Max and Nicole Gore, Debbie Onions and Rona Macleod.

Thanks to my dad, Duccio, for his analytic and questioning mind and love of study and thanks Anne for your 'can do' attitude. Thanks to Fernando for keeping the faith and for your love. Thanks to Matty for being such a beautiful child, both inside and out, I am so glad to have had you and look forward to discovering who you will be. Thanks to Dawn for being you. I couldn't wish for a more honest, insightful, forgiving, adventurous, inspiring, spontaneous, loving, sister. Finally, thanks to my mum Elin Gore, for all you gave up for us, so that we could have what you dreamt of. Thanks for your acceptance of who we were and for your unconditional love. We miss you.

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CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

1.1 AIMS

In September 1999 I moved from a grammar school in Kent where I had been Head of Year, to the largest comprehensive in a Midlands county, where I went back to being a main scale teacher of English and drama. I had previously worked in a secondary modern school and an outer-London comprehensive and I had made the move for personal, life style reasons and spent most of the first year regretting the decision greatly. Instead of being able to walk into any classroom and immediately have the attention and respect of the pupils, I was shouting, sending pupils out, calling on senior staff for support, feeling ineffective, inefficient, incompetent and overwhelmed. For the first time in a 10 year teaching career, I began looking for ways out of the profession, feeling that I just was not up to the job any more.

Happily, I did not leave teaching, and it was the research which made the difference. Through it I learnt about myself and found a way through the transition to a new school. It helped me move on in my own career within the school and I formed networks outside the school which have been of great professional and personal support and interest. By changing my own way of behaving I learnt that it was also possible to encourage change in others and I believe that the research was of use to some of the pupils and staff within the school.

The research questions initially came out of my own need to find a way to deal with my classroom experiences, some of which were also shared by other staff in the school. Once the school was granted Education Action Zone funding it became clear that exclusion was an area of interest for the zone and also nationally. There was particular concern over the under achievement of boys (Francis 1999; Gilbert and Gilbert 1998; Foster et al 2001) and the fact that they dominated the exclusion statistics. As a consequence, my initial title was: 'Is there a link between deviance, gender identity and exclusion?' and my aim was to answer the following questions:

- What do 'deviance', 'exclusion' and 'gender identity' mean, and to whom?
- What are the 'deviant' behaviours that have led these students to the point of exclusion?
- Why are these students 'deviant'?
- Do these students exclude themselves from school?
- How conscious are the students of their own behaviour?
- Does the school play a part in creating deviant behaviour?
- How do students construct their gender identity in school?
- Does school contribute to these gender constructions?
- Is there anything that lessens the need for exclusion or deviance?
- How much impact does a student's home life have on their conception of and behaviour in school?

The questions grew from a desire to understand pupil behaviour but also to find ways to change classroom interactions so as to make school a more positive experience for teachers and students. As I began to read, I found that the educational research literature did not answer the questions I had. It was not practical enough for it to make a difference to my classroom work. My initial areas of reading (see Literature Review) were feminist critiques of schooling, as well as research and theory on gender construction, exclusion and deviancy.

As I read more I decided on my research methodology which eventually drew from the fields of counselling, meditation, post structural-feminism, grounded theory and action research. It was as a consequence of these methodologies that I included my own research biography, as my whole methodology revolved around the concept of interpersonal transactions and intra-psychic awareness. I will explore each of these areas and their impact more fully in the methodology section, and the research biography follows shortly.

As the research progressed it energised and inspired me and developed in two clear phases, each lasting a year. Phase One focused on pupils who had been excluded for a fixed term. Fixed term exclusions are when pupils are sent home for a fixed period of time thereafter returning to school. In the research school, the pupils then returned to school for a re-admission interview, ideally accompanied by their parents or carers, during which desired behaviour was explained by senior staff and, once a commitment to abide by the rules was reached, the pupils returned to lessons. A record was kept on the child's file

about the exclusion. Phase One consisted of a series of one to one, loosely structured, fifty minute interviews with such pupils.

Several major themes became clear in this phase, including pupil/staff interactions, the construction of masculinity and particularly how emotions were expressed or not. These findings led me on to Phase Two which was more action research oriented in its design and involved several small projects which allowed the above concepts to be explored in a group setting. After Phase One I wanted to explore practically my emergent idea that exclusion incidents often arose when emotions became unmanageable for either pupils or staff. I was also interested in the fact that males seemed to find emotions such as fear and sadness difficult to feel and express and would often let them manifest through anger and conflict. I wanted to focus more on interpersonal interactions, self-knowledge and emotional literacy as I felt that these were areas which could be changed, when often family and social circumstances were often beyond the control of the school.

The additional questions I asked in Phase Two were:

- Does emotional literacy and self-awareness lessen the need for conflict and confrontation?
- Is it possible to manage anger while still honouring the individual (be they staff or pupil)?
- Are there ways of communicating that minimise confrontation and conflict while maximising self-esteem and personal responsibility?
- Is it possible to include emotional literacy, self-esteem and peaceful communication as an integral part of the school ethos and curriculum?

Phase Two consisted of four projects. The first and most far reaching was a year 7 drama curriculum which developed ideas about emotional literacy and self-esteem. This led to a feedback session to staff to share the work I was doing, which in turn led to some staff training on Transactional Analysis (TA) (see Chapter 2.7). A group of the pupils interviewed in Phase One went on the form part of a therapy group which was led by a trained psychotherapist and finally, I ran a project over five weeks in a local junior school which included work on self-esteem and self-exploration through art and drama. At the end of the

year I carried out review interviews with participants in all of these projects as well as carrying out interviews with all but one of the school management team and other key pastoral workers.

Each of these phases is explored in detail in the methodology section but needed outlining here in order to convey a sense of the shape of the research. My reading for Phase Two included material on emotional literacy, group work, peaceful classroom management and therapy and psychoanalysis, especially Transactional Analysis.

1.2 SETTING AND PARTICIPANTS

The school was the county's largest comprehensive and it was the only school in town and surrounding villages. It was an 11-16 co-educational school which was mixed in all ways except racially. There were pupils whose parents worked in the professions, but there were many families in the area that struggled to make ends meet with factory and labouring work. There was a significant proportion of children who had moved from other parts of the country, and a handful who had lived abroad. In every year there were pupils who were known to the police and others who were involved with people from outside agencies such as social workers and foster parents. Many pupils came from two parent families but there were also many (1 in 3) one-parent families, usually headed by the mother.

In 2000, Educational Action Zone status was granted, as the area was perceived as being geographically isolated and culturally impoverished. In the town itself there was very little for young people to do. The aim of the EAZ was to broaden horizons by providing, for example, mini-buses to take children out of the area, and for bringing more clubs and outside speakers into the schools in the area. It also aimed to provide a link between local schools so that knowledge and skills could be shared and one of its main agendas was inclusion. The EAZ was significant for the research as it was the source of funding and allowed me access to other schools in the area.

The initial research questions were of local and national interest and the school had already shown a clear commitment to the area of exclusion/inclusion by investing in a counsellor and a youth worker. During the course of the research an advice and information centre was opened on site allowing pupils access to nurses, youth workers and counsellors. Before my pilot, I was going to focus on the 30 pupils who had been selected by staff to work with the school youth worker; 26 of the 30 were boys. However, after the pilot I decided to extend the interviews to all pupils who had been excluded for a fixed term.

I made this decision for a number of reasons. Firstly, by asking to interview *all* pupils who were excluded, I broadened my field and, rather than being chosen by staff, the students self-selected through the action that led to the exclusions. Secondly, the pupils who saw the youth worker were, in many ways, the 'hard core' of the school. They were the subject of a great deal of attention, some negative in terms of labelling and criticism from the staff, some interventionist; from the school, social services and sometimes the police, and some positive from their peers. By broadening my field I was still be able to interview these pupils, but also listened to others, thus minimising the impact the interview might have on the individual. Thirdly, the Head of the school was interested in the pupils who were on the border of exclusion, the ones who just about managed to stay on the right side of the school's expectations or who only occasionally stepped over the line. He was interested in the friends of the 'hard core' and how they managed to stay out of significant trouble whilst still remaining part of the peer group.

1.3 RESEARCH BIOGRAPHY

My methodology demanded an awareness of my own role within the research and openness with the audience of the research. As the research progressed it also became clear that this personal ownership and awareness was a crucial part of the findings.

My first degree was in English Literature. Through this I became interested in narratives and their construction, as well as feminist, Marxist, post-structuralist and psychoanalytic theories; in short I was introduced to the idea that 'Reality' is not a given but a construct. My dissertation on J. D. Salinger led me to read about Zen Buddhism, and the concept of awareness which became a major influence on my research methodology.

I did my teacher training at the same time as National Curriculum came into being and it was during my Post Graduate Certificate in Education that I had the opportunity to get involved in teaching drama. My mind was also opened to the fact that there were different styles of teaching and that teaching was a political, power based activity. My main concerns at the time were how to actually survive in the classroom, how to apply the National Curriculum and how to mark accurately and helpfully. My own personal ideology was child centred and I was interested in how this worked in practice as I struggled daily with the problems of mixed ability groupings and differentiation. In many ways this research is the consequence of these early interests and struggles.

After my probationary year I suffered a bereavement as a result of suicide and it was my efforts to understand this which led me to study for a Master's degree in psychoanalytic studies. Here I focused mainly on Freud, Winnicott, Klein and Jung with forays into feminist and Marxist psychoanalytic theorists. My dissertation explored the social construction of mental illness. My background in psychoanalysis is evident in my research methodology; but also the experience of watching a male struggle with and lose to his over-whelming emotions was undoubtedly another influence on the research questions.

At the same time, I developed my interest in Buddhism. I learned the principles of meditation, being 'in the moment' (see p107-110), and being 'grounded' (see p106). I later found these techniques helpful in the

classroom and as my research progressed and I read more, I found that there were other people using grounding and focusing techniques in the classroom (MacGrath 1998; Greenhalgh 2000, Dent, 2003).

Within the same couple of years I started personal therapy. For me therapy is a journey into the self and the way we react with and perceive the world. I have been lucky enough to share this journey with 3 significant therapists and have worked using ideas and techniques drawn from Transactional Analysis, Psycho-synthesis, Gestalt, Carl Rogers and Psychoanalysis.

Over the years I have also undertaken training in various humanistic psychotherapies. I have learnt the practice and theory of Rogers, Berne, Egan, Perls, and have been able to use their techniques while counselling others. I have learnt and practised counselling skills and have been able to observe other practitioners at work. During the field research I was also working as a volunteer at the local children's hospice where I learnt various therapeutic play techniques. These influences are obvious in the research findings and methodology.

My second Masters degree was in the field of 'Education'. I studied 'Child Development', 'Management in Education' and 'Race, Gender and Education'. During that time I began to read about gender construction and I carried out some simple interviews on race and gender which explored the interface between identity and school. In many ways, this degree was the precursor to the PhD research. I subsequently took a one year MA module in research methods as a way into the PhD.

This PhD is the sum of all these experiences and all this learning and I was fortunate enough to find, in Lynn Davies, my professor from Birmingham University, a mentor who was willing to help me integrate all these parts. I consider myself fortunate to have worked in a school which was big enough, in size, diversity, generosity of spirit and support to have allowed me to question, explore and experiment during the 3 year period of field research.

1.4 THE EVOLUTION OF THE RESEARCH

The topic of exclusion arose, not only from national interest or my need as a teacher to make my own practice more pleasing, but also from my own personal history. Having been a 'C' grade student in an 'A' grade grammar school, of a single parent family, with an Jewish-Italian father, I had some personal experience of what it felt like to not fit in, to be different. As the topic fitted in with my own and national interests it flourished.

The research developed so easily because of a quirk of timing, which meant that several factors facilitated, supported and yet were independent to the research. The input of the EAZ , the youth worker and the counsellor was helpful and I also benefited from 2 years of the DFEE Best Practice Research Scholarships. This money paid for cover time while I did the interviews and also for my university fees. Outside school, my involvement in the children's hospice provided me with practical skills which I was able to use in a school based project and they provided funding from the Millennium Commission, for Transactional Analysis (TA) training. Finally, my promotion to Head of Drama made it possible to design and carry out one of the elements of the action research in Phase Two.

Individuals played a huge part in the 'success' of the research. The Head of the school, was supportive and acted as a critical friend who was interested in TA and inclusion. Individual teachers within the school were happy to discuss ideas formally and informally and were supportive of the work. Trainees on the TA course again acted as critical ears and the course facilitators suggested reading and conferences which were helpful. My lifestyle change meant that I made a whole new circle of friends, many of whom were teachers, social workers and youth workers who showed an interest in the research and made contributions to my thinking. Finally, I had personal time and freedom to throw myself into the work.

Much of the Phase Two action research was inconceivable in Phase One as I was just not in the right position in the school or training. I could not have implemented the emotional literacy syllabus in year 7 had I not got the post of Head of Drama. Without this there would have been less need for the staff training, and the national conference invitation would never have arrived. My contacts from my therapeutic training and experience provided the counsellor for the junior school project, the therapist for the Anger Management group and the trainer for the staff TA101. I did not approach the junior school, they approached a colleague and it was only because of the work we were doing in drama that we were close enough to be able to discuss the possibility of doing therapeutic work. I would not have had the skills to do the therapeutic work had I not been involved with the hospice as a volunteer. Patti Lather described this process as 'catalytic validity' and she says that it 'represents the degree to which the research process re-orientates, focuses, energises participants towards knowing reality in order to transform it...' (Lather in Berge with Hildurve, 2000, p35).

Elliott's action research cycle (see p82) appears to be a series of logical, planned steps, but my research evolved, rather than being planned. In this sense it was a 'bottom-up', rather than a 'top-down' (Elliot, 1992, p9) approach to curriculum formation, research, action. It was only by taking action, that I learnt what to do next and why. 'Practical problems are problems about what to do...their solution is only found in doing something' (Kemmis, 1988, p182). By 'doing', I as an individual, felt more empowered which was one of the things that Stenhouse discussed in *The Teacher as Researcher* (1975). Stenhouse coined the term 'extended professional'. His definition of this term was a teacher who goes beyond the normal role of the teacher into 'systematic questioning of one's own teaching as a basis of one's own development...[having] the commitment and skills to study one's own teaching...The concern to question and to test theory in practice by the use of those skills' (Stenhouse, 1975, p32). Although the research did not start off with my own teaching as the area of exploration, the findings in Phase One led me to make curriculum and pedagogical changes.

My role as teacher/ researcher was important because I could be 'independently innovative at the classroom level' (Stenhouse, 1975 p32) in that I changed the lower school drama curriculum and was able to alter my own classroom style to integrate what I had discovered from the research. Also I could 'act as "champion" of an innovation among his colleagues' (Stenhouse, 1975, p32) which I did through the staff training, the TA101, the national TA conference and feedback within the EAZ. These two factors meant that I could stay true to my desire to unite theory and practice (see p80) in a way that would make life better for pupils and teachers in schools.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

I carried out my literature review throughout the research process, so my reading evolved as my project developed, with theory informing practice and practice leading to new reading. Initially most of my reading was about research methodology. As I explain in detail in Chapter 3, I started by reading and committing myself to qualitative research methods and, as part of this reading, focused in on feminist, post-structuralist methodologies.

In order to understand the direction of my reading, it is necessary to understand the basic form of my research. My initial aims were explained in Chapter One and my initial research method was the loosely structured, one to one interview. Although the starting focus of the interviews was the exclusion incident, this was rarely the sole topic of discussion. Although the literature on gender construction, deviance and exclusion, was of interest, it did not explain everything I was hearing. Issues such as power, emotional literacy and anger re-occurred in the Phase One interviews and I felt that they underpinned the presenting issues of deviance and gender. The Phase One reading was largely concerned with the bigger picture; school as an institution, the curriculum and social expectations of gender. However my reading for the action research based Phase Two, was concerned with the individual, their internal state at the time of the exclusion and their interpersonal transactions. I moved from the macro to the micro, from the social to the individual in an effort to find a way to change things in school. Because of this two part structure to the practical research it makes sense to keep this for the literature review as practice and theory went hand in hand.

My working title was *Is There A Link Between Gender, Deviance and Exclusion?* Consequently I started by reading the literature on failing and deviant boys. This then led me into work on perceived differences between boys and girls and then onto essentialist theories of gender. Finally, the bulk of my reading

about gender was concerned with its social construction and specifically, its construction in schools. From gender I moved on to reading about deviance and then particularly exclusion. I was interested in causes and effects of exclusion as well as what led schools to exclude pupils. As with gender, I was interested in how deviance was constructed, by whom and for what purpose.

At the end of Phase One I returned to my background in psychotherapy to find explanations for some of the material that I was dealing with. I started off with some work on developmental ages and stages which then linked into some traditional psychoanalytic work around identity and drama therapy. However it was Transactional Analysis (TA) and my training in it which eventually provided both a language and a framework for the action research of Phase Two.

During Phase Two I read about behaviour modification in schools and 'peaceful' teaching strategies including Circle Time. This in turn led me to reading about emotional literacy, mental health and self-esteem. It was TA and this final raft of reading which, for me, answered the research questions most practically and which I found helpful in thinking about, writing about and testing out my findings.

2.2 GENDER

Headlines like 'Boys Left Trailing at Nearly Every Subject' (Halpern, Daily Mail, Wednesday 26 1997, p6) led the national concern that the system was failing half of the population. Halpern wrote:

Chris Woodhead has called the poor performance of boys, particularly from white working class backgrounds, 'one of the most disturbing problems we face....part of the answer must lie at home' (p6).

Like Francis (1999), Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) and Foster et al (2001), I was suspicious of the concept of 'failing boys', as clearly not all boys were failing and men still earn more in a life time than women and continue to have greater power in society. Francis identified three discourses which are used to move boys' failure outside of themselves. The first she called 'poor boys' which is the view that boys are the victims of the decline of traditional male roles and a loss of position in the labour market due to the

increased economic mobility of women. The second discourse is labelled 'failing schools' which criticises women teachers for emasculating boys and a feminised education system which cannot contain the testosterone induced, high energy of boys and which privileges female modes of learning. The third and final discourse she labelled as 'boys will be boys' which is the view that boys have always fought, and done badly in schools because that is just the way they are (1999, p356). However, 'young men designated as having low numeracy and very low literacy levels were still able to earn more than young women who had very high levels of literacy achievement' (Epstein, Elwood and Hay, 1998, p10). Even OFSTED recognised that:

While girls are now achieving better academic results than boys at age 16, there is little evidence to indicate that this is leading to improved post-sixteen opportunities in the form of training, employment, career development and economic independence of the majority of young women. (OFSTED 1996:22 in Epstein, Elwood and Hey, 1998, p77).

I was therefore interested to discover which boys, if any, were failing and in what contexts.

I was also unhappy with the assumption that 'part of the problem must lie at home' as I felt that this was a way that the educational system could avoid responsibility for the 'achievement' of students. It was this idea that led me to ask how far the school *was* responsible for creating deviance. As a researcher I wanted to change things for the better in the school and I recognised that the life of students outside school was largely outside of my influence as a teacher. All I could do was work with pupils within the school day and as part of the school structure and so it was this area I wanted to explore.

The idea that the family was to blame for the failure of boys was popular, and followed a particular line. The finger was pointed at single mothers for not being able to control their boys: 'It is lone mothers particularly those in poverty, who bear the brunt of attacks on inadequate parenting' (Standing, 1999, p58). They were blamed for not providing their sons with appropriate male figures, ideally fathers, in their lives:

The gap between achievements by boys and girls at school and the lack of male role models was leading to the alienation of many teenage boys and more suicides.....the breakdown of traditional family life, with many households without a father was having a devastating impact on teenage

boys.....having a male role model around seems especially important for young men ('Girls Will Be Helped Higher Than Hairdressing', Woolf, Daily Telegraph, Tuesday April 11, 2000, p7).

One of the names which kept coming up in these articles was Steve Biddulph, an Australian writer of popular books for parents on how to raise boys. Unwilling to accept these arguments I went in search of Biddulph and his philosophy.

2.2.1 Gender Essentialism

Biddulph's ideas were influenced by the work of Robert Bly, a self-proclaimed leader of the 'Men's Movement'. Bly's book *Iron John* (1991) is an invocation to modern man to reclaim their mythical selves to reconnect with 'animal heat, fierceness, and passionate spontaneity...excess, extravagance...' (p47). Bly argued that, although mothers are useful to boys for the first years of life, it is necessary for an 'older man' to 'interrupt the mother-son unity', taking the boy off to be initiated into the world of men (p19). Bly mixed the idea of tribal rites of passage and initiations into the 'secrets' of men, with Freud's notion of the Oedipal phase. Bly assumed that there is an innate knowledge which is passed between men and failed to problematise the concept of 'man', assuming that all men are the same and making the timelessness of 'man' one of his key concepts.

Bly called for men to reclaim their 'Wild man' (1991, p19) which he defined as 'Zeus energy, ...intelligence, robust health, compassionate, decisiveness, good will, generous leadership....' (p20) arguing that a man brought up by only women 'will probably see his own masculinity from the feminine point of view..' (p25). So women are seen as the oppressors of 'real masculinity' and Bly called men to arms to reclaim their lost power. In his critique of women, Bly included a critique of modern fathering. He argued against fathers who are at work all day, claiming that they do not then have enough energy left for their boys (daughters are not mentioned). Instead he harked back to the golden age of apprenticeships when men worked side by side all day, passing between them not only knowledge pertaining to the job, but knowledge about life as a 'man'.

Bly skirted over more dangerous aspects of 'wild men' claiming that rape and violence against each other and women are due to the distortion of masculinity caused by repression (by women), arguing that men, like wild animals, will attack when trapped. Bly carefully managed to make women responsible for male violence against themselves, while arguing that men are disempowered by women. Bly's world to me seems as mythical as the one he uses to illustrate his theory. The days of apprenticeships are long gone. Most men have no choice but to work away from their families for long hours. We do not live in tribal communities. Men *choose* to leave women and abandon their sons. Women are still, on average, worse off financially and politically than men.

Bly's idea of masculinity is unsatisfactory and incomplete. He made the mistake of linking all aspects of masculinity to 'innate' qualities. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) argued strongly that gender is not linked to biology and that there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that violence is caused by testosterone (p96 and p38). Bly was happy to state that society (largely the women in it) can be a repressive influence on this 'essential' masculinity, but he did not look at how 'essential' masculinity itself is influenced by society. Writers such as Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, p96 and p30), Connell (1995, p13), Mills (2001, p56) and Martino and Meyenn (2001, p17) all took issue with Bly's mythopoetic, essentialist construction of masculinity.

Biddulph took Bly's ideas and watered them down, eradicating the mythology and replacing it with a friendly pragmatism, but with the same message that boys need men in order to be 'proper' men themselves. Biddulph followed Bly's argument that children need to see more of their parents and he advocates, instead of apprenticeship, that both parents work less, manage with less money and spend more time at home (1999, p71). Biddulph argued that childcare is bad and that it leads to a 'deprived childhood experience' (p72). The idea that two people are working to have excess money seems very middle class. Certainly in the catchment area of the research school, if there were two parents and both

worked, it was often in order to provide basic necessities rather than extras, and childcare was often provided within the extended family.

Boys have five times as many learning problems, ten times as much problem behaviour in school. As adults they will have four times the vehicle accident rate and nine times the imprisonment rate (Biddulph, 1999, p106).

Martino and Meyenn (2001a, p16), whilst providing a similar set of statistics confirming that males often face more negative life events than women, did not agree with Biddulph's supposition that this phenomenon is due to the lack of significant males in boys' lives:

Boys need fathers, or at least a very good father substitute....Father absence...devastates little boys....a boy with no role model cannot learn how to be a man (1999, p110).

The press (Halpern 1997; Woolf 2000), picked up on some of this role model theory and explained that part of the problem of male under achievement and exclusion was due to the lack of male teachers, especially in primary schools. The fact that most primary school teachers are female but most primary heads are male, and the question as to why more men are not entering the profession (pay and conditions?) were never raised.

Biddulph also argued that schools are not suitable institutions for boys as testosterone 'causes energetic and boisterous behaviour' and boys 'feel insecure if there isn't enough structure in the situation' (1997, p39/40). Biddulph stated that schools 'require and reward quiet, co-operative, verbal, fine motor, in door, artistic and passive kinds of activity' (p145). The implication is that these are the activities most suited to girls hence that this is the reason why girls are doing better in school. It was not only Biddulph who called for a change in teaching styles to suit boys. Kirklees LEA suggested 'keeping teacher input as brief as possible and cutting tasks down to small, bite sized chunks...boys tend to stay on task if they see a definite end in sight' (Nobel, 1999,p3). The Head of Moulsham school in Essex said 'boys should have more direct contact with teachers, frequent testing and single sex teaching' (Eagar, 2000, The Daily Telegraph, p10).

What interested me about all these discourses was firstly the belief in the universal male who fits all men and secondly, the way that failure is located externally to boys, laying the blame either at the feet of women, or the school, or the pedagogy. Like Bly, Biddulph was convinced of a 'maleness' which needed to be passed between men. However, he too failed to explore the roots of this masculinity. On the one hand he seemed to be suggesting that it is essential and linked to biology, and on the other he suggested it was learned in relation to other men.

Boys' educational failures...generally have been located as extrinsic to themselves...failures of pedagogies, methods, texts and ...teachers, while their successes have been located as intrinsic.....innate brilliant intelligence or natural potential. For girls...the opposite is the case (Epstein, Elwood and Maw, 1998, p4).

At no point was it ever suggested that the locus of control could be within the boys and men themselves.

Rather than:

Admit one has failed to acquire the attributes and social status associated with hegemonic masculinity...[it is easier to] lay blame at the feet of something external to oneself (Mills, 2000, p232).

It was at this point that I turned to the literature on gender construction.

2.2.2 Gender Construction

'Gender relations...have no fixed essence, they vary both within and over time' (Flax in Nicholson, 1990, p40).

Post-structuralists insist that meanings are not fixed in a culture's lexicon but are rather dynamic, always potentially in flux (Weiner, 1994, p64).

This seemed to me to be a more useful stance when considering the possibility of change as a consequence of the research. If it were true that gender identity was constructed (Coffey and Delamont, 2000, p12/13) then there was the possibility of it being re-constructed. Masculinity in this theoretical context is:

A process of endless 'becoming'...social reality is an interactional....accomplishment....gendered identity must be constantly upgraded and maintained in, and through talk and interaction with other members of culture (Nilan, 2000, p55).

This prospect excited me as my primary research method was the interview, so there was time to talk and to listen to the way gender was constructed within the interview setting itself.

It was R. W. Connell (1995) who coined the phrase 'hegemonic masculinity' defining it as:

The configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy...hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective, if not individual (1995, p77).

The word 'power' was important to me. Basically hegemonic masculinity is the socially acceptable front of masculinity; the masculinity which holds the power:

'Hegemonic masculinity' refers to a particular idealised image of masculinity in relation to which images of femininity and other masculinities are marginalised and subordinated...in current western culture [it] is a man who is independent, risk-taking, aggressive, heterosexual and rational (Barrett in Whitehead and Barrett, 2001, p79).

Various images of hegemonic masculinity were presented in the literature:

A man in power, a man with power, and a man of power. We equate manhood with being strong, successful, capable, reliable, in control (Kimmel in Whitehead and Barrett, 2001, p272).

As Norman Mailer put it: 'Nobody was born a man; you earned your manhood provided you were good enough, bold enough.' (Zilbergeld, 1995, p24).

Connell reviewed how masculinity is analysed within such frameworks as psychoanalysis, anthropology and sociology (1995, p9-p35). He noted that masculinity is a performance acted out through the body. He pointed out how hegemonic masculinity is constructed through violence, sex and sport (an idea supported also by Mills, 2001, p21-24). Research by Gilbert and Gilbert (1998), Mills (2001), Swain (2003), Lawy (2003), Renold (2001) and Askew and Ross (1988) confirmed the idea that gender is constructed.

Clearly this was of interest to my focus group of excluded boys as they were seen, by the school, as having lost the power struggle between their behaviour and the school's expectations. It was also interesting to me that often boys who were excluded were friends, and perceived by the staff as being a

certain *type* of boy; a 'trouble maker'. Therefore I was interested in how they constructed their masculine identity and how aware they were of the way in which they presented and constructed themselves.

The majority of pupils who were excluded in the research school were boys. Why were they falling short of access to the institutional power of the school and the patriarchy their gender offered? The answer is that if hegemonic masculinity exists, then subordinated masculinities must also exist. For there to be a powerful form of maleness, there must be identities which are defined as weak. 'Boys construct themselves as masculine by positioning themselves as "other" to girls (and 'wimpy' boys)' (Harris, 1998, p41). The very nature of patriarchy is such that the position of women is subordinate; however there are:

Various subordinations, stigmatisations and marginalisations men may experience because of their sexuality, ethnicity, class, religion, or marital status, within a patriarchy (Robinson in Richardson, 1996, p119).

It was this theory which I wanted to test out through my interviews, and a literature on the construction of masculinity in schools existed.

2.2.3 Gender Construction in Education

There is a large body of literature which explores the construction of gender in schools. Paul Willis (1978) wrote about the 'lads' and the 'ear 'oles' (the conformists). The 'lads' were described as sexual and powerful, they never wore uniform, they 'bunked off', smoked, met in gangs and 'had a laugh' (1978, p15-24). They stood in opposition to the school and used violence to assert their power (p36). Willis argued that, for these 'lads', school was a preparation for the roles they would later take on in work. Davies (1984) focused on female deviance in schools. Her 'wenches' avoided homework, were late, smoked, disobeyed rules regarding uniform, were cheeky to teachers and fought (p8-11). They used resistance as a way of gaining power and just like the 'lads', used laughter as a way of countering the culture of school. Askew and Ross (1988) drew attention to how boys dominated school space and time (p29) and how the construction of masculinity was based on power (p33). They highlighted the role of the peer group in policing gender construction (p45). Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) also explained how boys dominated school

space and explored how working hard and being seen to be literate was associated with femininity (p194 and p200).

Mairtin Mac An Ghail in his *The Making of Men - Sexualities and Schooling* (1994) investigated 'the production of sex/gender subjectivities' (p2). He researched in an large 11-18 comprehensive in the Midlands and was interested in '...how school processes helped shape male students' cultural investment in different versions of heterosexual masculinity' (1994, p5). Amongst other things, he argued that in an educational climate where league tables are published and schools are accountable for their pupils' results, it is in the interest of the institution to get rid of pupils who are a threat to the success and reputation of the school:

'Non-academic' male students...were positioned by the school management as a major threat to the self-representation of a modern, successful school in the local market (p44).

Mac An Ghail's 'Macho Lads' closely resembled Willis' 'lads'. He describes them as being:

In the bottom two sets.....[having] similar negative responses.....[with a] shared view of the school [as] a system of hostile authority and meaningless work demands (1994, p56).

He found that their behaviours included "looking after your mates", 'acting tough', 'having a laugh', 'looking smart', and 'having a good time'(1994, p56). He found that these boys associated academic work with being unmanly. Other research detailed behaviours which were seen as being acceptable for the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Mills (2001) argued that boys were much more likely to take risks, drink and use violence, as did Swain (2003). Nayak and Kehily (2001) explored fully just *how* boys use humour to display masculinity. Martino (1999) discussed how verbal abuse is used to establish a hierarchy of masculinities.

I wanted to explore how boys constructed themselves as 'hard' and what they understood by this label. The literature argued that for some, the definition was achieved through 'resistance to the school and teachers' (Francis, 2000, p97), for others it involved 'messing about in the classroom' (Matthews, 2000), and "put-downs' to each other' (Askew and Ross, 1988, p36). Outside as well as inside the classroom,

'boys were encouraged to be tough and stick up for themselves....they must at all costs avoid being thought to be afraid to fight' (Askew and Ross, 1988, p12). If not physically fighting then boys are described as verbally fighting through "kidding", 'wind-ups' and 'piss-takes" (James, 1999, p398).

Researchers spoke about 'unwritten rules' through which an acceptable masculinity was constructed :

Don't grass on your mates, but take the piss out of them as often as you can; don't hit girls but make their lives a misery.....don't appear too cocky, but don't reveal your weaknesses, pick on the individual within the group but never the group itself... (Duncan, 1999, p22).

Much of the literature (Gilbert and Gilbert,1998) spoke about how academic study was seen to belong to the world of girls and so the 'harder' one wanted to look, the more one had to distance oneself from what was perceived as girlish behaviours. Educational success for some boys was seen as 'sissy" (Francis, 2000, p99). 'If a girl is working hard her friends will not make fun of her' but boys 'who do concentrate on work and work hard run the risk of being labelled a 'nerd' and ostracised by their male peers' (2000, p71). 'The rejection of the perceived 'feminine' of academic work is simultaneously a defence against the charge of being gay' (Epstein, Elwood and Maw, 1998, p97). Therefore 'failure' academically, is tantamount to success in maintaining a particular image of masculinity.

I wanted to see if the pupils in my school fitted the descriptions offered above and most importantly I wanted to find ways to offer them alternative ways of behaving. I found that the literature was good at describing the types of pupil, but I was interested in individual motivations. As well as being interested in pupil behaviours, I also wanted to know whether the construction of gender identity was located within staff attitudes. Did the attitude that 'boys will be boys' which is 'essentialist.....biologically based....unchanging and unchangeable.....which involves aggression, fighting and delayed...maturity' (Epstein, Elwood and Hey, 1998, p9) still exist (Davies, 1984 said it did) and if so to what extent did this definition of masculinity become self fulfilling? I was curious to see the extent to which the boys tried to live up to these cultural norms and how happy they felt in doing so. If identities were constructed within school, and if some of these identities led students into conflict situations which made life difficult for (most of) them, then I was interested in what the school could do to make things different. I was interested in

the idea that maybe something in the school needed to change before the pupils could change, and that maybe as adults, we as teachers had responsibility to look at what this was to help our students.

2.3 DEVIANCE

The subject of deviance is a well-established field of sociological research. Durkheim, in writing about criminals explained that 'what confers this...character upon them is not the intrinsic quality of a given act but that definition which the collective conscience lends them' (1938, p70) and Becker stated that 'deviance is *not* a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application of others by rules and sanctions to an 'offender'' (1963, p9). Both focused on how deviance is a matter of interpretation rather than of fact, therefore making it possible to theorize deviance in different ways.

Positivistic interpretations locate deviance in quantifiable facets of the individual such as 'IQ, family size, physical characteristics, over crowding at home, gender, social class.' (Furlong, 1985, p55). Other sociologists saw the school as the cause of deviance. Phillipson (1971) and Reynolds et al (1980) compared different styles of schools to investigate why some had a lower incidence of deviant behaviour than others. Reynolds (1976) wrote about the delinquent school, arguing that 'a hostile school with no sense of 'truce' causes more deviance' (p 227). Hargreaves et al (1975, p54) found that 'deviance will be reduced if the number of rules is reduced'.

Marxist interpretations of deviance have argued that the 'real purpose of schooling is to reproduce an unequal society' (Furlong, 1985, p170) and focus on how schools are essentially middle class and so, by design, alienate working class students (Cohen, 1955). Cohen goes on to posit that 'those who are spurned or condemned as base or low and deviant characters have little incentive to give loyalty, hard work and cheerful co-operation in return' (1976, p53), or as Bourdieu (1986) argued, certain groups of people in society have access to 'social capital' which he defined as 'the benefits accruing to individuals or families by virtue of their ties to others' (p46-58). People who do not have social capital have less

incentive to conform to society's norms and so were more likely to become 'deviant'. Sullivan argued that 'Marxists would see the values of the school as the values only of those in power' (1979, p43) and that schools' functions 'are the reproduction of the existing social and economic relations of a capitalist society' (p48).

Symbolic interactionist interpretations of deviance focus more on 'how pupils are purposively choosing their behaviour as a result of the way they interpret the world' (Furlong, 1985, p102). From this developed labelling theory:

Labelling theorists argue that people break the rules of society in minor ways all of the time...deviant behaviour takes on a qualitatively different form when it is discovered; when it is labelled as deviant, particularly by those in authority (Furlong, 1985, p126).

Becker in his study *Outsiders* (1963) argued that 'deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label' (p9) and Hargreaves (1976) argued that labels create deviance, and also explored the process through which pupils come to accept or reject the labels they are offered: 'speculation...elaboration ...stabilization' (Hargreaves et al, 1975, p145). He stated that labels are more likely to stick if the label is applied regularly, by a teacher whose opinion matters to the pupil and if the labelling is carried out publicly. Once labelled, Hargreaves argued that reform is almost impossible as the teacher looks for behaviour which confirms the label and so fails to notice new behaviour. These views are still currently accepted as valid.

Labelling theorists see teachers as crucial to the formation of identity in school. 'Once a deviant identity has been established, it is difficult for the child to not be of it,' (Cullingford and Morrison, 1997, p66).

Pupils I interviewed talked about the difficulty of shaking a negative reputation once acquired. 'Once a negative identify is established an individual's self-confidence will be damaged and this in turn will affect confidence and competence in new situations' (Cullingford and Morrison, 1997, p68). I was interested in how teachers could avoid labelling and how they could encourage students not to label each other.

Cullingford and Morrison were also interested in the effect of labelling on self-esteem and how this then

had the effect of a downward spiral. This was not fully explored in the literature on deviancy but I found my answers in the work of Jean Illsley Clarke and others in the Phase Two reading.

Linked to labelling theory is the role teachers play in constructing deviance. There is a body of research that argued that 'deviance' and 'bad behaviour' are, in fact, created by both pupil and teacher, rather than locating it in the pupil alone and we shall see my findings supporting this. Verkylen argued that in fact, it is the teacher who should be held accountable for pupils' behaviour and that pupils think that 'keeping order was considered the teacher's responsibility' (Verkylen, 2002, p115). 'The respect [pupils] are expected to show their teachers is not always being reciprocated' (Cullingford and Morrison, 1997, p 69) and this erodes the working relationship in the classroom.

Pollard (1979) and Marsh et al (1978) explored 'teacher offences' (p 53) as defined by pupils and Werthman (1963) explored what pupils thought made an effective teacher. Hargreaves et al discussed the 'deviance provocative' teacher who creates situations in which deviance is more likely and the 'deviance insulative' teacher who, through positive expectations, minimizes the need for deviant behaviours (1975, p260-1). More recently Davies (1994) explored teacher deviance and Woods (1979) categorized strategies used by teachers to control pupils:

Socialization...domination...negotiation...fraternization...absence or removal...ritual and routine...occupational therapy ...morale boosting (p149-165), [and the effect that they had on the students.] It is not the work that is important, and any intrinsic satisfaction to be had from it dependent on the *relationship with the teacher* concerned (Woods, 1990, p166).

Much has been written about which teacher behaviours pupils like and dislike. The literature showed that pupils liked teachers who could teach, who were interested in them, who were human and fair (Verkylen, 2002). Students liked teachers who were friendly, who gave people a chance and had a sense of humour (Kinder et al, 1999, p41). They wanted teachers to help them and who were 'respectful of the individual and their relationships' (Cooper et al, 2000, p76) and who were understanding (Cooper, 1993, p109). Teachers who 'know their job, can keep control [and whose] perception of the teacher role does not

require...any different behaviour pattern than that of the human being role' (Woods, 1976, p183) were more likely to be able to get pupils to work.

Pupils disliked staff who humiliated them, who used physical contact or were racist or sexist (John, 1996, p171). They did not like teachers who over-reacted, who were arrogant or big headed or who showed off in front of other teachers (Davies, 1984, p36/7). Weakness and indecision were disliked, as were 'being boring' and 'going on' (Rosser and Harre, 1976, p174). Cooper listed in detail that pupils dislike teachers who are:

Too formal, too strict, 'stuck up', unfriendly, intolerant, humourless, uninterested in pupils' personal welfare, not prepared/able to give pupils individual attention, guilty of labelling pupils with negative identities, guilty of treating some pupils unfairly, guilty of conducting boring lessons, insufficiently helpful to pupils with learning difficulties. (1993, p56) .

'Teachers who lacked respect, blamed, singled out, punished excessively and shouted were more likely to illicit deviant behaviour (Kinder et al, 1996, p17). Most recently Burke and Grosvenor (2003) wrote about the kinds of teacher behaviours pupils liked and disliked. These findings have remained consistent over time.

Woods explored deviant behaviour from the pupils' perspective. In *The Divided School* (1979) he explored ways in which pupils survived school through such adaptations as optimism, instrumentalism, ritualism, rebellion and intransigence. He famously explored how laughter acted as an antidote to schooling, offering pupils respite from boredom, symbolic rebellion and a way of uniting with peers against the school. Willis (1976) also explored how deviant behaviours were a way in which pupils sought to counter-act the power of the school. Working class children 'take control of classes, insert their own unofficial timetables and control their own routines and life spaces' (p190).

Writers such as West (1979, p45) acknowledged the role of the peer group in the construction of deviance as do Cullingford and Morrison (1997) who argued that the peer group provides an alternative source of

self-esteem when the family or the school are unable to provide it. (p64-74). This idea was explored further by Kinder et al (1996) who said:

Relations with peers and friends as a cause or stimulus for both truancy and disruption...
Instigating disaffected behaviours was seen as a means of gaining kudos with peers (p6).

Angelides (2000) offered a summary of some of the frameworks used for understanding the causes of deviance as:

- **Biophysical** theory.....deviance can occur as a result of bio-physical problems, e.g. excessive secretion of hormones....
- **Psychodynamic**...the child has not successfully negotiated the various intra-psychic and external conflicts associated with the process of maturation.....
- **Behavioural**...a person behaves in a certain way because he has been taught to behave in that way...behaviour which is reinforced tends to reoccur...the implications of this are that teachers can modify pupil's behaviour by rewarding desired behaviour.....
- **Sociological and ecological**....society has created deviance through a process of labelling individuals as deviant (p58)

I am going to be developing these typologies to show that deviance is the result of Transactional (see p 257) and Emotional causes (see p259).

These themes have also been explored in a more recent group of sociological works. Vandemeulebroeke et al (2004) argued that many deviant pupils come from homes where divorce was common and argued that teachers can assist pupils at such times through building trustful relationships (p275-286), a theme also suggested by Cooper et al (1993 and 2000) and John (1996). Kinder et al (1996 and 1999) noted that pupils had felt anger at the moment of their exclusions and confirmed that family factors such as 'bereavement, abuse, violence and drug-taking' increased the likelihood of deviant behaviour in school (1996, p11). Cooper (1993) added to the list of possible causal factors 'economic and material deprivation, severe emotional tension and discord between family members...and unsatisfactory child rearing practices' (p9). It is this group of writers to which my work is most closely linked.

2.4 EXCLUSION

Whatever the cause, once an action is defined as deviant in school, consequences follow, of which the most extreme is permanent exclusion with fixed term exclusion being a less impactful but more frequently used sanction. 'Exclusion' is the practice of leaving someone or something out. Much has been written on pupils who self exclude by school refusal or truancy but I was interested in the pupils who were excluded by the school as a consequence of a breach of the school rules. In my reading I wanted to know who was excluded and why. I was also interested in efficacy of exclusion for pupils and the school alike. 'The decision to exclude a child...is normally taken by the head teacher' (Christian Action, 2000 section 2, p1), but how the Head becomes aware of the event causing the exclusion and who is involved in the incident causes enormous variation in how an incident is dealt with.

There were clear national trends linked to gender. 'The majority of excluded pupils are boys...the majority of them excluded for 'emotional and behavioural difficulties' (Raphael Reed, 1999, p94). 'Boys are between four and five times more likely than girls to be excluded' (Blyth and Milner, 1996, p5).

Spurgeons, a religious group, who had gained DfES funding to pay for the youth work project at school, published national statistics showing that 83% of exclusions were given to boys. (Christian Action, 2000, section 1, p1) In my own research, of the pupils who agreed to be interviewed following their exclusion, 53 were boys and 14 girls.

Age and special needs also seemed to be contributory factors. 80% of those excluded nationally were 12 to 15 years olds and 50% 14-15 year olds. Children with special needs were six times more likely to be excluded and children in care were ten times more likely to be excluded (Christian Action, 2000, section 1, p1). In 1999/2000 there were '8600 permanent exclusions from primary, secondary and special schools' with '82%...permanently excluded...from secondary schools' (DFEE, 2001). Of the pupils I interviewed following an exclusion, three were in year 7, ten in year 8, sixteen in year 9, peaking in year 10 with twenty-three and returning to sixteen in year 11, so my research confirmed the trend.

An analysis of ethnicity is missing from these statistics, but it is well documented that Afro-Caribbean pupils are excluded more frequently than their white counterparts (Osler, 1997). In my own research I interviewed only one non-white pupil; he was Asian. For the purpose of my research I did not investigate figures around race, as the school was so predominantly white, although I will consider race in my findings regarding the above pupil. In my reading I found no statistics which showed a breakdown of exclusions according to class.

Bates showed that exclusion leads to some very negative effects for the student and in the long term, for society: 'Home Office Research in 1996 reveals that school non-attendees are up to three times more at risk of being involved in crime' (Bates, 1996, p1). Of students permanently excluded '85% may never return to mainstream education' (p1). Permanent exclusion therefore led to a disaffected and uneducated group of young people. Home lives for many of the students were unsettled, as shown above, so to be cast adrift from school and its organization, is to lessen their access to any social structure. Excluding a young person from the school may secure the immediate needs of the excluding institution but 'does little to support the individual who will feel increasingly rejected and alienated from the mainstream society' (1996, p1)

So what leads schools to exclude pupils? Some literature suggested that the advent of the National Curriculum had led to a decrease in flexibility of the curriculum. All pupils have to study the core subjects and have to take SATs and GCSEs. Whereas in the past there was space for the school to offer more practical and vocational subjects, now everyone has equal access to the same, more academic curriculum. Although the theory was to offer equality of opportunity, in fact National Curriculum has privileged a certain type of intelligence over others. The National Curriculum 'has privileged logo centric subjects' (Raphael Reed, 1999, p100), which means that those pupils who tend to be kinaesthetic in their learning styles and abilities have been penalized.

It is argued that National Curriculum creates failure, and that pupils who experience this failure are more likely to find themselves excluded. The National Literacy and Numeracy hours can also be seen 'as a reinforcement of hegemonic masculinity through the form of pedagogy; privileging rationality and the 'mastery of reason' as individual power...' (Raphael Reed, 1999, p102). Capacities such as intuition, imagination, creativity, group work and role play are not tested, not rewarded and so are often disregarded in the classroom where there is often too much to do and too little time. Therefore, the talents rewarded by the current educational system are very limited and it is no surprise that pupils feel that their abilities are not valued.

'A new business 'ethos' now driving schools with an emphasis upon league tables and market forces' (Bates, 1996, p2) has put pressure on the schools to achieve and they in turn put pressure on the teachers, who put pressure on the pupils (Cooper et al, 2000, p8). Stress can be defined as 'unpleasant emotions, such as tension, frustration, anxiety, anger and depression' (Kyriacou, 1989, p60) and 'the most potent threat to well being [is] fear of losing face or esteem to oneself, or in the eyes of others' (p61). This stress can be felt by teachers who are under pressure to control classes and achieve results, and by pupils who have to pass exams and fit into the school system. Pupils who threaten the results of the school or the class are sometimes seen as 'unsaleable goods' (Bates, 1996, p2). They can be seen to threaten results through their own 'failure', but also the disruptive effect they have on a class. 'An increase in competition and selection within the system which leads to a greater number of "disciplinary exclusions", also leads to more students being excluded on the basis of other undesired characteristics such as low attainments' (Booth, 1996, p22).

As well as coping with the rigorous demands of these tests and strategies, teachers are also overburdened with paper work and are often under-resourced. 'The work load burden forced upon teachers by the much increased amount of non-classroom work has squeezed and restricted the amount of time and energy teachers have to spend upon their pupils and their individual learning and behavioural needs'

(Searle, 1996, p45). Consequently there is less time to build the trusting relationships which Cooper (1993) and Cooper et al (2000), found counteracted the causes of deviance. It has been indicated (Davies, 1999) that school councils and a democratic ethos where pupil voices are heard, are better able to minimise exclusions. However, this takes time and a willingness to trust pupils with authentic decisions.

Not all exclusions arose from staff/ pupil interactions, many being the result of conflicts between students, and the literature on deviancy and exclusion was less good at explaining these events. The literature on gender construction was helpful in understanding how masculinity is constructed in relation to other boys and my findings will explore how students carry out this construction and how this can lead to exclusion. Again, the reading on self-esteem was helpful in understanding these interactions.

Some of the major themes arising from the Phase One interviews included anger, emotional literacy, power and self esteem and it was these themes which led me to the Phase Two action research stage. As Head of Drama I read work around drama therapy to see if this could be used in the classroom situation and my training in humanistic counselling informed the research methods (discussed in Chapter Three). However, I found that it was my training in Transactional Analysis which gave me a language to explain a body of concepts which could be used to change behaviour through the process of interpersonal transacting. The literature on gender construction and deviance focused on groups of people and institutions and the work on self-esteem and emotional literacy focused on the psychic and interpersonal life of the individual.

2.5 WINNICOTT AND KLEIN – A PSYCHOANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

At the start of Phase Two I turned to the work of Winnicott and Klein, two psychotherapists interested in children and their development. **Winnicott** argued that 'adolescence implies growth and this growth takes time' (1985, p176). He argued that teachers, like parents, need to be able to tolerate the ambiguous feelings which surround adolescents, saying that it is natural for them to have 'doubts and suspicions'

(1981, p203) as it is a time when young people are testing out their own beliefs and identity. Winnicott argued that as adults, teachers should tolerate the aggression and confusion of the teenage years accepting that it is necessary to healthy development.

If a child is objectionable, the tendency is for that child to be got rid of, either expelled, or removed by indirect pressure. This may be good for the school, but bad for the child (1981, p206).

Clearly this view supports the work on deviance which showed the long term damage exclusion can do.

Good teaching demands of the teacher a toleration of frustrations to his or her spontaneity...The child, in learning to be civilised, naturally also feels frustrations acutely, and is helped in becoming civilised, not so much by the teachers' precepts but by the teacher's own ability to bear the frustrations inherent in teaching (1981, p203).

What interested me about this was the focus on the emotional learning pupils undergo in schools, and how teachers' own emotional frame was important for the healthy development of the child. In my Phase One interviews there was a clear link, in exclusions arising from incidents with staff, between the teacher's emotional state and the pupil's.

Winnicott also raised the idea that children bring their home life into school with them. He claimed that some children

Come with the idea that school might possibly provide what their home has failed to provide (1981, p208).

Interestingly, what Winnicott said is missing in the home life of some pupils is *not* literacy and numeracy skills but:

A stable emotional ability and a group of which they can gradually become part, a group that can become tested out as to its ability to withstand aggression and to tolerate aggressive ideas (1981, p208).

He argued the children need an 'environment that facilitates individual mental health and emotional development' (1990, p65). Schools clearly focus on the former and to a large extent ignore the latter. I was interested to see if the work of Phase Two which focused more on emotions, made a difference to the pupil's mental clarity.

Winnicott suggested that aggression is a natural part of adolescence and that the schools needs to contain it while still accepting the individual. Containment or emotional holding can be defined as:

The process of holding or containing disturbing feelings to show that such feelings can be tolerated, managed, thought about and understood as having meaning so that one might develop a different relationship with them (Greenhalgh, 2000, p307).

Many of the exclusion incidents were aggressive and this aggression was framed as being negative, however Winnicott argued that:

Aggression has two meanings...it is directly or indirectly a reaction to frustration...the other meaning is it is one of the two main sources of the individual's energy (1981, p232).

He argued that aggression is necessary and healthy. Certainly these ideas supported the work which went on in the therapeutic anger group and the junior school group, yet this construction of aggression as being healthy as opposed to destructive, was in complete opposition to the way that they are seen within the school structure.

Delinquency indicates that some hope remains....anti-social behaviour is at times no more than an SOS for control by strong, loving, confident people (1981, p229).

So rather than pushing the pupil out of school and punishing them, he suggested drawing them further in and embracing them. This idea was also supported by writers on self-esteem such as Illsley- Clarke (see p55).

Klein held similar views. One of her major contributions to psychoanalysis was the idea of the good mother and the witch mother. When a baby is young, it depends entirely upon the mother for its survival. When the mother is meeting the baby's needs the baby experiences her as good and feels safe. When the mother does not attend to the baby, even for a short time, the baby feels its life is threatened and experiences the mother as destructive. Klein said that we carry these polar opposites with us and that they manifest especially clearly in adolescence:

Teachers often become the recipients of excessive love and admiration, as well as unconscious hate and aggression. Guilt and remorse caused by the latter will also play their part in the relationship with the teacher (1988, p57).

She argued that the feelings experienced by the child towards the parent are transferred (defined on p67) onto the teacher and the transference offers the child another chance to work out these emotions.

Therefore she accepted as completely normal the 'negative transference [which] often takes the form of distrustful reserve or simply dislike' (1989, p21). She adds that 'in puberty manifestations of anxiety ...are much more acute' (1989, p80).

Klein also focused on boys saying that:

Some boys...become secretive and defiant, revolt against home and school and cannot be influenced by either kindness or severity....Experienced teachers are aware of the shaky or damaged self-esteem that is behind both kinds of behaviour...All too often, teachers ambitious for success in examinations, neglect to investigate glaring failure and do not show compassionate understanding for the distress it signifies...understanding adults are most helpful in easing things for the child (1989, p54).

These psychoanalytic perspectives support the views of sociologists such as Kyriacou (1989) and Bates (1996). Both of these psychoanalysts offer a definition of deviance and anger which is seen to be a healthy and normal part of growing up. In Phase Two I experimented with taking this positive attitude to anger, mistrust and aggression to see if it did indeed help pupils through the turbulent time of adolescence.

2.6 DEVELOPMENTAL AND HUMANISTIC PSYCHOLOGY

Some developmental psychologists supported the ideas of Klein and Winnicott. Erikson argued that puberty and young adulthood are the stages where we explore our identity. He thought that schools had to provide conflict in order for identity to develop (Erikson in Kroger, 1989, p42). Blos shared Klein's view that teachers and other adults should recognise the transference of the child's internalised image of their parents and accept the conflict that goes with this role (Blos in Kroger, 1989, p76). Kohlberg argued that 'adolescents generally make meaning from interpersonal balance' and he agreed with Winnicott that therefore the environment, in this case the school, must be 'holding securely, letting go and remaining in place' (Kroger, 1989, p166). Students need to trust that their rage and conflict will not destroy the school

so that they can wage war against it safely. Again, in these theories of psychoanalysis, the focus is on personal relationships and how identity is formed through conflict and acceptance.

Kohlberg's idea of an environment which holds as well as lets go seems to me to be an example of scaffolding. Scaffolding is the way in which teaching and learning occurs from early childhood. The adult provides support until the child is able to take on the task wholly for themselves:

Adults structure children's involvement in learning situations by handling more difficult aspects of the task themselves and organising the child's involvement with the more manageable aspects of the activity...a supported situation in which the child can extend current skills and knowledge to a higher level of competence (Rogoff in Light, Sheldon and Woodhead, 1991, p78).

An example of this would be where the parent starts off building the brick tower for the child, then holds the child's hand as they place the bricks on the pile, then straightens the tower as the child places on the bricks to finally watch as the child performs the whole operation alone. We are used to scaffolding academic learning, yet we rarely scaffold emotional learning in schools.

Cooper (1993) referred to Carl Rogers who can be said to be the father of humanistic psychotherapy and in the methodology (see Chapter 3.4) I will discuss how important his ideas were to my own research methods. The humanistic psychotherapists have at their core the basic premise that all people are 'OK', that they may do things which are not OK, but that they have value as individuals nevertheless. Rogers wrote about his observations in therapy and stated that the relationship between therapist and client was crucial to the emotional growth of the client. He also held this to be true for the process of learning in schools:

Learning will be facilitated...if the teacher is congruent. This involves the teacher being the person that he is, and being aware of the attitudes he holds (Rogers, 1961, p287).

I found that during the Phase One interviews, the more aware I was of my own internal processes, the more I could really listen to what the pupils were saying without judging.

Rogers emphasised that it is the responsibility of the adult to be aware and understanding rather than punitive:

Significant learning may take place if the teacher can accept the student as he is, and can understand the feelings he possesses (Rogers, 1961, p287).

Like Klein and Winnicott, Rogers advocated an acceptance of feeling rather than a sanction. Rather than excluding pupils for behaviour which is seen as inappropriate, Rogers suggested that the way to change it was to accept it and work with it.

Do feelings have a right to exist openly in a school setting? It is my thesis that they do. They are related to a person's becoming, to his effective learning and effective functioning (Rogers, 1961, p288).

I experimented with this in the Phase Two projects, making emotion the core of the various initiatives and worked with pupils and staff towards an acceptance of emotion.

Rogers wrote about the therapeutic relationships and I explore his explanation as part of the methodology in Chapter 3. The phrase 'person-centred' sums up the approach taken in these therapies. I worked towards creating an "I-Thou" relationship which is Gestalt term meaning:

A genuine meeting between two [or in the groups, more] unique people in which both openly respect the essential humanity of the other (Clarkson, 1996, p16).

I also used the Gestalt concept of the 'here and now' (see p110) which refers to the whole person/environment field at any particular moment, and, includes 'fantasies and plans about the future and memories and experiences about the past, relived in the freshness of the "now"...the past is indeed inherent in the present' (Clarkson, 1996, p24)

Humanistic therapies hold at their core the belief that given the right conditions, human beings will grow in a positive way. Many of the books on therapy also discuss the school setting: 'Most children do not want to be badly behaved. It is a response to something amiss in their lives' (Ellin, 1994, p157). Certainly, many of the students I interviewed had 'something amiss in their lives' and understanding this helped me to be more compassionate and understanding of their behaviour.

The human being is basically a trust worthy organism capable of self-understanding and accurately evaluating external circumstances, of making constructive choices and acting on these choices (Nelson-Jones, 1984, p14).

I wanted to test this thesis in my Phase Two work because if people *are* programmed to be OK human beings, then it would mean that people *could* choose to avoid situations which led to exclusion.

The concept of change was central to my work; however, the process of change is not easy, as old behaviour is at least known and secure and to try out new ways of behaving can be frightening. Egan offered a very practical, problem solving model of counselling and he identified factors which are blocks to change: 'fear of intensity...lack of trust...fear of disorganisation...shame...fear of change' (Egan, 1998, p139). It was clear then that the process would be slow and that new ways of behaving had to be built up before the old ways could be replaced. I decided to work with the idea that to treat the pupils as human beings with 'intelligence, responsibility and active choices...is most likely to invite [them] into autonomy, self-healing and integration' (1998, p139).

Egan saw self-knowledge and autonomy as crucial to the process of change. My interviewees divided into two groups; those who accepted responsibility for their actions and those who did not. The first group had an 'internal locus of control' (Nelson-Jones, 1984, p53) and the second group had an 'external locus of control [which leads to] reduced motivation, reduced ability to learn....'(p52). Those people who have an internal locus of control are more able to learn from their mistakes as they see themselves as having power. They are also more successful academically as they attribute success or failure to their own effort and abilities. So a person with internal control might see failure as a result of lack of revision, not working hard enough, and could therefore work towards doing better next time. People with an external locus of control might blame it on the teacher, or the questions and therefore give away their power to change. Therefore I hoped that self-knowledge would challenge 'self limiting beliefs' (Egan, 1998, p153) and given safe and accepting conditions, would allow growth and a shift from external to internal control: 'Acceptance is the initiator of change' (Whitmore, 1991, p27).

Finally, I read works on drama therapy; Holmes and Karpe, (1991), Jennings et al (1994), Jennings, (1990) and Jennings (1992) as I intended to try to teach emotional literacy, self-awareness and communication skills through drama. However, true drama therapy seemed to be much too intense and personal a medium to be using in the school environment where time was limited and confidentiality impossible in a class setting. Drama therapy itself needs a therapist to contain the work being done and I am not a therapist. However, I was reassured that drama was the correct medium to use as 'drama is ...a separation of the self and the non-self within a particular time and space' (Jennings et al, 1994, p114) which I felt would allow pupils to experiment with new ways of relating. Stanislavski, an influential drama theorist and practitioner, taught his actors to use the 'magical 'IF''. 'What would happen if?'...'How would I feel if?'...'How would things be different if?' It was this freedom, this playfulness, which I hoped to allow in the lower school drama curriculum as I felt that by playing a part, pupils would be more likely to experiment with the personal, but in a safe way. In the end I wrote my own curriculum using drama games and techniques which I already used in the classroom, but adapting them to suit the curriculum.

2.7 TRANSACTIONAL ANALYSIS (TA)

Transactional Analysis is a theory for understanding human relationships and a practical approach to changing the way we think, feel and behave (Midgley, 1993, p1).

The theory originated from Eric Berne, an American psychiatrist, and was popularised in the 1960s with books such as *What Do You Say After You Say Hello* (1974), which had the dual effect of making it more publicly accessible, but also caused it to be seen as 'pop psychology' rather than a serious psychoanalytic tool. As with all theories, TA has grown and adapted over the years and continues to develop through an extensive professional network. As well as reading about TA, I also completed a year of TA training during the course of the research. TA is not only a psychotherapy, but is also used in business and education as an analytic tool for change. TA is a:

Decisional model through which people can choose what, when and if they want to change, this is linked to a contractual approach of mutual and self-esteem and clarity of purpose (Barrow, Bradshaw and Newton, 2001, p7).

The one aspect of this which was impossible in the year 7 drama curriculum was the contractual approach; pupils *had* to be involved whether they wanted to or not. TA is more complex than I will do justice to here as I will explain the concepts that I found of most use to me in the research context. TA uses very simple every day language and as such was found to be easy to communicate to all ages and abilities.

The most fundamental belief of TA is: 'I'm OK, You're OK' which puts it as a theory, comfortably amid the humanistic therapies. 'I'm OK, You're OK' is shorthand for:

I believe and act from a conviction that I, and everyone else, is fundamentally loveable, is capable of acting with goodwill, learning, adapting, getting needs met and solving problems, and is worthy of being treated with respect and having equal rights to share in benefits (Temple and Evans, 1997, p55).

This is not to say that every action, thought or word we are involved in is OK, but *we* are. The theory separates the action from the person so rather than saying that a child *is* naughty, we would say that what they *did* was naughty, thereby separating the action from the actor. As soon as we do this it is possible for the actor to behave differently. If we say the *child* is naughty, then we are pathologising them and suggesting that they can not change, if we say the *action* is naughty there is the possibility of acting differently.

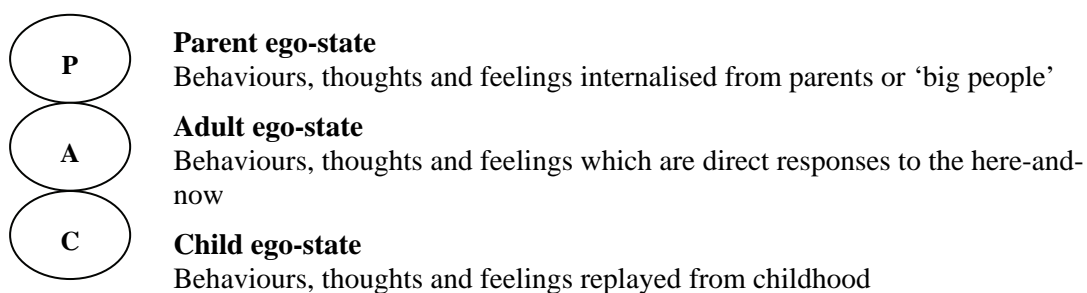
TA states that there are four basic 'life positions'; (1) I'm OK, You're OK, (2) I'm OK, You're not OK, (3) I'm not OK, You're OK, (4) I'm not OK, You're not OK. (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p117). The only 'healthy' life position is number one described above where OK-ness is mutual. The other positions either involve a discounting of the self, the other or both. 'Discounting' is when we do not see reality as it is, but when we see it according to our own perceptions or when we are 'unawarely ignoring information relevant to the solution of a problem' (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p173). The person who believes 'I'm OK, You're not OK' 'needs to be one-up and put others down'. The person who believes 'I'm not OK, You're OK' is depressive and tends to see themselves as 'being victimised and losing out to other people and the

person who thinks 'I'm not OK, You're not OK' is likely to believe that 'life is futile and full of despair' (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p117/118).

These ways of seeing life are set according to our 'script'. TA believes that when we are all young, we make decisions about how life is, as a way of surviving. This then becomes our script and we live life according to it. We discount information which does not fit into our script so as to maintain our script beliefs. At a very basic level, if we are told often enough that we are stupid, eventually we may decide to believe this and make it part of our script beliefs. This is the part of TA which would be explored in long term therapy and so was not appropriate in the research. I will be using the word 'script' in accordance with the TA definition rather than as defined by Davies (1984). I was curious about people's scripts when analysing interviews and during the staff training in TA various people looked at differing parts of their own script. I experimented with the four life positions in drama as a consciousness raising exercise.

Just as we decided to adopt our script, so we can decide to change it once we are aware of it. TA contains the belief that 'everyone (except the seriously brain damaged) can think for themselves, make decisions, problem solve, grow and change' (Barrow, Bradshaw and Newton, 2001, p6). It is a 'rational approach to understanding behaviour, and is based on the assumption that all individuals can learn to trust themselves, think for themselves, make decisions, and express their feelings' (James and Jongeward, 1996, p12). It was for this reason that I decided to try to teach TA through drama as I hoped that through understanding, change was possible.

Diagram 1 – Structural Model



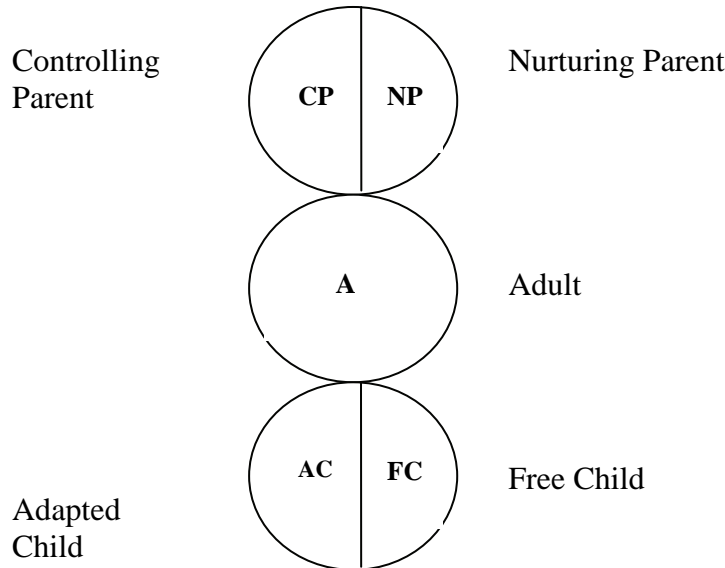
TA uses a very simple model of ego states which helps us understand ourselves and the way we communicate with others. Ego states are patterns of thinking and feeling with their corresponding behaviours. The structural model of ego states helps us understand our self and our internal processes. It describes the way in which we classify or store or access information. We all have a Parent (P) ego state which is like a store of 'all the behaviours, thinking and feeling that we have copied from 'big people' around us' (Barrow, Bradshaw and Newton, 2001, p13). Clearly, parents are our most influential 'big people' but this can also include teachers, older siblings, neighbours, the police etc. We can add to this storehouse as well as choose not to use aspects of it. That is, we can learn to question what our parents held sacred and we can internalise new ideas and behaviours from our present day 'big people'. This store house is full of external influences.

We also have a store house called the Child (C) ego state. This is the storehouse of all 'behaviours, thinking and feeling we experienced when young and may replay in the present' (Barrow, Bradshaw and Newton, 2001, p13). In contrast to P, C is the store house of our historical experience. The essence of our Child ego state is that it is the storehouse of how we adapt to our Parent messages. Again this can be updated as we are constantly experiencing life and adding to this store. For example, if as a child I jump into a pool and nearly drown, I may be scared of water. However, with lessons and support I may change this fear for pleasure as I get older.

Finally we all have an Adult (A) ego state part of us. Adult is the 'behaviours, thinking and feeling appropriate to the here and now' (Barrow, Bradshaw and Newton, 2001, p13). The Adult is like the gatekeeper of the storehouses. Our Adult gathers and processes information and decides what to do with it. When we are in Adult we are behaving in the best way for the moment and not being inappropriately influenced by past experiences. Parent and Child use outdated information; Adult uses here and now awareness. For example, imagine if I did not know how to save information to disk, my Child might be scared to ask for help as it remembers past times when was laughed at for not being able to do things on

my own, my Parent may have a message in it that I 'should' read the instructions, however, my Adult may overcome the fear and silence the 'should' and ask for help without feeling demeaned.

Diagram 2 – Functional Model

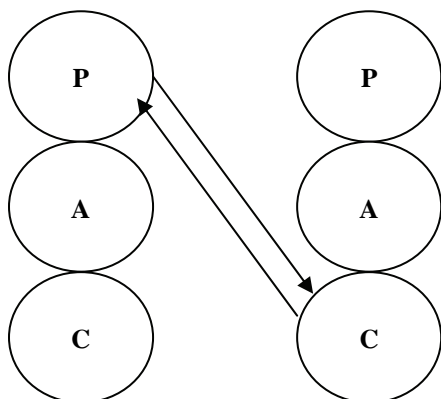


There is also a functional model of ego states describing interpersonal behaviour. Parental behaviours can be controlling or nurturing and both of these have positive and negative attributes. Controlling Parent behaviours can be Critical (negative) or Structuring (positive) and Nurturing Parent behaviours can be Caring (positive) or Marsh-mallowing (negative as it is boundary-less and smothering). For example a negative critical Parental statement might be 'you were never any good at maths', however a positive Structuring statement might be 'should he really be treating you like this?'. Parental behaviours are learned from the 'big people' in our lives and so can be un-learned if we so wish.

Child behaviours can be Adaptive or Free. Adaptive behaviours can be either Compliant or Rebellious (negative) or Co-operative (positive) and Free Child behaviours can be Immature (negative) or Spontaneous (positive) (Napper and Newton, 2000, p43). Finally, Adult behaviours are fact-finding, information gathering, questioning and decision making.

Whereas the structural ego states describe content, the *what*, the functional model describes *how*. Hence, of these two models, the functional ego states were easier to teach and observe in the research as they often had a physical energy; the energy of a furious child as they switch back into their Rebellious Child or the hands on the hips of the Critical Parent behaviour. Using the structural model was more difficult as it required knowledge of the person's past and their script. Behaviours are observable so when Jane tells me she 'can't' and begs me not to make her act, I can see she is using Compliant Adaptive Child behaviours but I have no idea whether she has found out she 'can't' through her own experience (Child), whether she has been told she 'can't' by a 'big person' in her life (Parent). Similarly, if she tells me she can not speak much today because she has a sore throat I would observe from her tone and her posture that she could well be using Adult to communicate the information I need to run the lesson.

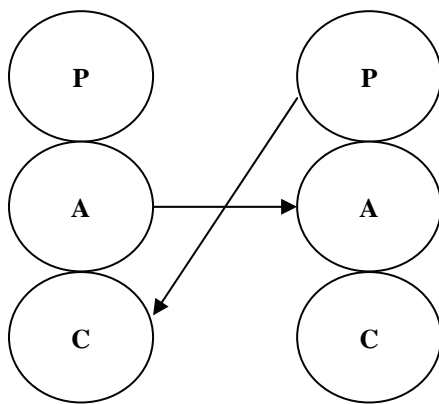
Diagram 3 – Complementary Transactions



The functional model was therefore very useful for me in my analysis of exclusion incidents as I was able to analyse the transactions which had taken place. Transactions describe the interactions between people in terms of a stimulus/response paradigm between ego states. There are various kind of transactions. 'A

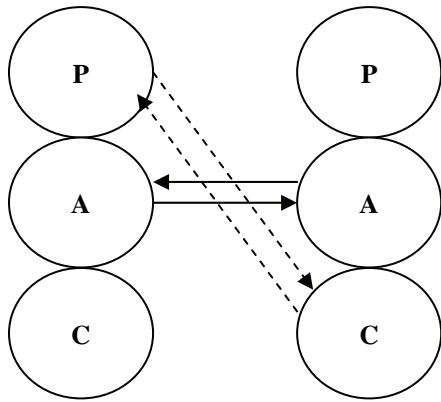
complementary transaction is one in which the transactional vectors are parallel and the ego state addressed is the one which responds' (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p60). 'So long as transactions remain complementary, communication can continue indefinitely' (p62). This can be good if we are talking Adult to Adult, but in the case of exclusion, where the teacher is shouting using Controlling Parent behaviours and the pupil is shouting back using Rebellious Child behaviours, the row is unlikely to stop if the protagonists continue using complementary transactions.

Diagram 4 – Crossed Transaction



'A crossed transaction is one in which the transactional vectors are not parallel, or in which the ego state addressed is not the one which responds'. When this is the occurs 'a break in communication results and one or both individuals will need to shift ego-states in order for communication to be re-established' (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p63 and p65). For example if the shouting pupil had been met with an Adult response such as 'why are you so angry?' said in a genuinely curious and interested tone, rather than the Critical Parental 'don't you dare shout at me', the child would have had to eventually shift from Rebellious Child to Adult or else communication would stop. Again, I was interested in this as a way of diffusing conflict situations and taught it through drama in Phase Two.

Diagram 5 – Ulterior Transaction



Finally, ulterior transactions are being used when what is said, is not what is meant; where a subtext is involved. If I ask: 'Where did you get your dress?' I may sound like I am using Adult behaviours to find out information, however, my tone may have a sneer in it hinting at the Critical Parent who is thinking 'Urgh, what a horrible dress'. Ulterior transactions are hard to respond to as the subtext is communicated non-verbally. The sulky teenager who says: 'Yes sir', while slouching and chewing gum is the expert in ulterior transaction as although s/he appears to be adapting, in fact s/he is rebelling.

Another crucial component of TA is 'stroke theory'. Strokes are 'any sort of act by someone that lets you know they are there' (Freed, 1977,p8) or 'a unit of recognition' (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p72). Strokes can be non-verbal (a look, a smile, a touch, a punch) as well as verbal.

Strokes are as necessary to human life as are other biological needs such as food, water, and shelter- needs which if not satisfied will lead to death (Steiner, 1971, p9).

Babies who didn't get strokes:

Seemed to give up wanting to live, and some stopped living. They died of an illness called marasmus....[a] deterioration or shrivelling of the spinal cord due to lack of stroking (Freed, 1977, p11).

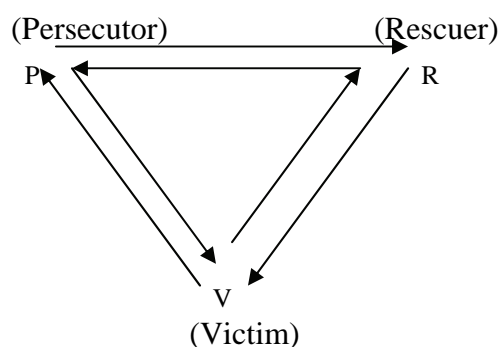
When we are born we understand physical strokes and as we develop, verbal and symbolic strokes have an impact.

Strokes can be positive, which the 'receiver experiences as pleasant' (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p73) or negative, which are experienced as painful. They can be conditional (based on condition of what we *do*)

or unconditional (based on who we *are*). The highest quality stroke is a positive, unconditional stroke, but 'any kind of stroke is better than no stroke at all' (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p73). So if we do not get positive strokes for *being*, we will behave in a way which we think will get us positive strokes for *doing*. Failing this we will attract negative strokes, as at least they show we are being recognised. To change someone's way of gathering strokes can take a long time, as script beliefs about oneself and others have to be changed.

Eric Berne wrote about *Games People Play* (1964). A Game is a communication habit which is learned as part of our script and as such is played out of here-and-now awareness. We will tend to have our favourite Games and we will unconsciously invite people to play it with us. Games avoid genuine, intimate communication and end up with all players feeling bad. However, we play them because they are predictable and they confirm our script beliefs about ourselves and others. Berne identifies many Games, for example the 'Yes But' Game during which person A may start with a problem and invites person B to help solve it. However, every one of person B's suggestions will be met with a 'yes but...' as a reason why that solution cannot work. The conversation will continue until one or the other breaks off leaving A feeling: 'I knew no one could help me', and B feeling either a failure, as s/he could not help, or angry about the rejected ideas. Person A regularly find themselves in this role, as will person B as it is part of their script. All Games can be crystallised through the Drama Triangle (Karpman, 1968).

Diagram 6 – The Drama Triangle



There are three roles: Persecutor, Rescuer and Victim. In the 'Yes But..' Game, person A starts as the Victim, asking for help and person B is Rescuer. However, as the Game goes on, the roles may switch so that person B begins to feel like the Victim as s/he can never get the right answer and person A would be seen to be Persecutor. This switch is part of Game playing and the Game ends with everyone receiving negative strokes and feeling bad. Games are not inevitable. It is possible to see the Game starting and to avoid playing a role. So if I were quick enough to spot a 'Yes But..' invitation from someone in Victim, instead of trying to solve the problem for them and joining them on the Drama Triangle, I have the opportunity to draw them into Adult by asking them what they think they can do, thereby rejecting the invitation to play and avoiding wasted energy and negative strokes.

2.8 POSITIVE TEACHING

In many ways, much of what follows is an expansion or reframing of Hargreaves' 'deviance insulative' teaching (1975). Having read about the psychoanalytic explanations for pupil 'deviance' and having discovered an analytic language, I continued to read literature which can be summed up as 'positive teaching'. I wanted to find ways of teaching which worked with the developmental and emotional needs of pupils within the mainstream educational system.

I started to read works on assertive discipline by people like Australian Bill Rogers. Rogers differentiated between 'punishment' and 'discipline', the former being an end in itself and the latter being a way of teaching more appropriate behaviour. Rogers argued that the purpose of discipline is to teach students:

Self discipline and self-control...to enhance students' self-esteem....accountability for behaviour
..to encourage individual students to recognise and respect the rights of others....to promote the
value of honesty, fairness, respect for others (Rogers,1998, p11).

He focused on informing pupils of the consequences of their actions in advance so that they can make choices in how they behave. He advocated that teachers remain calm and that they start again every lesson, having talked through any issues with the students, privately, outside class. Rules have to be clear, with links between cause and effect, and justly applied. Rogers argued that teachers should treat

pupils with respect; shouting is definitely advised against. He recommended a 'problem solving approach involving definition of the problems, an exploration of solutions, and selection and modelling of target behaviour' (Rogers, 1998, p173). By 'modelling' Rogers meant that teachers must behave in ways which they want pupils to behave so that they set an example; so if it is undesirable for pupils to be aggressive and use put downs, then it is also undesirable for the teachers. Rogers very much focuses on the staff/pupil relationships and although he is an advocate of firm boundaries, he also encouraged dialogue and explanation.

In TA terms, Bill Rogers advocates an Adult to Adult approach, rather than the traditional Parent to Child. If a pupil is using Rebellious Child behaviours, instead of accepting the role of Critical Parent and so engaging in ongoing complementary transactions, Rogers recommends crossed transactions, rejecting the offered role and instead replying from Adult, thereby avoiding conflict and encouraging the pupil to move into Adult themselves. Rogers does not use the language of TA, but he does give many illustrations of his ideas and they tallied with my own forming ideas that Adult to Adult transactions could avoid exclusion incidents. Like TA practitioners, Bill Rogers believes that new ways of behaving can be learned if they are modelled by staff.

Miller, in his research, supported Rogers' ideas, also suggesting a 'combination of rules, praise and ignoring [which] proved highly effective in reducing inappropriate behaviour' (Miller, 1996, p22). Miller and Bill Rogers both use behaviour modification techniques which hold, as a 'major tenet that behaviour is learned...is governed by settings in which it occurs...and by what follows as the consequences' (Miller, 1996, p18). Long advocated that teachers should 'catch them [pupils] being good and reward them' (2000, p17). Long, in TA terms advocated the use of positive strokes as a way of encouraging growth and this was one of the theories which I tested in Phase Two.

These behaviour modification techniques use Adult to Adult transactions and positive strokes for behaviour. Howe wrote about the importance of making positive strokes available for learning as well:

Confidence comes from past success yielding rewards for one's effort and encouragement to believe that eventual goals are really attainable (1984, p137).

He argued that the more control pupils have over their learning, the more the locus of control will (see p 40) become internalised thence encouraging ownership of success and failure. Just as success can spiral on to more success, so failure can spiral downwards to 'lower estimates of their ability, and in turn they become less happy, more shameful and less confident in future success' (Howe, 1984, p149). Once more it could be seen in TA terms where 'What you stroke is what you get', that is, if you tell some one they can succeed they will, if you tell them they will fail they will, which is a re-framing of the concepts behind labelling theory (see p26).

Michelle MacGrath's book *The Art of Teaching Peacefully* confirmed many of the ideas which were emerging from the research; not least her analysis of the impact of emotions in schools. She argued that 'Some pupils are simply too sad, too anxious or angry to learn....Thus a pupil who is anxious or sad may suddenly become very angry. Anger may be easier to feel than sadness or fear' (1998, p42). This last statement was the first confirmation I had of my own findings, especially with regard to boys. Her findings supported the earlier work by Cooper (1993), John (1996) and subsequent work by Cooper et al (2000).

Bill Rogers and Long acknowledged that anger is a force in disruption but rather than seeing it as deviant, like Winnicott and Klein, they saw it as inevitable. However, what they focused on was anger management skills which 'include muscle relaxation, reframing self-talk, writing down "angry thoughts", ...communicating anger verbally' (Rogers, 1998, p303). These skills are not only to be taught to the students, but modelled by the teachers.

Because of the scripts that we each carry, we may see anger and confrontation as bad and negative. But anger is a natural emotion.....we should try to look behind the behaviour.....Being angry is not the problem. Children, just like adults have the right to be angry. It is when that behaviour infringes the rights of other people that it becomes a problem (Long, 1999, p14).

Anger is not denied, but methods for it to be safely expressed are suggested. Rather than repression, leading to an eventual explosion and then punishment as I heard time and time again in my Phase One interviews, safe expression was suggested. Long not only wrote about anger management for the pupils, he also asked that staff be aware of how they deal with their own anger, asking us to look at how our body changes when we are feeling angry, before noticing the physiological changes in pupils as they get angry. Again, this confirmed my own findings about anger as did his statement that whereas normally we: 'Feel....think....act', under threat we move from 'feeling straight into action' (Long, 1999, p7). These insights offered my own work an understanding of the impact of anger and a confirmation that teachers too had to take responsibility for the own emotions and how they projected them.

MacGrath's approach to teaching drew heavily on some therapeutic norms. She asked that teachers look beyond the behaviour, to the feeling: 'It can...be useful to ask why he or she is resorting to disruptive behaviour' (1998, p11). Rather than seeing 'deviant' behaviour as 'bad' she reframed it as a sign, a communication of something that the pupil was unable to express. She saw it as the teacher's responsibility to be aware of this and to try to get to the real cause, rather than just focusing on the manifesting behaviour. 'Pupils who readily resort to aggression or disruptive behaviour are likely to feel extremely vulnerable themselves' (1998, p12).

She said that schools should focus on 'physical emotional and mental well being of both pupils and teacher' (1998, pviv). Like Winnicott, she argued that emotions have to have a place in schools as they have such an impact on learning and behaviour.

Pupils who are most likely to disrupt lessons and respond aggressively are those who, despite an often arrogant veneer are least sure of themselves...feeling powerless, they vehemently reject any treatment *which they interpret* as aiming to put them into a subservient position (1998, pvii).

The italics here are mine as I find this point crucial for teachers; no matter what we intend by our communication, we have to attend to how it is received by the listener, being aware that what is heard is very much governed by script beliefs.

MacGrath explained anger as 'a response to a real or imagined attack....or to a frustration, real or imagined, of a desire or need' (p60). She argued that teachers have to be responsible for the way that they meet their pupils' anger as we are the adults. 'Since teachers are the professionals, the responsibility lies with us to extend our repertoire of communication skills' (1998, p64) to include ways of dealing with strong feeling. Amongst these skills she suggested that teachers emphasise 'the desired behaviour rather than the undesirable one' (p6) and should notice 'even small improvements' (p7). Like Bill Rogers she argued that consequences should be clear and that they should follow a 'cause and effect' (p8) model, using naturally occurring effects as far as is safe and possible. She also encouraged 'separating the person from the behaviour' (p54) and states that teachers and pupils should be encouraged to 'own' (see below) what they say.

Having read about classroom techniques, I turned to literature on effective parenting in my search for ideas about ways of coping with conflict and disruption in a respectful way. I actually found much of this literature to be of more help than the literature on deviance and pedagogy as I felt that it offered positive, practical techniques. Jean Illsley-Clarke has written extensively about self-esteem and I will come back to that later. She also offered simple strategies for dealing with conflict that I used in my Phase Two research. Firstly, she was one of the first advocates of Time Out. Time Out is when the child and or the adult, have time away from each other and the situation in order to calm down and think about what has been occurring. However, in later works she argued that Time Out was not a method of discipline although it was being used as such in schools. Time Out was not: 'Intended as a negative consequence but as a gift of time and space to help the child' (1999, p16). Time Out as discipline means that people avoid contact with each other and she wrote that discipline needs contact and not withdrawal. Illsley Clarke advocated 'Ask, Act, Attend, Amend'. 'Asking invites the child to think' (Illsley-Clarke, 1999, p20) which she saw as crucial in order that the child begins to take responsibility for their own behaviour. When 'acting' you 'move your body, to interrupt or prevent a misbehaviour and teach a needed lesson'

(p30). To Attend is to listen to the child in order to hear their point of view and when making Amends natural consequences should be used primarily followed by logical consequences.

Like MacGrath, Crary focuses on 'I-messages' which give 'the other person information about how you feel and how his or her behaviour affects you, I will refer to this as 'Owning' one's own thoughts and feelings. The basic pattern for expressing this is 'When [action].....I feel [emotion]...Because [reason]'. (Crary, 1995, p77). For example: 'When you talk when I am talking, I feel angry because I see that you are missing some of the information you will need for your homework'. 'I-messages....model healthy ways to talk about feelings....give children 'feeling words' they can use when they need them' (p78). I-messages are free of value judgements about 'being'; they do not contain negative strokes as the speaker is focusing on the effect of the action on themselves rather than making accusations to another. Crary also warned that when disciplining, the adult needs to 'Describe the problem...be specific (1995, p8), 'Gather information....know more about it' (p12), 'Decide what you want.....what you want your child to do, not what not to do' (1995, p14), 'look for ideas' for solutions to the problem and then 'make your decision and follow through' (p14). Again, the key to these approaches is a focus on Adult behaviour and an 'I'm OK, You're OK', life position as a way of modelling a calm, problem solving approach to discipline which the pupils can then internalise and apply to their own peer conflicts. Communication is central and the *way* that communication occurs, crucial.

Another theorist and practitioner who influenced my research is Jenny Mosely and her idea of Circle Time. Circle Time is a gathering of people in a circle and I found it to be positive when I used it in Phase Two of the research. Circles can be planned or spontaneous and can be used for anything as long as the basic purpose and ground rules are understood by all participants. Circle Time is a 'forum where children could bring up problems they were having with one another and work to find solutions' (Monahan, 2000, p6). It is a 'means of promoting self-esteem, self-discipline and responsibility towards others' (Mosely, 1996, p6).

Circle Time can involve games, activities, but the core of it is the Round which is when everyone gets a chance to speak, or not, if they want and others listen with respect. Mosely describes the 'Golden rules [as] honesty, co-operation, trust, listening, gentleness and kindness' (1996, p84). In the circle 'everyone is equal, everyone can be seen and heard, people can make eye contact, they can speak to one another more easily, there are no barriers such as tables or desks and everyone feels part of the group' (Curry and Bromfield, 1995, p4).

What ever the subject discussed in the circle, *how* communication occurs is again of tantamount importance. Active listening skills (see p108-p110) need to be taught and practised:

Not all children know instinctively how to interact effectively nor do interpersonal group skills magically appear when needed. Pupils must be taught these skills and motivated to use them (Curry and Bromfield, 1995, p12).

Mosely argued that in order to teach pupils these skills, the teachers must have these skills themselves:

It is unfair to ask or expect children to be calm, polite, sensitive and responsible if our own behaviour towards them or our colleagues does not reflect these values (Mosely, 1996, p15).

Mosely, like MacGrath and Bill Rogers argued that teachers should reward or notice good behaviour and, when correcting unacceptable behaviour, should separate the behaviour from the child. It is also our job as teachers to make the circle, and I would argue, the school, a safe place as 'children require consistency and respect [in] the way they are treated within the school community; they need a sense of being safe and being supported, whilst being empowered to make choices and to state their views' (1998, p6). True to her philosophy Mosely argued that teachers as well as pupils need taking care of and asks that we put time aside to relax and focus and to think about the behaviour we want to encourage by modelling it ourselves. 'Adults in school need to attend to their needs before they can attend to the children's (1998, p19). Mosely stated that it is impossible to teach subjects such as citizenship, democracy, social responsibility, morality and other abstract topics which find themselves pushed into the Personal and Social Education (PSE) curriculum, unless 'these concepts are part of their lived reality' (1998, p19). So instead of looking at types of deviance, Mosely offered preventative strategies which ask

teachers to be responsible for teaching the social and emotional skills needed to succeed, as well as their own subject. In order to find out what these 'emotional skills' were, I turned to the literature surrounding emotional literacy.

2.9 EMOTIONAL LITERACY

'Five in every hundred teenagers are seriously depressed'. 'Six in every 100 000 15-19 year old boys commit suicide each year in Britain' (Long, 1999a, p5). 'The suicide rate for young men has doubled since the early eighties....Suicide is now the biggest cause of death of men aged 25-34'. A 'refusal to talk about problems is a key reason why men are more likely to kill themselves than women. They internalise feelings until it gets too big a burden to bear, then it leads to self-destruction' (Browne, 2001, p5). Symptoms of depression in men include: 'anxiety and irritability, feelings of emptiness and fatigue. They may be aggressive and violent, show poor impulse control and lash out, even when this is out of character' (Long, 1999a, p6). 'It is well known that social isolation is a big risk factor in depression. Men are especially at risk because they are reluctant to ask for help...their perception of being a man is to keep problems to themselves...each year three times as many men as women commit suicide' (Browne, 2001, p5). 'Being a man is an incubator for depression.....men are completely repressed'. (Phillimore, 2000, p 59). To me, this information alone was reason enough to consider emotional literacy of importance. Many of the boys who get excluded, leave school unskilled, and the suicide rate 'is far higher – and rising- among unskilled men than among professional men' (Browne, 2001, p5).

Steiner described emotional literacy as 'the ability to understand your emotions, the ability to listen to others and empathise with their emotions, and the ability to express emotion constructively' (1997, p4).

Many of the exclusion incidents in Phase One involved an out-burst of anger which the student experienced as uncontrollable, so the idea of expressing emotion constructively seemed important.

Stein and Book defined emotional literacy as:

The ability to perceive emotions, to access and generate emotions so as to assist thought, to understand emotions and emotional meanings, and to reflectively regulate emotions in ways that promote emotional and intellectual growth (1991, p14).

What interested me about this definition was the link between intellectual and emotional literacy. Schools are driven by results and I was interested to find out how emotional literacy affected intellectual success as if it did, it would have a justified place on the curriculum.

Orbach's definition of emotional literacy was:

The capacity to register our emotional responses to the situations we are in and to acknowledge those responses to ourselves so that we recognise the ways in which they influence our thoughts, actions...to take responsibility for understanding our personal emotions (1999, p2).

Finally Goleman said emotional literacy includes:

Self-control, zeal and persistence....[the] ability to motivate oneself...[to] link between sentiment, character and moral instincts....[the] ability to control impulse is the base of will and character....[and the] root of altruism lies in empathy, self restraint and compassion (1996, pxii).

Goleman's definition includes many qualities which would be seen as desirable in school but are not 'taught'. Instead these qualities are seen as being taught, or not, in the family context. Goleman suggests that by learning to be emotionally literate, we are also learning these other qualities. This excited me as it, like TA and behaviour modification, contained the notion of change and growth.

Greenhalgh focused specifically on the link between emotions and learning and stated that 'children and young people who are troubled and suffering emotional distress not only trouble others with whom they come into contact, but find it difficult to be available to learning' (1994, p1). When a child is disrupting a class, it is not only the pupils s/he is disturbing, but us as teachers, so the idea that there is a way of making life better for everyone was attractive.

Awkward, irritating and painful feelings can play a powerful role in getting in the way of learning. The realm of feeling....can indeed both facilitate and inhibit growth, development and learning (1994, p2).

However, 'emotional literacy programmes improve children's academic achievement scores and school performance..' (Goleman, 1996 p284). This view is supported by Stein and Book: 'In order for us to take advantage of and flex our cognitive intelligence to the maximum, we first need good emotional intelligence... Because regardless of how brainy we are, if we turn others off with abrasive behaviour, are unaware of how we are presenting ourselves or cave in under minimal stress, no one will stick around long enough to notice our high IQs' (1991, p5). Sharp puts the point more succinctly: 'EQ is more important than IQ in predicting future success' (2001, p95).

Stein and Book refer to the Reuven Bar-on test for emotional intelligence which was administered to 42,000 people in 36 countries. From these test results they identified components of behaviour which they considered to signal emotional intelligence. They acknowledged that people may have some or all of these but to different degrees. Stein and Book divided emotional intelligence into five realms, the first being the *Intrapersonal Realm* which includes one's ability to know oneself and to manage oneself. This realm is also the domain of assertiveness, self-awareness, a realistic recognition of strengths and weaknesses and the ability to clearly express thoughts and feelings. The *Interpersonal Realm* is the area of people skills, our ability to empathise, co-operate and to be socially responsible. The *Adaptability Realm* includes the ability to be flexible, realistic, the ability to define problems and to solve them. The *Stress Management Realm* is our ability to tolerate stress, to remain calm and focused and to control our impulses under pressure. Finally the *General Mood Realm* is our ability to remain happy and optimistic, our ability to enjoy life and feel enthusiastic about it (Stein and Book, 1991).

So it is not only emotions which are the focus of emotional intelligence, but social and personal behaviours and thoughts. 'The higher values of the human heart, faith, hope, devotion, love are entirely missing from the coldly cognitive view' (Goleman, 1996, p41) which is ironic as many of these values are

'taught' in PSE or RE. These ideas can not just be cognitively 'taught', they have also to be 'caught' (Sharp, 2001,p46). 'Caught' means that they have to be experienced, observed, seen at work in order to be integrated into oneself. 'The roots of morality are found in empathy' (Goleman, 1996, p105) and although we may conceptually understand empathy, it is not until we have experienced someone being empathetic with us that we realise its power. 'Children learn to do what they see done' (Goleman, 1996, p113).

Emotional literacy also demands a 'feelings' vocabulary, as if we have no words, we can not communicate clearly. TA theory says that we feel just four primal emotions: mad (angry), sad, glad (happy) and fear. However, there are degrees of each of these, for example fury, rage, irritation, annoyance and there are combinations of them, for example, guilt could be seen as a combination of fear and sadness. In my drama work in Phase Two I experimented with emotional vocabulary and found that not only did pupils have difficulty in differentiating between intensity of words, but also in separating thought from feeling. Similarly, some pupils could only discuss somatic feelings, for example hunger and fatigue. Without being able to express emotions verbally it is difficult to diffuse 'dangerous' emotions like anger in a safe way.

Steiner suggested that, as teachers, we need to be aware of our students' needs and in order to do this we need to be emotionally literate ourselves. 'You must be able to admit your own aggression, selfishness and greed...you must also be aware of and accept these impulses in others...we all have selfish and aggressive instincts and managing these instincts in an ethical way is one of the primary aims of emotional wisdom' (Steiner, 1997, p213). 'Children modify their behaviour for better or worse in response to the way they feel themselves to be perceived by their teachers ' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p85). Therefore, how we communicate with students and how we manage our feelings about them is vital. 'As we improve our capacity to be aware of and to manage our own feelings, we become better able to manage our relationships with others' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p168). 'Teachers can only help learners

improve their emotional literacy significantly if they have first addressed their own needs' (Sharp, 2001, p45).

Goleman's definition of emotional literacy (1996, pxii) included the concept of motivation. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (see Appendix 1) is a well known construct which provides an explanation for human motivation. To be emotionally literate we have to be aware of our own needs and the needs of others. Maslow says that there are five levels of needs. We can not move on meet higher order need until our lower level needs are met. Firstly, our physiological needs have to be met and these include the needs for food, shelter, warmth and sleep. Secondly we have to satisfy our need for security, predictability and safety against danger and threat. Thirdly we can start to address our social needs (our need to belong, to have friendships, to be part of a group, to be understood and cared for). From this we can move on to meet our fourth level, self-esteem needs by gaining self respect, confidence and autonomy. Finally, when all these needs are met we move towards self-actualisation which is when we can develop talents, find personal fulfilment, when we can gain recognition and be of benefit to others and society (Maslow, 1954; Greenhalgh, 1994, p26; Stein and Book, 1991, p100). We can move up the hierarchy, but we can also come down again. Any major life transition like moving house, bereavement, divorce, moving schools, can throw us back down the hierarchy and we have to start to build again. If we are pushed to address a higher need, before our base needs are met, it is likely to cause us anxiety and stress as we would not have the stability necessary to move on.

2.10 SELF ESTEEM

Self-esteem is found in Maslow's fourth level needs and is an aspect of emotional literacy which has a direct impact on life expectations and academic success. My final area of reading was around how self-esteem could be built up in schools and the effect this could have. Self esteem is the difference between our 'perceived self' which is how we see ourselves, how we define ourselves in relation to age, class, job, material possessions, and so on, and our 'desired self' which is our idealised image of how we would like

to be. Self-esteem depends on how different our perceived self is from our idealised self (Adler, Rosenfield and Towne, 1986, p28).

Positive self-esteem is important because when people experience it, they feel good and look good, they are effective and productive....they respond to other people and themselves in healthy, positive, growing ways....know that they are loveable and capable and they care about themselves and other people. They do not have to build themselves up by tearing other people down or by patronising less competent people (Illsely-Clarke, 1998, p5).

I felt that if this was the effect of positive self-esteem, I wanted to find ways of encouraging and developing it in schools. 'Childhood self-esteem can overwhelm academic disadvantage or social deprivation in determining future earning power...boys in particular who were anti-social and had low self-esteem at ten are at a greater risk of unemployment in early adulthood' (Summerhill, 2000, p3).

Low self-esteem has negative consequences for the individual concerned and those s/he comes into contact with. Low self-esteem leads to feelings of isolation 'inadequacy and worthlessness and [individuals] see themselves as inferior....lacking in confidence...[and they may] cover this feeling of inadequacy by acting the clown and 'showing off''. Low self-esteem leads to 'underachievement in school' (Curry and Bromfield, 1995, p28). People with low self-esteem may set unrealistic goals for themselves which are either too high or too low, they may be anxious, attention seeking and needing a lot of reassurance. They 'tend to be more disruptive....to do with their feelings of frustration and anger at their sense of failure' (Curry and Bromfield, 1995, p29). They do not like themselves and so cannot believe that any one else can like them. They are more likely to experiment with drugs and alcohol, they will either have few friends or 'problem' friends and are more likely to challenge rules and authority. They 'will be self-motivated to lie as a way of protecting their weak self-image. This will also enable them to avoid taking responsibility for their behaviour' (Long, 2000c, p9).

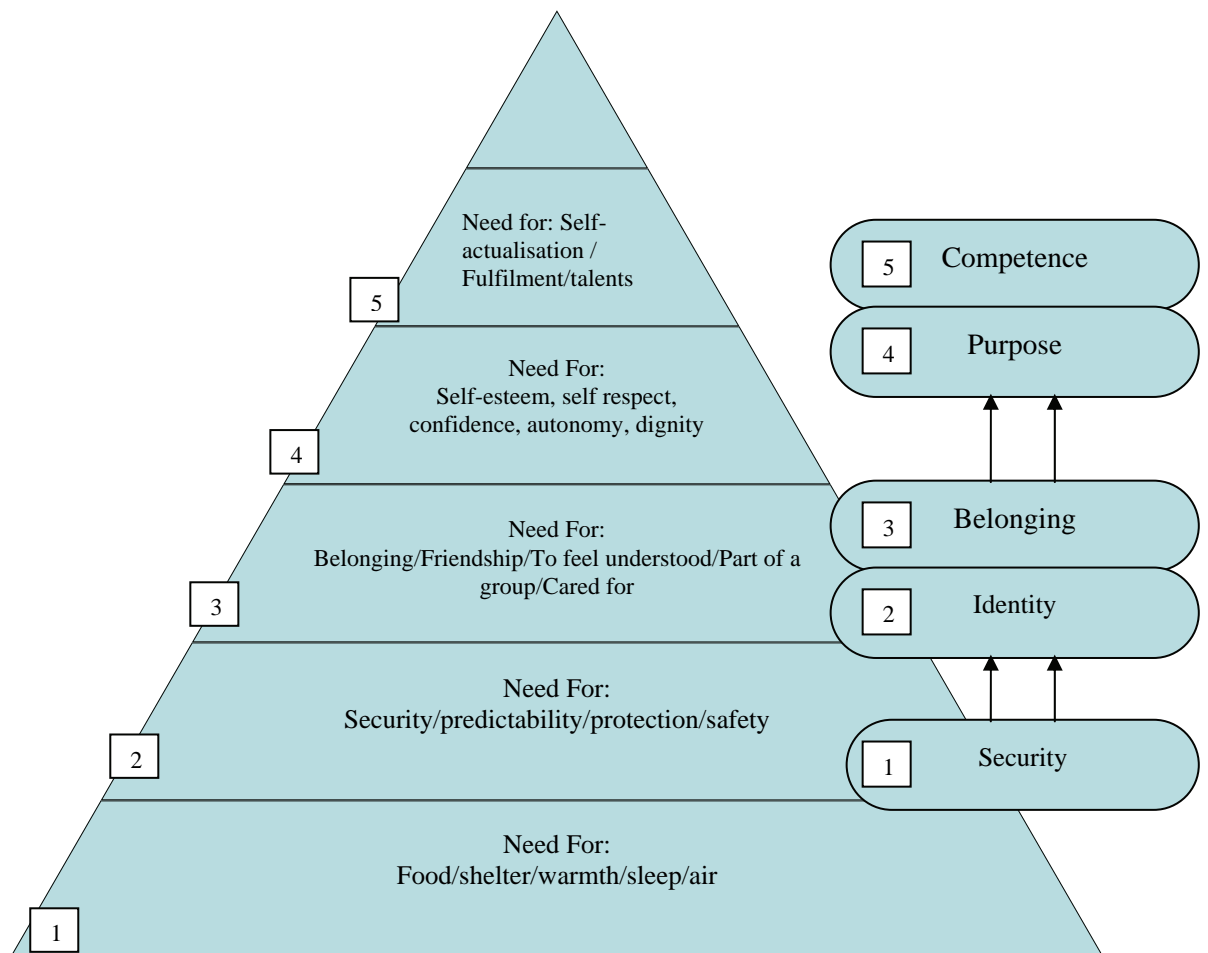
In contrast, people with high self-esteem will be secure, focused, realistic, eager. They will take risks as they are less scared of failure. They will feel valued and appreciated and so will be able to pass on these

feelings to others. They will be co-operative, sensitive and empathetic. They will be decisive and responsible and are more willing to share ideas and opinions (Andres, 2003).

It is especially difficult for people who 'have a very high level of inner turmoil and a very low self-esteem to change as they dare not risk changing their negative behaviours for more positive ones, as they have learnt that their negative response keeps their precious world safe' (Mosely, 1996, p51).

Robert Reasoner (1982) developed a model which identifies the 'Five senses of self-esteem'. In personal correspondence to me he acknowledged the influences of Maslow and Dr Stanley Coopersmith in the construction of his model. Reasoner's model was helpful to my theme analysis as it refined Maslow's third level needs. The diagram below shows how Reasoner's model (on the right) compares to Maslow's. Reasoner's focus is on how to build self esteem in schools by developing each of the five senses in turn.

Diagram 7 – Maslow and Reasoner's Theories Combined



Reasoner defines the senses as:

1. 'Security', which can include clear expectations, predictability as well as our basic physiological and security needs.
2. 'Identity' which is when we have a clear and realistic sense of what makes us unique in the world, a clear image of our strengths and weaknesses and or impact on others.
3. 'Belonging'; a feeling of being part of something bigger than ourselves, to feel accepted, connected and part of something we are proud of.
4. 'Purpose'; goals which we aim for and which we can achieve.
5. 'Competence'; a feeling of being good at things, of being successful in the things we want to be successful in.

2.11 CONCLUSION

I started off my research by being interested in gender and how it was constructed with particular reference to boys' failure. My reading on deviance and gender then looked at how deviant behaviour was socially constructed and the effects that this had within the school and society. This reading led me into Phase One of my research. However, by the end of this phase I was faced with questions which this literature did not answer. I wanted to know how and why boys use anger, I wanted to know how staff interacted with pupils and the effect this had. I was frustrated by some of the theorising of the Phase One literature in that it remained at the exploratory level, so turned to literature which I felt might offer solutions and which I could actually use. I tried out many of the practical ideas from the Phase Two literature (further discussed in Chapter Three) and found that my research lent support to what I read. For me the reading was a journey which led to a change in my research methods and my teaching style. I will now go on to discuss my methodology.

CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY

3.1 OVERVIEW

Originally I had intended to write about my ontological, epistemological and methodological frames separately, thereafter explaining how they led into the methods I chose. However, it was impossible to separate them as my methods and methodology were linked to my way of understanding the world and the construction of knowledge. Therefore I have decided to offer a summary of these frameworks and will then follow the various strands of my ontological beliefs to show how they were manifested in the epistemology, methodology and the choice of methods. I will discuss my belief systems and explain how they formed the research.

I understand *ontology* to be a theory of 'reality' or 'being' (Stanley and Wise, 1993, p194). For me 'ontology' means the way in which we believe the world to be: what I think is real, my own philosophical perspective on what life is. 'An *epistemology* is a framework or theory specifying the constitution and generation of knowledge about the social world: that is, it concerns how to understand the nature of reality' (Stanley and Wise, 1993, p188). Epistemology is the study of *how* knowledge is produced and what we define as legitimate knowledge, or as Harding puts it 'a theory of knowledge' (Harding, 1987, p223). My epistemological stance is that we come to know the world through intra and inter personal relationships, that is, through knowing oneself and finding out about other people through listening and empathising. I have found that by understanding the past, recent or distant, we have more power to control our present and future. I believe that realities change over time and in relation to the people and situations we find ourselves in, so the process of research can only provide a snap shot of a specific historical, social and personal situation (Coffey and Delamont, 2000, p12). My way of understanding knowledge is non-dualistic; I think that practice and theory are linked as are emotion and intellect, subject and object, researcher and researched. I understand '*methodology*' to be 'A theory of how research is

carried out or the broad principles about how to conduct research and how theory is applied' and *methods* used are 'Particular procedures used in the course of research' (Harding, 1987, p223). In Phase One the only research method I used was the loosely structured interview. However, Phase Two involved group work, didactic and experiential learning as well as focused but loosely structured interviews.

My initial research questions (see p5) focused on the construction of deviance and gender in school. These questions were then extended during Phase Two to include questions about emotional literacy and communication (see p6). I will now give a brief narrative of the whole research process so that more detailed explanations, philosophies and decisions can be seen against an overall picture of what occurred.

3.2 SUMMARY OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

In Phase One I undertook sixty seven, fifty-minute interviews with students who had returned to school having been excluded. The group self selected by 'getting' excluded and further selection occurred in the process of gaining consent from parents and students. I started the research with four pilot interviews in 2000 and although the bulk of the interviews were carried out in 2000-1, I continued into academic year of 2001-2. In all, I interviewed fourteen girls: one from year 7, one from year 8, four from years 9 and 10 and three from year 11. I interviewed nearly four times as many boys, fifty three in total; two in year 7, eight in year 8, twelve in year 9, eighteen in year 10 and eleven in year 11. All the interviews started with me stating the boundaries of the research and my opening question invited them to tell me what had happened to lead to their exclusion. Subsequent questions were used to clarify and explore themes they brought up. I ended the interviews with some reflective questions on the process of the interview and their expectations of it.

These interviews led to the action research projects in Phase Two. By then I had been promoted to Head of Drama and so was able to construct a lower school curriculum which integrated drama skills, TA and emotional literacy. Through drama we explored team building and co-operation, some of the basic Transactional Analysis concepts which focus on inter-personal processes (see Chapter 2.7) and conflict

resolution. We also used meditative breathing, grounding and awareness (see p106) as well as therapeutic checking in and out (see p112). Every child in year 7, the target year, 282 pupils altogether, experienced the curriculum and at the end of the year I interviewed a random selection of pupils to see what they had thought of the course.

In order to support this work I gave a brief presentation at a whole staff meeting so that staff were aware of what I was doing. In response to requests by staff following that, a two day Transactional Analysis course was run in school. Four males attended, of whom three were teachers and one was a classroom support assistant from the Learning Support Unit. Fourteen women attended of whom two were secretaries, one a laboratory technician, two were classroom assistants from primary feeder schools in the EAZ, one was a teacher in the Learning Support Unit, one a classroom assistant from the unit and the rest were mainstream teachers. A qualified external trainer led the course which was a standard TA101, teaching the basic concepts of TA in a theoretical and experiential way. The course was in February and at the end of that academic year I interviewed three of the men (75%) and twelve of the women (86%), using open questions to find out what their expectations of the course had been, what they personally got from it if anything, and how, if at all, it had made a difference to their school life.

One of the themes that emerged from Phase One was how many of the excluded students found their anger difficult to manage. I negotiated with the school and funding was found for six 2 hour group therapy sessions led by a qualified psychotherapist. I refer to this variously as 'Anger Management', 'the anger group' or 'the therapy group'. I approached all of the pupils I had interviewed in Phase One and asked them if they would like to be involved. In the end ten pupils from year 10 and three from year 11 took up the offer; all were boys. Parental permission was again obtained. On the day of the first session three pupils were absent and we decided that as the group had already started to form we should close the group. We also lost another boy after the first session and a second after a later session. In all we ended up with a group of eight year 10 boys.

The sessions occurred during school time, once every half a term. The initial session was held in the drama studio but after discussion (see p226) we agreed to use the therapist's own group room which was a few miles away in the countryside. A youth worker joined us and worked in a room below the therapy room, so was not part of the sessions, but was around to be with any boys who left the therapy room for any reason. I was involved with the group itself. After the sixth session I carried out review interviews with all but one of the boys.

A primary feeder school approached a colleague about running a club for year 4 and 5 pupils who were having behavioural problems in school. We put together an arts and drama course which was designed to explore identity, personal history and emotions. I refer to this as 'the junior school group' or 'the creative group'. The course ran for 5 weeks at the end of the summer term after school. A male art teacher, the female classroom assistant who worked with the pupils in school and a female counsellor, co-facilitated. We went to the junior school for three hours, allowing half an hour before to arrive and get organised and half an hour after to de-brief. We used a variety of group and personal activities. The junior school invited ten boys to join but only eight came. The junior school Head selected them on the basis of their behaviour in school. The aim was to give them something positive that they could feel special about, while also helping them learn about themselves and boost self-esteem. At the end of the course I interviewed all of the boys for half an hour asking them about what they liked and did not like and how they felt about the course ending. I also interviewed the counsellor and the classroom assistant asking them to reflect on the experience. All the interview questions were open and used the same approach as in Phase One (see Chapter 3.10.1)

Finally, I interviewed key figures in the secondary school; the Head (male), two deputies (one male, one female), two senior teachers (one male, one female), the school youth worker (male), Special Educational Needs Coordinator (SENCO) (male) and the school counsellor (female). Using the same interview

technique I opened with a question inviting them to explain the way they saw their role in school and this then developed into a discussion about attitudes to education and behaviour management including aspects of the research.

All of these methods are explored in more detail in sections 3.10 and 3.11. Having re-stated my aims and given an overview of my methods and the research progression, I will now step back to look at the various belief systems which informed the practice described.

3.3 BUDDHISM

My experience of Buddhism had some influence on the research design and methods. Buddhist texts argue that there is no reality separate from consciousness. The relationship between 'perceiver and perceived' (Dalai Lama, 1999, p39) is what creates 'reality'. This tied in with the sociological literature on labelling and teacher behaviours which increased the likelihood of deviant behaviours (see p26 and p28) in that both frameworks of thought argue that nothing occurs in isolation and that individuals are influenced by, and have influence on their contexts. It also naturally linked with the feminist research methodologies discussed below in Chapter 3.5, as, if the perceiver and the perceived create reality together, then it was important for me to situate myself within the research process. Relationships are complex and lead to the understanding that 'self and others can only be understood in terms of relationship, we see that self-interest and the interest of others are similarly interrelated' (Dalai Lama, 1999, p47). Therefore truth is perceived as a product of consciousness, and consciousness is not only found within one person, but within the interactive situation; hence my role in the research had to be considered.

If identity was really constructed in relation to the environment and the other then it could be reconstructed. This idea linked again to the feminist methodologies about empowering people to change. Instead of using the macro-political stance of many researchers, I decided to focus on the micro, through

investigating the students' own perspectives and also the way that their interactions with me informed ideas about identity formation. 'Whilst we cannot always change our external situation to suit us, we can change our attitude' (Dalai Lama, 1999, p62). I hoped that by exploring the inner world of the students, there was also the possibility of changing the outer world.

To reframe these ideas in a research paradigm, the work of the phenomenologists was supportive. Curtis used the word 'consciousness' himself and says that it is 'active...meaning bestowing' (Curtis in Cohen and Manion, 1997, p2). Also social constructivist Martyn Hammersley expressed the same idea when discussing qualitative research: 'All perception and cognition involves the construction of phenomena rather than their mere discovery' (Hammersley, Gomm and Woods, 1994, p27). To find the ideas of Buddhism expressed in different language within a research paradigm gave me confidence in both my initial aims and the feminist, deconstructivist approach I had decided to take.

Buddhist views opposed the Cartesian dualism of positivist science and supported feminist methodologies. 'As all things are connected, we narrow our ability to find happiness if we use reductive approaches as it can cause us to lose touch with the wider reality of human experience and in particular our dependence on others' (Dalai Lama, 1999, p11). Jayaratne and Stewart quote Rose (1982, p368) as saying that 'feminist methodology seeks to bring together subjective and objective ways of knowing the world' (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991, p228). For me this was crucial. The feminist methodology gave legitimacy to my Buddhist ontology; it gave me a language to use which was more familiar in research, but which still expressed my belief that the search for a total, unchanging, objective reality is a mythical one. 'Objectivity ...is a set of intellectual practicalities for separating people from the knowledge of their own subjectivity.' (Stanley, 1990, in Holland and Blair, 1995, p263). However, Birke (1986) warned:

The association of objectivity with masculinity has sometimes led feminists to reject objectivity and to glorify subjectivity in opposition to it. While it is necessary to re-value the subjective...we do ourselves a disservice if we remove our self from objectivity and rationality' (quoted in Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991, p228).

The Buddhist anti-dualistic stance has implicit within it the need to unify perceptions. Finally, I drew on meditation techniques in my Phase Two drama lessons (see p106).

3.4 PSYCHOTHERAPY

Husserl, a phenomenologist, said 'one can only impute meaning...retrospectively, by the process of turning back on oneself and looking at what has been going on' (quoted in Cohen and Manion 1997, p15).

For me personally the process of therapy has been just that; a chance to turn back and understand myself. I changed through the course of therapy, at the level of beliefs about myself, others and the way in which I behave with other people.

Transactional Analysis (see Chapter 2.7) sees the goal of therapy and the journey of life as being a movement towards 'Autonomy'. Autonomy has three characteristics: being aware, which means that a person 'does not interpret nor filter his experience of the world', being spontaneous, which means 'the capacity to choose from a full range of options in feeling, thinking and behaving' responding to the world 'without blanking out portions.....or reinterpreting it', and being intimate, which means 'an open sharing of feelings and wants between you and another person'. (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p267).

Gestalt psychotherapy sees its goals as being 'awareness and responsibility' as 'the more fully aware of who I am and what I am doing in this moment, the more freedom I can experience to change and the more I am able to choose my responses' (Clarkson, 1996, p13). Awareness as described by these two humanistic psychotherapies is similar to the meditative notion of awareness. Awareness became very much part of my interview technique and supported my research philosophy of reflexivity. My ability to be spontaneous and intimate also was integral to the interview process, as well as the activities carried out in Phase Two, as I tried to respond to the needs of the research participants.

Without being aware of our feelings it is very easy to 'project' them onto someone, or something else.

Projection is: 'Disowning parts of our self and attributing them to others' (Clarkson, 1996, p48), or:

A notion of Freud's which relates to the unconscious process by which a person pushed out unwanted feelings (through actions or comments) in an attempt to lodge them in other people or things. It is a defence mechanism through which the projecting individual controls problematic feelings and obtains a temporary sense of release, and genuinely believes that the person/object onto whom the feeling is projected is the source of that feeling (Greenhalgh, 1994, p310).

An example of this is when a pupil who feels scared, actually displays anger and aggression in order to make other people feel scared, instead of having to feel the fear him or herself. Projection needed to be considered when reflecting on research relationships.

Transference also occurs when we are out of awareness. Transference is:

An unconscious process in which emotions related to a significant relationship are transferred onto another relationship, thus promoting the transfer of feelings held about one person onto another person (Greenhalgh, 1994, p311).

Awareness of transference was useful in the research interview as it enabled me to question whether the emotions I was experiencing arose from my past or whether I was picking up on how the child was feeling. For example if a pupil was telling me that s/he felt fine but I could see their fists clench and I noticed that I felt angry I might say 'I hear that you say you're fine but I notice that your fist is clenched and I notice that I feel angry'. In this particular interview, the student then said 'yeah, I was really pissed off'. There have of course been interviews when this sort of comment by me has led to a shrug of disagreement from them and the interview carried on without me being sure of how they were feeling.

Another personal example is the way in which I become easily scared and over-adaptive in the presence of a certain type of man as I transfer my image of my relationship with father when I was young onto the present situation. This can distort how I perceive the man in front of me and can even distort the man my father now is.

Carl Rogers refers to 'man's tendency to actualize himself, to become his potentialities', which he explained as 'the urge to expand, extend, develop, mature – the tendency to express and activate all the capacities of theself' (1997, p351). Rogers' positivity and my experiential knowledge, gave me courage to believe that change was possible for excluded pupils, as well as for the other staff and pupils around them. His thoughts also supported Maslow's concept of 'self-actualization' (see p61).

Carl Rogers refers to three Core Conditions which encourage personal growth, awareness and intimacy and I aimed to provide these conditions in the various phases of the research. One of the conditions is 'Unconditional Positive Regard' defined as an 'atmosphere which simply demonstrates 'I care'; not 'I care for you *if* you behave thus and so'. 'It involves as much feeling of acceptance for the client's expression of negative, 'bad', painful, fearful, and abnormal feelings as for his expression of 'good', positive, mature, confident and social feelings'. It is the 'acceptance of and a caring for a client as a separate person, with permission for him to have his own feelings and experiences, and to find his own meanings in them' (Rogers, 1961, p283). As outlined in Chapter 2.7, Transactional Analysis uses the phrase 'I'm OK, you're OK' to sum up this position.

The second condition is that of 'Congruence' which, simply explained is being real, being you, without pretence or without role. Rogers explains it as 'when the relationship...is genuine and without 'front' or façade...the feelings the therapist is experiencing are available to him, available to his awareness, and he is able to live these feelings, be them, and be able to communicate them if appropriate' (1961, p61).

The third condition is the ability to 'feel and communicate a deep empathetic understanding' (Mearns and Thorne, 1988, p15). 'Empathy' is the ability to put oneself into another's shoes and to come along side them in sharing their experience. Rogers defines it as 'when the therapist is sensing the feelings and personal meanings which the client is experiencing in each moment'. 'Deep empathetic

understanding...enables me to see his private world through his eyes' (Rogers, 1962, p62 and p34). The crucial way to develop empathy is through self awareness and self acceptance.

This therapeutic model of relating has been used before in research. Cooper (1993) referred to Rogers' work when discussing how to minimise disruptive behaviour. Hammersley explained that interview skills included:

Understanding...empathy...active listening...essaying interpretations occasionally...focusing...infilling and explicating...checking...pressing points, seeking evidence, rephrasing, summarising, playing devil's advocate, seeking contrary instances, identifying clues and indicators (1994, p60) (see also p108-p110).

These features are the nuts and bolts through which Rogers' three conditions are communicated. Unless the student feels these three things, the exercise has failed and the relationship loses its potential for trust and intimacy.

I also found these ideas within books on feminist research. Segal (1990) argued for the integration of sociological and psychoanalytic theory in order to understand masculinity. Stanley and Wise discussed in some detail the importance of emotion in the research process. Instead of denying that emotions exist in research, they advise that 'emotion is an aspect of the research process which, like any aspect, can be analytically interrogated' (1993, p189), and they argued that emotion 'is equally as capable of yielding "knowledge" as conventionally "rational" intellectual behaviour' (p202). So, not only could I be self reflexive about my intellectual self, but I could also use my emotions and the emotions of the pupils as a part of the research methods and findings. 'If you only listen, and indicate whether you follow are not, you will discover a surprising fact. People tell you much more and also find more inside themselves, than can ever happen in ordinary exchanges' (Greenhalgh, 2000, p180). It was not always easy to maintain the Core Conditions but I found that meditation techniques (see p106) helped. I applied these principles, learnt from therapy and meditation to the research situation.

3.5 POST- STRUCTURALIST FEMINISM

It was a logical decision to use qualitative research methods as my research questions were based on the premise that perceptions are personally and socially constructed and, as such, interviews seemed to be the best way for exploring those issues. At first I was uneasy myself with the subjective nature of the methods and the evolving findings, as I felt in some way that they were not as legitimate and valid as positivist approaches. I understand my own life subjectively and through emotions, physical sensations, and relationship as well as through intellect, but I felt that this was not good enough for such an academic qualification as the PhD. It was only as I read more (intellect), and worked with my tutor (relationship) that I gained courage. Feminist methodologies and epistemologies were crucial to this journey. 'To do feminist research is to put the social construction of gender at the centre of one's enquiry' (Lowther in Holland and Blair, 1995, p294). Therefore it is possible to use feminist methodology to study boys.

Gaby Weiner provided a helpful guide to feminist research in her book *Feminisms in Education*. She states that Feminist research is:

1. Drawing from experience and rooted in practice
 2. Subject to revision as a result of experience
 3. Reflexive and self-reflexive
 4. Widely accessible and open to change
 5. Grounded in the analysis of women's (and men's) multiple and different material realities
 6. Illuminative of women's and (men's) multiple and different experiences and material reality
 7. Explicitly political and value led
 8. Grounded in equality, non-hierarchy and democracy
 9. Rejecting current dualisms such as theory/practice, mental/manual, epistemology/methodology
- (Weiner, G, 1994, p130)

I have converted these themes into three sections through which I will discuss my research methodology and methods.

3.5.1 'Explicitly political and value led'

In principle, I am against permanent exclusion in all but the most extreme of cases. I think that there is a place for fixed term exclusion; it draws the boundary of what is unacceptable, it supports the teacher, it lets other pupils know where the boundary is, it involves parents. However, as the literature shows (see

Chapter 2.4), permanent exclusion can be very damaging for the pupil's long-term future. In my three years of research, less than a handful of pupils were permanently excluded, and in fact, the school took in pupils who had been excluded from other schools. My feeling before the research was that it was an abnegation of responsibility on the school's part to permanently exclude pupils; I felt that work should be done to support pupils in schools.

I also felt that by excluding pupils permanently, their long term education and career prospects would be damaged: 'Relatively few permanently excluded pupils are readmitted to another mainstream school (NUT, 1992; Parsons et al., SHA, 1992a,b)' (Blyth and Milner, 1996, p9). As a consequence of this disruption to education, a child faces increased risks of ending up in children's homes or entering a life of crime. A young person's delinquent career is: 'At least partly contingent upon rejecting or being rejected by school' (Graham1988)' (Blyth and Milner, 1996, p9). Although not all pupils who are excluded turn to crime, there is a high chance that criminals have been excluded or have truanted from school.

Another of my political interests was to find ways to make life easier for teachers in school and I saw that a handful of pupils in each year caused considerable stress and had large amounts of staff time invested in them. I also saw that while this was happening, other pupils who did co-operate within the school structure got less time and recognition from staff, and were often having to cope with these difficult pupils in their lessons. So my second political aim was to see if there were ways of working with difficult pupils in a way that helped other pupils. So my political interests could be summarised as the desires:

- To investigate instances of exclusion to discover how and why they occurred to see if there was any way of helping these pupils stay in school.
- To make teaching less stressful and calmer.
- To make the overall climate of the school more peaceful and productive for all pupils.

3.5.2 'grounded in equality, non-hierarchy and democracy'

From my political ideals it will come as no surprise that I was interested in using methods which allowed all voices to be heard, as I wanted to make the findings relevant to all within the school. 'The qualitative researcher seeks to discover the meanings that participants attach to their own behaviour' (Bird, Hammersley, Gomm and Woods, 1996, p85). Having explained above that my post-structuralist ontology led me to qualitative methods, feminist methodologies supported both this and my desire to hear what the pupils had to say for themselves. I had seen the official school figures on exclusion, I had read about the consequences of exclusion. I had heard the pupils' reputations created and maintained by staff and pupils alike, having contributed myself after difficult lessons. What I really wanted was time and space to listen to what the excluded pupils had to say, to hear it from their point of view.

*3.5.3 'Drawing from experience and rooted in practice'
'Grounded in the analysis of women's (and men's) multiple and different material realities'
'Rejecting conventional dualisms such as theory/practice, mental/manual,
epistemology/methodology'
'Subject to revision as a result of experience'*

'Feminist criticism [is a] rejection of positivism' (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991, p220), 'positivism' meaning the scientific approach to research where a hypothesis is formulated, tested, findings reported and 'truth discovered'. Quantitative methods can be chosen as they are seen as less open to bias and researcher contamination. However, post-structuralist researchers claimed that 'all perception and cognition involves the construction of phenomena rather than their discovery' (Hammersley, Gomm and Woods, 1994, p27), meaning that knowledge is constructed rather than revealed. Eisner argued against the positivist pursuit of 'objectivity':

Why the need for objectivity?...The distinction between knowledge and belief, biased and unbiased perception, truth and falsity are directly related to familiar dichotomies between inner and outer, mind and body, subject and object (in Hammersley, 1993, p53).

These dichotomies are very much part of the Cartesian dualism of our culture: men/women, emotion/intellect, active/passive, steadfast/changeable in contrast to the unified world view of Buddhism.

Behind these dualisms has been the patriarchal power that feminists sought to counteract. In the positivistic research tradition, attributes such as 'knowledge', 'unbiased', 'truth', 'objectivity', 'intellect', 'active', 'steadfast' are seen as being desirable, and are associated with man, whilst 'belief', 'biased', 'body', 'subjectivity', 'emotion', 'passive', 'changeable' are traits traditionally attributed to women, and are seen as undesirable. No wonder therefore, that I was struggling with my desire to carry out research which explored behaviours, identities and emotions and whether it was possible for them to change, whilst using a research method which would leave me listening quietly, trying to minimise the control I had in the situation and exposing my own subjectivity!

Aristotle had also struggled with uniting this epistemological divide and came up with the concept of praxis. Praxis is the combination of theory and practice, a concept which is in direct opposition to the dualism of positivistic research which sees theory as being the more valid and highly regarded form of knowledge in comparison to the menial act of practice.

Aristotle's emphasis is the essential role of judgement in all practical activities. For him wise practical conduct cannot take the form of mere practical application of principles, but nor can it ignore principles. Particular situations must be assessed in terms of goals and values, but goals and values must also be considered in the light of the experience of particular situations, including the one in which the action must take place (Hammersley, Gomm and Woods, 1994, p23).

This definition of the creation of knowledge ties it very much to a specific location and action and sees the linking of experience and theory. Increasingly teachers have been encouraged to reflect on their own teaching practice through the process of annual reviews and inspections; however, this is rarely linked to the creation of theory or drawn from an understanding of theory.

Praxis 'is a form of reflexive action which can itself transform the theory which guides it...theory is as subject to change as is practice itself. Neither theory nor practice is pre-eminent; each continually being modified and revised by the other' (Carr, 1987, p173). When I started the research I was very much more focused on the idea of generating theory and it was the research process itself which showed me that, in fact, the two were inseparable. The way in which I interviewed the pupils not only affected the things they

spoke about, but also the way they spoke. In fact the research relationship became crucial for my understanding of the importance of relationship and it was this which led me into the more explicitly action research Phase Two.

In this way the research process was 'subject to change as a result of experience' (Weiner, 1994, p130). I had very firm ideas about the methodology I wanted to use but I had few preconceptions about the findings. Having thought about how I was going to do the research, it was the *doing* which led to the *thinking* for Phase Two, which led to more doing and more thinking. ' "Know-how" is a concept logically prior to "know that"' (Carr, 1987, p163).

Feminist researchers 'must not do research from their ivory towers but must become involved with the people they study' (Bergen in Renzett and Lee, 1993, p203). The fact that I was a teacher at the school meant that I could not be in my ivory tower, but I increasingly came out of it as the pupils involved in the research gradually became more important to me and our relationships went beyond what I had previously developed in lessons. Page writes about the 'entanglement process, when their lives interacted with mine. Thus the research experience became part of the focus of the study' (Page in Erben, 1998, p98). I too found this to be my experience of the research process (see Chapter 4.12).

3.6 ACTION RESEARCH

At no time did I abandon my post-structuralist, feminist ideologies and methodologies, rather action research became a way of supporting the 'feminist commitment to changing the world rather than merely researching it' (Weiner, 1994, p129). 'Action research is a form of research carried out by practitioners into their own practices' (Kemmis, 1988, p177). In Phase Two this was clearly the case, but what surprised me was that the themes that emerged from Phase One indicated that in fact, the Phase One interviews had also been action research, but in an unintentional way. The process of interviewing had

become part of the action although I had never planned or expected this to be the case. (see Chapter 4.12)

Phase Two was a conscious effort to test emergent themes through action. 'The action researcher will embark on a course of action strategically, deliberately experimenting with the practice while aiming, simultaneously for improvement in practice: understanding the practice and the situation in which the practice occurs' (Kemmis, 1988, p182). Again this supported the anti-dualistic stance of the feminist methodology as rather than being either in theory or practice, I was now firmly in the realms of praxis.

Elliott identified an action research cycle which I did follow, although not consciously until Phase Two of the research:

Cycle 1

- **'Identify initial idea'** - I established a set of research questions around gender, deviance and exclusion.
- **'Fact finding analysis'** – pilot of methods.
- **'General plan of action'** – planning for Phase One.
- **'Implementation/action steps'** – Phase One interviews.
- **'Monitor implementation and effects'** – it was only when I engaged in the first section of data analysis that I realised that I was implementing anything so at this point I re-read the research to ensure that I had indeed found that the method was part of the findings.

Cycle 2

- **'Fact finding'** – confirmation that method was part of the findings.
- **'Revise'** – a realisation that I now wanted to explore the methodology as part of the triangulation for Phase One.
- **'Amend plans'** – plan Phase Two.
- **'Implement next action plan'** – for me this was the four group projects*.
- **'Fact finding analysis'** – review interviews and more grounded theory.
- **'General action plan'**- this is the point that I stepped off the cycle to write.
(Elliott, 1992, p71)

*As explained in Chapter 3.2, the four projects were TA in drama, junior school arts and drama, TA101 and anger management. These methods are explained in Chapter 3.11.

3.7 GROUNDED THEORY

Glaser and Strauss coined the term 'Grounded Research'. They explained it as 'the discovery of theory from data' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p1) which means that instead of going into the research with a hypothesis that needs testing, the researcher has questions and waits to see if answers emerge from the research material. So, in my case, I carried out, transcribed and analysed the Phase One interviews though out the first year, looking for emergent themes, which is when the 'emerging theory points to the next step' (1967, p47).

I employed the 'constant comparative method' (1967, p101) as a way of determining what constituted a theme. As I read each transcript I high-lighted and made marginal notes of any key ideas while at the same time jotting them down in a book. Once I had this list of themes I then tried to categorise them under sub-headings constantly comparing the data under each heading to see if they fitted together or whether one point was better fitted to another subheading. All the time I was analysing the categories and asking myself what the elements within them had in common. Glaser and Strauss suggest 'while coding an incident for a category, compare it with the previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category' (1967, p106). This process is called 'progressive focusing'.

This way I ended up with major themes, or categories which could then be broken down into contributory themes and factors; this then led to the formulation of theory. 'Theory develops as different categories and their properties tend to become integrated through constant comparisons that force the analyst to make some related theoretical sense of each comparison' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p109). One of the difficulties with the method was the fact that data was not produced in nice separate categories, so one hurdle was to separate data as it all seemed so connected. Also, once having separated the data, in order to theorise, links had to be made. The sheer volume of data was overwhelming. With 67 transcripts from Phase One alone, each of 45-50 minute interviews, there were so many differences between each

interview, but also so many similarities, but said in different ways, that reading and re-reading was time consuming.

At the end of Phase One I had established my major themes and Phase Two gave me a chance to test these out and to refine and develop the categories. In Phase Two I not only transcribed and analysed my review interviews for each project, but I also did the same with the notes that I had written about my own reflections on the experience in the junior school and during the year 7 drama and Anger Management group.

Finally, I compared all the themes and categories from Phase One and Two and formulated theory from these. The final challenge was explaining the themes in writing, in a way which is intelligible to others. Grounded theory 'must be really understandable by laymen concerned with this area' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p237). However, in my case this will require writing for several different audiences. Part of the feminist methodology and the action research frame described below is that research should make change and so it is important for me that it can be read by staff and students, especially those involved. For me it is important that the theory be available to a wide audience so that it can be criticised, developed and hopefully used!

In 'theme analysis...themes will be mutually related...normally the themes will be relevant to the original research focus, the data analysis may produce an important reformulation or even transformation of that focus' (Bird and Hammersley with Gomm and Woods, 1996, p171). In my case, I developed rather than changed the focus of the research in Phase Two, but I did drastically change the methods as a way of testing out the Phase One data as I moved into the action research phase.

3.8 SHARED METHODOLOGICAL THEMES

All of my ontological and epistemological frameworks tackle the nature of reality, 'truth' of interpretation and the role of the subject in creating 'truth', therefore it is appropriate to look at these issues in a way that draws together the various ideas and vocabularies. This section also is also a defence of my methodology against positivistic accusations that it is not reliable research.

3.8.1 Objectivity and Validity

Buddhism sees reality as being created by consciousness, TA sees reality as being in the transactions between people as well as our intra-psychic constructions and feminist researchers see reality as being constructed according to the environment. To pretend that research can ever be 'objective' is a fallacy. As soon as an area for research is selected, other areas are discounted. Research is a selective, interpretative process carried out by human beings. 'What we see depends on what we seek, and what we seek depends on what we know how to say' (Eisner in Hammersley, 1993, p52).

Positivist researchers (Binet, 1924; McCall, 1922; Thorndike, 1913; Dewey, 1938; Popper, 1959; Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Newell, 1986) have argued in favour of a quantitative approach that can be replicated, generalised, or tested. However, I would argue that qualitative research can also meet these criteria. Goetz and Le Compte (1984) argue that qualitative studies gain their potential for application to other situations by providing what they call 'comparability' and 'translatability'. The former term 'refers to the degree to which the components of a study...are sufficiently well described and defined that other researchers can use the results of the study as a basis of comparison' (1984, p228). 'Translatability is similar but refers to a clear description of one's theoretical stance and research techniques' (Schofield quoted in Hammersley, 1993).

One of the reasons that the methods and methodologies are explained in so much detail is exactly so that other people can try them out for themselves. Of course the research site, subjects and researcher would be different, but I have such faith in the findings that I believe that if these methods could be replicated,

similar results might be experienced. More difficult to replicate are the 'subjects' and 'researcher' given my comments about the importance of the research relationship, and particular combination of philosophies which construct me as a researcher. Yet as long as the key features of reflexivity, awareness and respect exist, then the methods are replicable and the findings can be generalisable. I therefore believe that this research is 'comparable' and 'translatable'.

To prove this to myself I moved onto Phase Two, the action research phase, as a way of triangulating my ideas. Triangulation is 'a major means of validating accounts and observations' and is carried out by 'combining methods, ...situations or times to add to the strength of the research' (Bird and Hammersley with Gomm and Woods, 1996, p102). I tried out several methods: interview, group work, teaching and therapy. I worked in a variety of situations: the research interview, the classroom, the therapy room, a junior school club and a national Transactional Analysis workshop. The research process began in 1999 with my pilot and research proposal and I left the research site at the end of the school year of 2002. I therefore feel that I have more than triangulated my work. Finally, outside of the research itself I was testing out and observing the theory in my own therapy and therapeutic training as well as during the voluntary work I was engaged in supporting bereaved siblings at a children's hospice.

Phillips argued that although there can never be complete objectivity, there can be 'consensual validation'. This is defined as 'an acceptance of the critical tradition...[when research is] ..opened up to scrutiny, to vigorous examination, to challenge...teased out, analysed, criticised, debated ..[by a] critical community' (Phillips, 1989, p66-67). I have discussed this work with many people during the research process: colleagues from teaching, psychotherapy, social work and the hospice. I have fed back to staff within the school, within the Education Action Zone, within the hospice and in the Transactional Analysis community, not only to share information but to get feedback. My drafts were read and criticised by professionals from the related fields.

3.8.2 Reflexivity

Both Buddhism and therapy advocate a life lived in awareness. The feminist research paradigm similarly calls for the subjectivity of the researcher and the researched to be considered as an integral part of the process. In order for the process to be part of the research study I needed to be reflexive about my role in the research. Holstein and Gubrium advise 'researcher, know thyself' (1995, p13) and my definition of reflexivity is not only that I know myself as well as possible, but that I communicate this to others in the research and make it part of the process of the research. It is for this reason that I am writing in the first person and why I opened this thesis with my own biography. I want you, the reader to know who I am, what my values are and how these effect the research findings so that you can see for yourself whether you find the research valid and plausible. My role in the research is crucial: I constructed it on a macro scale, but within every transaction I was the listener and as such, it is through me that the research is created, analysed and communicated.

'Feminists advocate the use of self-disclosure.....open acknowledgement by the researcher of his or her assumptions, beliefs, sympathies and biases' (Renzett and Lee, 1993, p177 & 178). The drive towards reflexivity is a drive towards unification of subject and object, of thought and feeling; an antidote to the dualism discussed above. 'Feminist innovation in methodology has been through trying to grasp the parts that experience, emotion and subjectivity play in the research process, rather than seeing them as a weakness to be controlled.' (Holland and Ramazanoglu, 1992, pp645-674). I needed this reflexivity if I was going to explore how gender and deviance were constructed in a school setting. The research was *part* of the school setting and the Phase One interviews were based on exclusion, deviance and gender. I was part of the school setting and I am female and to not explore these facts would have been to miss an opportunity (Coffey and Delamont, 2000, p11). I have been reflexive in the writing up of the research and in my constant questioning of whether the methods in Phase One and Two were answering the questions and whether I needed to refine them. However, reflexivity was often crucial within the research action itself.

During the Phase One interviews I sometimes self-disclosed if I thought it was helpful to developing the empathy needed for the interview. In humanistic psychotherapy self-disclosure is used only if it is of help to the client and I used this principle as a guideline as 'disclosing something about oneself, such as one's own feelings, may help young people to talk about themselves' (Greenhalgh, 2000, p177). For example I might have shared with a student my own emotional reaction to what they had told me 'I feel sad when you say that', 'I'm curious because I feel angry but you don't seem to be'.

I rarely disclosed detailed factual information about my life as I did not want to hijack the interview with my own issues, nor did I want the students to feel that they had to take care of me, or be interested in me.

The most I would share was 'Yes, people close to me have died too..', 'sometimes when I get angry I want to lash out..'. Of course, it was crucial to the development of the interview relationship that I told the truth when I was disclosing personal information.

One of the dangers of self-disclosure is 'the risk becoming an accomplice or an apologist' (Renzetti and Lee, 1993, p6). Statements like 'I agree, X is aggressive', or 'I think that rule is wrong as well' would have been unprofessional in my role as a teacher and also unethical in the research as I would have been joining the subject in a discussion where, for a moment, we both pretended that I was not part of the school institution myself. Similarly, the above statements are of opinions and so would have contaminated the interview. I rarely made comments about the school or the teachers other than using statements of fact to try to clarify what the pupil was feeling: 'It is a big school...', 'you're nearly ready to leave school now'. If pupils asked me direct questions such as: 'Don't you think uniform is stupid?', I would try to turn the question round to find out about what they thought: 'In what way do you think it is stupid'. If really pushed, I would just stress that as a teacher at the school I supported the school rules as that was part of my work contract.

Reflexivity was crucial in all elements of the research process of Phase Two. During the staff training, when I fed back my research findings at the end of Phase One I used the framework of Transactional Analysis (see Chapter 2.7). To clarify the theory I referred to my own experiences, both good and bad, in the classroom and as a person. I did this for several reasons:

- The only person's perspective which I fully understood was my own.
- I would have had to ask for permission to discuss any one else's experience.
- I did not want to set myself up as the fount of all knowledge nor did I want to pretend that the research had put me somehow above anyone else. I used humour and anecdotes about when things had gone wrong for me as a way of illustration, but also as a way of placing myself firmly within the teaching body rather than aside from it.
- As a relatively new and junior member of staff I did not want to 'teach my grandmother to suck eggs' and so spoke about what I had learnt rather than what others 'should' learn.
- If I had been at all self-aggrandising I could have alienated staff. It was crucial to Phase Two's action research methodology that change occurred and I wanted people to be interested in the research.

Many people came up to me after the initial feedback and asked me about Transactional Analysis and so I self-disclosed in telling them about my training and experiences. This led to the Transactional Analysis training workshop which was carried out in school by an external trainer, so in this way, my self-disclosure was crucial to helping people decide whether or not they wanted to be involved.

During the interviews with the senior management team, the SENCO, the youth worker and the counsellor I used self-disclosure only in terms of discussing my findings and my reactions to them. During the Transactional Analysis in Drama pilot I used a 'check in' (see p112). I would disclose how I was feeling that lesson as a way of modelling the behaviour I wanted the pupils to adopt. I would also use examples from my own life when trying to illustrate a point.

In Anger Management, my role during the sessions was to be the link between school and the therapy, as the therapist was initially a stranger. I rarely spoke during these sessions as again the focus was the boys not me. However, they did sometimes ask me directly about how I felt and then I would tell them. More difficult was when they asked me about personal experience. Again I tried to say as little as possible while still being honest. I tried to use the therapeutic model explained above, but this was one of the

times when my dual role as teacher and researcher became very testing. I did disclose things in that situation which I would never usually have disclosed in school as I felt that to not have responded, would have damaged the developing group dynamic. During the junior school art and drama project we used the 'check in' and 'check out' method. Therefore I did self-disclose how I felt as a way of modelling the behaviour I wanted to encourage.

So by being reflexive (Coffey and Delamont, 2000, p12) and descriptive I am ensuring that the work is 'comparable', 'translatable' and valid. Finally, the way that I analysed the work ensured that the theory came out of the practice. I had no preconceptions about what the outcomes of the research might be. Indeed at the start of Phase One, I had no idea that any of Phase Two would develop. I grounded my findings in the research process.

3.9 BOUNDARIES

I see boundaries as the lines within which we are safe. In life these are often manifested in rules and laws. Within the family some boundaries are negotiable, some fixed. As I was working in a school context, with minors, in a dual role and working with sensitive material I needed firm boundaries to protect myself and the research subjects.

3.9.1 Time

In psychotherapy, the traditional session lasts for fifty minutes, as this is deemed to be sufficient time for therapeutic work to be done. My interviews in Phase One were to be carried out during my non-contact time and so I had to work within the school structure of one hour lessons. Given that I was using cassettes of forty-five minutes and that by the time the students had arrived five to ten minutes had passed, the interview time was limited by the bell that rang to mark the end of the lesson. Keeping to the time boundary was essential for me and the students. Usually I was teaching after or before an interview

so I needed to have time to set up and focus or to pack away and re-focus on teaching. It was not appropriate to behave in the same way as teacher and a researcher, although obviously, there was an overlap.

When the interview started I would remind the student that we only had until the end of the lesson and I would take off my watch and lay it where we could both see it. I would do this so I could see how much time we had left so I could decide if I wanted to move onto another subject. Also, by having the watch in front of the student it meant that they could judge how much time they had and whether they wanted to develop or avoid a subject. From my experience in therapy, I knew that my decision to talk about something difficult was often linked to the amount of time I had to explore it fully and still feel 'OK' at the end of the session. As we got near to the end of the lesson I would count down: 'We have another ten minutes', 'we only have a minute or two left, is there any final thing you would like to emphasise or ask before I turn off the tape?'. Again, this boundary protected the student by allowing them to bring things to a close in a way which left them feeling secure enough to go off to the playground or another lesson.

In the last ten minutes I would ask the pupils to focus on the interview process, asking them to think about what their expectations had been, how they had felt when they came in, how they felt now and why they had agreed to be interviewed. These questions were part of my research focus but also allowed the pupil to come back into the moment, into the current situation and therefore away from anything that we may have been discussing from their past. I would finally end the interview by asking what lesson they had next or who they were meeting at break by way of ending the interview with a dialogue which was more typical of teacher and student rather than researcher and subject, as we both had to return to our institutional roles.

Even if the pupil turned up late, we would finish on time for the next lesson or break. This was crucial as some pupils admitted that they were pleased to be interviewed as it got them out of a lesson they did not

like. One lesson was agreed, but to let it go beyond that would have turned the interview into part of the student's attempt to avoid school and to bend the boundary which the school, as well as I, required.

Twice, pupils used the research interview as a way of missing lessons, not thinking that I would check up on them. I had to follow this up as I did not want the research to fall into disrepute amongst the staff as being a way that pupils got out of lessons, nor did I want the students to see it as an excuse to avoid work.

If a pupil did not turn up for the interview as arranged then I would check to see if they were in school and then go to see if they were in the lesson. I always asked for staff permission to withdraw the pupil before the interview in case the class had a test or were starting new work. If I had to go to the class to find a pupil the subject teacher would therefore know why I was there and so I was able to ask if I could see the student. Often at this point the pupil would often jump up having genuinely forgotten.

Before the junior school project our team had not met until the first session and this was a mistake as expectations and aims were rushed and there was no time for group processing before meeting the children. At the time it seemed unavoidable as we worked at three different locations. In retrospect, we should not have started the club until we had worked things through more. The timing of the course exacerbated this. Firstly, it happened at the end of a school day so there was little time for any of us to change out of our teacher role into a more facilitative role. It also meant that there was a time, before we could get to the school, when the pupils had nothing to do. It was decided that the boys would make and eat their own sandwiches which worked well until the last week. We adults needed more time to check in at an emotional level as well as a practical. One of the things that we got right was the half an hour debriefing at the end which allowed us to off load feelings, review the session and make changes to the next session.

Secondly, when we first discussed the course we decided that the end of the academic year was the best time as our timetables would be lighter and the pupils would be able to walk home in daylight. However, this put pressure on us. Postponing until we had all met as a group was not an option as the holidays loomed. Most importantly, the group finished too abruptly for the pupils, something which I had not even considered. The boys needed to have longer working towards an ending and there needed to be some time in school to consolidate things. Luckily my review interviews met some of these needs, but not enough. Finally, by trying to fit it all in by the holidays, I did not get the chance to interview a key member of the team

3.9.2 Space

Again, from my therapeutic experience, I knew the value of having a space which was 'safe' (findings p226). My definition of 'space' is a place where other people can not enter and where there are no distractions. In a therapeutic situation this would be completely private, but as a teacher in a school I still had to be aware of advice given to teachers to protect them from false accusations of assault or abuse. Therefore in the first year of interviews I would either use my class room or a conference room with a 'do not disturb' sign on the door and with the telephone unplugged. Both rooms had windows and were in public places in the school. I had to protect my own safety and professionalism whilst still finding a space that was private enough for the students to feel free to talk. In the second year it was easier as I had my own office which backed onto two classrooms. This meant that I had a constant room where pupils could find me and which I could guarantee would be free and without interruption.

One of my pilot interviews provided a stark example of what could go wrong if a calm space was not available. The room I had planned to use was busy, the tape recorder I had checked was also being used and the remaining one was not working. As a consequence I arrived late and flustered, not to say annoyed with the people who were using the tape recorder and with myself for not checking the

availability of the room. Consequently I controlled the whole interview which resulted in it being disjointed and fragmented. There was also an uncomfortable feeling between us. I was directive ('Let's move onto school'), I asked leading questions; ('Was it fun?'), I made assumptions and asked closed questions ('Who goes to work?'), I made value judgements ('Very impressive') and I interrupted. On transcription I realised that I had turned the interview into a teacher/pupil dynamic, replicating existing school power relations and finding out nothing about how the pupil felt about his exclusion or what had led up to that moment.

One of the major problems we had during the junior school project was the space we used. The staff involved in the project and the junior school Head did all they could to keep the room closed and secure but on two occasions a sports club was going on next door, and the vigorous noise was not conducive to the atmosphere we were trying to create. When we did some work outside, another sports club and their leader were very reluctant to give us privacy for ten minutes, in spite of having been asked previously. The most difficult occasion was when a teacher from the school, in spite of having been asked at staff meetings, and ignoring the notice on the door, stormed though. One of our facilitators challenged this and asked the teacher to go round the other way to which the teacher responded that they could go any way they wanted. Finally, on the last day, the support assistant, who usually spent the time between school ending and the club starting with the boys, was distracted by a parent. Unable to get away, the usual starting routine of the club was broken, none of the work was prepared, the pupils were left to their own devices and the adult did not have time to change from her role in school to her role in the club. All of this had an negative effect on the subsequent two hours (developed further on p226).

3.9.3 Researcher/Teacher

At the beginning of the every interview I would explain to the student that although I was a teacher in the school, in this situation my role was slightly different:

Here, if you want to swear, or refuse to answer a question, or if you want to leave half way through that's fine as long as you then go back to your lesson. However, you need to understand that in

our lessons I would not accept that kind of behaviour and/or if I see you round school behaving in a way which is against the school rules, then it is part of my job to ask you to stop doing it.

My experience of this boundary may surprise some. Firstly, very few young people *did* use the opportunity to swear and not one pupil who I interviewed used the different research relationship outside of that context; they never referred to it in lessons or around school nor was I ever aware that they ever repeated anything which I might have shared with them about myself. Of course, it is possible that they told friends about what they or I said in the interview, but that was never brought to my awareness.

3.9.4 Confidentiality, Anonymity and Child Protection

One of the feminist research principles was that the research should be non-hierarchical and democratic and the ways in which I tried to operationalise this was by ensuring confidentiality, anonymity and informed choice. Cohen and Manion define confidentiality in the research process as when, 'although the researchers know who has provided the information or are able to identify participants from the information given, they will in no way make the connection known publicly' (1997, p367). The definition of 'anonymity' I used was that the identity of the subject was known to no one but the researcher and was in no way identifiable to others. Clearly, as I was using the interpersonal space of the research to explore the research questions, the research subject could not be anonymous to me as they could, for example, if they had filled in a questionnaire. Therefore my main concern was how to keep confidentiality while still operating within school and legal boundaries to keep myself and the students safe. 'At all times, the welfare of the subjects should be kept in mind' (Cohen and Manion, 1997, p361).

As a researcher it was very much part of my role to 'accept responsibility for maintaining confidentiality (Faulkner et al, 1991,p10). Without this it was unlikely that pupils would have agreed to talk to me in the first place and if there had been leaks in confidentiality, they would have destroyed the research process. The school itself had a confidentiality policy which was used by the youth worker, the counsellors and the pastoral team. I adopted the same rules:

Any issue discussed with a child or young person will be regarded as confidential and this confidentiality will not be breached except in circumstances where information is provided that indicates that significant harm has befallen or is likely to befall either the young person concerned or any other person...in the case of a young person threatening suicide or similar action, there is a general acceptance of the need for an interventionist strategy even when this involves breaking confidentiality.

The Children's Legal Centre offered clear guidelines on confidentiality. They emphasised that 'where there is a high risk that the child is at risk of *significant* harm, it appears that, as a matter of good practice, there is a moral duty to pass on such information' (CLC, 1999, p5) (my emphasis). 'Significant' is clearly open to interpretation. There were a couple of occasions where I felt that I needed to at least talk things through with someone else for the child's protection and my own. On the first occasion, I was able to ask the member of staff in charge of child protection about a hypothetical situation which mirrored the disclosed situation. At the end of the discussion we were both happy that confidentiality need not be broken as the threat was in the past and the threatening person was in prison.

However, the other situation, after another such 'what if a student told me that...' discussion, led to the feeling that the parents needed to be informed. Both the Children's Legal Centre and my reading on research ethics had made clear that it was necessary to talk to the student about the need to break confidentiality and to try to work through with them their feelings about this, involving them as much as possible. I did this and in the end the student asked if s/he could tell his/her parents. I agreed to this on the condition that I then got a telephone call from one of the parents telling me they knew. Together we set a deadline by which I would have been called and I made it clear that if I had not had the call by the end of that day, then I would call the parents myself. The student did as s/he had said, the parents called and were pleased to that their child had been able to tell them. The student, although initially angry when I said the parents would have to know, in the end was relieved that they did.

One of the key issues when working with young people is the question of whether they are 'competent' enough to give 'informed consent'. If they are 'competent' to give consent then they have a right to

confidentiality. Competency is defined as having 'sufficient understanding and intelligence' (Gillick v West Norfolk Wisbeck Health Authority 1985). The situation in research with young people is similarly sensitive: 'Seeking informed consent with regard to minors involves two stages. First researchers consult and seek permission from those adults responsible for the prospective subjects; and second, they approach the young people themselves' (Cohen and Manion, 1997, p352). This was a procedure which I adopted as it also fitted in with the school's own policy on school trips, counselling and any other extra-curricular venture.

Although the Children's Legal Centre stated that children of 16-18 years old are 'generally regarded as competent and able to give consent' (CLC, 1999, p2), the school was an 11-16 school and very few pupils were 16 at the time of the interview, so I had to refer to the greyer area of advice on younger people. Basically the guidelines were that children over 13 were 'likely' to be able to give consent and that students under that age were 'unlikely...[to] be deemed competent to consent to medical treatment or counselling without the involvement of one parent' (CLC, 1999, p3). The school had a list of home contacts and it was 'only necessary to obtain the consent of one person with parental responsibility....one person can not veto the other...' (CLC, 1999, p3).

Therefore, before even approaching the child I would send a letter to parents, explaining the nature of the research, stressing that I was hoping to interview all excluded pupils, not just their son/daughter and that I was interested in hearing the child's story. The letter had a consent form on the bottom and my contact telephone number inviting them to ring if they wanted to know more. The school administration team were helpful in typing and posting these letters. Obviously this could be seen as a break in anonymity as the office staff knew who the letters went to. However, the office staff already knew which pupils had been excluded as they sent the original letter which notified the parents of the exclusion. What they did not know was who replied and what their answer was.

It was not unusual to not receive a postal reply so then I would try to get in touch with someone at home by telephone. I would explain the research subject and stress that what the student said to me would remain between us and that I would not be passing the information to anyone else on the staff. I would also stress that it would mean that I would not inform parents about what was said either unless, as clarified above, there were indications of present or future harm. 'Thus a parent may consent...but need not be informed of what that child said' (Children's Legal Centre, 1999, p4). Most parents would agree without questioning and were happy for everything to be kept confidential. Some parents were glad that their child would have chance to put their 'side' to somebody. About half said that they would discuss it with their child and then let me know and half a dozen wanted to talk on the telephone about their own reaction to the exclusion.

Of course there were some parents who did not agree to having their child interviewed. Some would decline without explanation and a handful explained home or emotional circumstances which they felt meant that it would not be a good idea for me to approach their child. Although these parental responses were interesting, I only recorded the final 'yes' or 'no', as my focus for the research was the interaction between school and pupil and if the family was part of that, then I hoped to hear about it through the child. At first I was unhappy about receiving telephone consent only, as it meant I had no written evidence. However, it soon became clear that unless I did speak to parents on the telephone, I would not gain their consent at all as many simply did not get round to sending back the written consent form. To protect myself as far as possible I would make a note of every telephone conversation I had, the date and who I spoke with as well as what their answer was.

Once I gained the parent's consent, I then approached the students. Once I made initial contact I would say something like:

I'd like to ask for your help. I'm doing some research into why kids get excluded and I know you have recently been excluded. I'm interested in things from your point of view, what happened, how you were feeling and why you think it happened. I'd like to interview you and record the interview. Only I would listen to the tapes. The interview would happen in lesson time, we can

organise together which one of my free lessons would be best for you and then once I've cleared it with you teacher, I would let you know and we could meet here. What do you think? Its fine if you don't want to.

What I said each time was spontaneous but included these pieces of information and I hope that the above example gives some idea that I tried to present things as clearly as possible, using accessible language and making it clear that to be involved was a choice, not an obligation because 'participants should know that their involvement is voluntary at all times...the subject has a right to refuse to take part, or to withdraw once the research has begun' (Cohen and Manion, 1997, p350). I wanted students to realise that this was not a teacher *telling* them to do something, but *asking* if they would like to be involved. It was important to me to try and minimise the power differential right from the start. Once I had asked the first question pupils would often ask questions to gain further information and I answered each question honestly and clearly until they had the information that they needed. This was important to the ethical and feminist methodology as I wanted the participants to have given 'informed consent' which is when they 'fully understand the nature of the research project' (Cohen and Manion, 1997, p351).

Once in the interview I would start by presenting the pupils with a student consent form. This served two purposes. Firstly it gave me written proof of their consent and secondly it was a written check list of all the boundary issues that needed explaining, so I knew that I had explained the issues and that the pupils had heard and understood them. The issues raised by the consent form were:

- That I had explained the subject of the research and given students chance to ask any questions.
- That if they swore, or refused to answer or wanted to leave that that was fine, but that outside the research situation I would behave in accordance with the school's rules.
- That they knew that the Head and the subject teacher knew they were being interviewed but that information from the interview would not be shared with them.
- That the research would eventually be read by other people but that their identity would be kept secret.
- Finally I explained that everything that they said to me would be kept secret between me and them and that I would not be reporting back to any other member of staff or their parents unless they told me anything that I thought was putting them or anyone else into a harmful situation, then I would have to pass this on, having discussed it with them first.

Some pupils did talk about smoking and the fact that their parents knew about it. One student told me about his drug problem, but his mother had already spoken to me about it when I called to ask for her permission, so it did not need to go further. However, I am sure that a negative consequence of this boundary was that I lost a lot of interesting and useful research data. Drugs, drink and sex were brought up in a vague way, as a general youth issue, but I lost any accounts of personal experience by not being able to promise confidentiality.

Finally, the issue of anonymity was interesting as several pupils actually said that their real names could be used and they even asked me to pass on information. This was a dilemma surfaced by Davies in her reflections on research on 'deviant girls' (Davies, 1984). I will discuss the way in which the interviews were of use to the pupils in the findings (see p185).

At first, as part of my feminist ideology that pupils should be an equal part of the research process, I transcribed the interviews and gave a copy to the student involved. When I did this I asked them if there was anything which they wanted to remove, clarify or add to. Not one of the pupils made any changes although all of them were pleased to have a copy. I can only guess at the reasons for this. One boy remarked that he had 'never written so much in his life' and was proud of his words in print. I also guess that a teacher handing a pupil work for checking, an inversion of the usual course of events, was in the first instance pleasing for the student. However, ultimately, whether it was the amount of time such engagement on their part would have required, or whether the hierarchical aspect of the relationship was too overwhelming, students did not interact with the transcripts in a way which they wanted to share with me. In the second year, of the research I fell so behind with the transcribing that I stopped telling the pupils that I would give them a copy. Although, ethically, I felt uncomfortable with this, I just did not have time to transcribe all the interviews until I was outside of the research site.

I also had to consider the issue around the use of 'hearsay, gossip, asides' (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995, p46). At the start of the research I tried to make a note of everything that was said about the students I researched in the hope of using this as triangulating data by giving staff perceptions. However, as I interviewed more pupils it was just impossible to keep up with this as well as teaching a full time table.

The junior school project had its own set of ethical problems. The first was that the initial concept had been simply an art club but when the Head of the junior school clarified that actually she wanted the aim to be therapeutic, a big shift had to occur in what was needed. Firstly the Head wanted a large group of children. I felt that it would be impossible to work with a group of more than 10 safely, as three out of four of us had never met the children before, nor were we familiar with the school. I wanted a fully qualified counsellor involved, as I did not think we had enough skills in the group if something came up for a child. As it turned out both these decisions were wise. There was the dilemma of how to present the sessions to the pupils. The Head wanted it to be 'their' club, something to make them feel special, something positive after lots of negatives in school. Although the club was called 'Self Discovery Through Art and Drama', with hindsight I think the therapeutic nature of the club should have been made clearer.

3.9.5 Power and Micro-Politics

As well as there being a power dynamic within the interview, I could not ignore the fact that I was operating within a hierarchy and that my role was that of teacher first and researcher a small second. Micro-political issues about control of data, methods and aims did arise. Firstly, negotiating the demands of the university, the secondary school Head, the EAZ, the DFEE and County Council was difficult. In order to gain the Head's consent I had to agree to include peers of those excluded, but who avoided exclusion themselves. The Head eventually supported the research and went on to be a critical reader and supporter of the Phase Two initiatives.

The EAZ were interested in returns on their financial investment; they wanted results that were practical and could be shared with other schools in the area. This led to me attending a meeting with other schools in the EAZ where we shared our practice. The idea for the review interviews in Phase Two sprung from the EAZ's need to know how effective the projects that they funded had been. The DFEE also had their criteria for giving Best Practice Research Scholarship funding. They specified that 'exclusion' and 'boys' underachievement' were areas of particular interest and were generous with the funding when I applied emphasising these aspects of the research. I could not reconcile my aims with the aims of the county and so the research relationship was ended.

Staff's reactions to the research varied from interested and supportive, to critical and snide. I felt that I had to censor what I said to avoid giving information and as the research progressed my own involvement in staff-room gossip grew less as I began to empathise with pupils more. Often I felt drawn to defending pupils' behaviour but this was a fine line to tread without being seen to be critical of staff. Often silence or withdrawal were my defences. Trying to find the path which caused least animosity, but which maintained research integrity was ethically difficult.

As the research continued, it became higher profile within the school. This was good in that it meant I seemed to have more influence and could start to initiate the plans for Phase Two. I began to feedback to staff, and to put my theories into practice, which meant that I was becoming more open to criticism. As the profile of the research rose, staff began to ask me for advice on how to deal with situations and pupils. I was grateful and pleased to help if I could. However, an interesting dynamic was then created in that I had no formal role in the pastoral system and yet I was involved in it.

The most difficult ethical issue for me in the context of the staff hierarchy was when one pupil made accusations against a member of staff and then said she had told me all about it in our research interview. Firstly, the accused member of staff felt betrayed as they felt I had been keeping secrets and conspiring

with the child. Secondly, the parents wanted to use the research to support what their child was saying. The teacher asked me if they could see the research interview and as they were one of my line managers, I felt pressurised to comply. I went to the Head with the problem and in the end I re-read the interview and found the offending lines which I showed to the pupil and said I wanted to show them to the teacher involved. I also asked if she wanted her parents to have a copy. She agreed to letting me show the teacher and her parents did not push further to see more. Had they done, I would have reminded them of the contract for confidentiality between myself and the student to which they had given their consent.

As well as boundaries that I faced with staff there were boundaries for the subjects and their parents. One parent wanted me to intervene in a situation with her son when I phoned to ask for her permission. I explained that this was not my role and gave her the correct member of staff to contact.

3.10 PHASE ONE METHOD

3.10.1 The Interview

Having already explained the ethical boundaries and the way that I organised the interviews, I will now go on to explore how I actually carried out the interviews. It is important to do this in detail as the research method was crucial to the findings, and also so that the method can be transferred to different sites and researchers. What I am going to explain will be familiar to any one with any counselling training but some of the ideas here are also expressed by several qualitative researchers.

Erben says 'lives are lived through time and are made intelligible by being composed of narratives' (1998, p12) and these narratives are constructed of 'images, feelings, sentiments, desires, thoughts and meanings known to the person whose life it is' (p18). As the questions which gave rise to my research were about identity and how it was constructed in a school context, the interview seemed to be the only method which would allow me access to these personal interpretations. I wanted to know what happened

to students at the moment they stepped over the school line to exclusion which meant asking them to tell me the story of that event. After initially talking through the research boundaries explained above, I would start with a simple: 'What happened?'. This invitation to narrate was also an invitation for them to select what was important for them.

Other than this opening question, I had no interview schedule, no list of questions to be asked. I did however know that at some stage I wanted to ask about gender and that I wanted to ask them about why they had agreed to be interviewed and how they had found the experience. The latter I used as a way to bring the interview to an end but the timing of the former depended on the course of the narrative. The interview was 'not predefined but is instead constructed in relation to the ongoing communicative contingencies of the interview process' (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p16).

This type of 'non-directive interview ...derives from the therapeutic ...interview' (Cohen and Manion, 1997, p273) and it was a great relief for me to discover that it had been used before in research. Rosalind Edwards (in Renzett and Lee, 1993) discussed how, as her research went on she, like me, wanted to make the process of interviewing part of the research investigation: 'My final interviews... were concluded with some question exploring how they felt about taking part' (p185).

The relationship between researcher and researched was crucial. By using open questions (questions which can not just be answered in one or two words), I was trying to empower students to discuss what *they* wanted and this was important as 'Interviewing children may be a problem if you are also their teacher. Children will be affected by the way they normally relate to you...if children regard you as an authority figure, it may be hard to adopt a more egalitarian relationship...' (Faulkner et al, 1991, p47). In the class room, many of the questions I asked were open in their structure, but there was a 'right answer' to them, for example: 'What do you think the poet is saying here?'. Even questions about opinion in the classroom were not truly open. When I asked: 'Do you like this story?' both the students and I understood

that the answer: 'It's shit', would not be acceptable. Therefore to use open questions in a real way, where the young people could be honest and where I had no pre-conceived answers in my head, was one of the ways in which I tried to break away from my teacher role. Open questions are:

More flexible...go into more depth...clear up any misunderstandings...encourage co-operation...help establish rapport...can also result in unanticipated answers which may suggest hitherto un-thought of relationships or hypotheses (Woods, 1996, in Cohen and Manion, 1997, p277).

Cohen and Manion list three qualities necessary for the research interview: 'Trust...a feeling of togetherness and joint pursuit of a common mission', 'curiosity...a desire to know, to learn people's views and perceptions of the facts, to hear their stories, discover their feelings'; and 'naturalness...to secure what is within the minds of the interviewees, uncoloured, and unaffected by the interview' (1997, p275). I take issue with the last point as everything I have said so far indicates that I believe that the interview is constructed in the relation of people to each other and that it is therefore impossible for the researcher not to affect the subject. However, at another level I can see that what Cohen and Manion mean is that I, as researcher should not lead, suggest or guide the interview. For me it also meant that rather than making assumptions and inferences on my own after the interview, I shared them during the interview.

Trust was of paramount importance and was built using Rogers' Core Conditions (see p74/5). Even Rogers admits that these core conditions are aims. Inner awareness is necessary to maintain them and to be totally aware of one's inner processes at all times is almost impossible. However, it is possible to a certain extent. Meditation techniques (See below) helped achieve this self-awareness which minimised the amount of projection and transference (see p73) which entered the research relationships.

3.10.2 Meditative Breathing

The following techniques are my own but are based on books that I have read, and also meditation retreats and groups I have been part of. Law (2004, p104) offers a succinct summary of his approach to 'witnessing' and Ken Wilber (1985) and Jack Kornfield (1994) provide practical exercises for beginners. I

found that by using the following breathing techniques, I was more able to maintain Rogers' Core Conditions. Before the interview, I would sit down, close my eyes and, without changing how I was breathing, just noticed how I was breathing. I noticed if I was breathing fast or slowly, deeply or shallowly, through my mouth or my nostrils and I tried to focus on just picturing the breath as it entered my body, went down my throat and into my lungs and then the reverse journey out again. After a minute or so I would bring my awareness to my body to see if there was any tension; was I clenching my fist? Were my shoulders hunched? Was my jaw tight? Law (2004) refers to this process as 'grounding' and describes it as 'being simultaneously aware of internal sensations and external events...a sensory based experience' (p102). Then I would go back to my breathing focusing on these tension points and imagining them filling with fresh air and relaxing before going back to breathing in and out. I would do this for just a couple of minutes before each interview.

This process first of all forced me to stop what I was doing and pay attention to what was happening in my body moment to moment. Secondly, I began to notice what came into my mind; marking, break duty, feeding the dog. At the end of the breathing I would just make a note of any of these I thought needed action so I could clear my head. Finally, awareness of my body alerted me to how I was feeling. If my breathing was fast I asked myself why. Was it because I have just run upstairs or because I was anxious or angry? Were my shoulders hunched because I am cold, depressed, tired? Law explains this as having access to the 'Observer' role (2004, p103) (see p250).

With this awareness I was more able to listen to the student without my mind wandering off to the things I had to do next. If I noticed I was angry I would enter the interview knowing that the anger was nothing to do with the person in front of me which helped me let it go, rather than potentially projecting it onto them. Even in simple matters it helped; if I was too cold, I could have the heater on by the time the student entered rather than interrupting the interview half way through or not being able to focus fully because of the cold.

I learned that if I wanted to find out about a person, then my mind had to be clear of all else apart from that person. I needed to 'listen with [my] whole body and mind' (Greenhalgh, 2000, p179), to hear what was said, but to also notice the feeling behind the utterance by paying attention to the interviewee's body language, and to notice my own physical response to that. It was not enough for me to observe someone's fist was clenched and that to assume they were angry; instead I checked it out 'I see your fist is clenched and to me that looks angry, is that how you are feeling?'. Without the clarity of mind brought by the meditation I could have missed this non-verbal clue or I could have reacted to it by, for example feeling threatened. "An important task in listening is not to mix in one's own ideas, so not 'laying on' the other person anything the person did not express' (Greenhalgh, 2000, p179).

3.10.3 Listening Skills

Meditative breathing made it easier for me to be aware, which in turn helped me maintain the Core Conditions. However, Rogers made the point that it is not only important to *feel* that we are maintaining the Core Conditions within ourselves, but that we must also *communicate* them clearly to the 'client'. *How* we listen is crucial to communicating this clearly so I turned to Egan (1998) for his definition of key listening skills:

Active Listening – Egan explained this as 'listening and understanding the client's verbal messages, ...observing and reading the client's nonverbal behaviour – posture, facial expressions, movement, tone of voice..' (p66). For me it also included my non-verbal behaviour (see 'attending' below).

Essaying interpretations – I would do this with the students so I could check out whether my thoughts were correct 'There seems to be a pattern here. You trust your mum and your girl friend and argue with Mr X, Mr Y and Mr Z. Do you think it's do with how you feel about men?'. I only ever *suggested* an interpretation as I could have been wrong; it was not my experience to define. I was aware that there was a power imbalance and I did not want the pupils to agree just because I was their teacher.

Focusing – means keeping the interviewee on track. I certainly did not do this until the whole story of the exclusion was told. Once we had constructed this narrative I would then ask if we could focus on incidents, patterns or even words which seemed to be important.

Infilling/explication – often when human beings are talking about difficult things, it is hard to find the right words. I rarely explained anything after the initial contracting of boundaries and research purpose.

However, I did sometimes suggest words when I thought the student was struggling. Again, I only suggested and sometimes they would accept my suggestion and at others they would decline but maybe, in the process, get closer to finding their own way of saying it. One of the hardest things was knowing when to say nothing. To jump in with a suggestion too soon could break the train of thought or introduce an idea which was not there.

Checking – I did this in several ways. Sometimes I literally had to check that I had heard correctly. Sometimes I asked if I could just explain what I thought they had said, so I would repeat what they had said in my own words to make sure I had understood. Often I had to check the meaning of words. 'Shady' was a word I had never come across before and so the first time heard it used I had to ask what it meant (unfair, underhand). One of the most important forms of checking I did was to check out that we were using words in the same way. For example my definition of 'good mate' could be very different from a 14 year old boy's, so I would then ask them to explain what a 'good mate' meant for them.

Pressing points - because I was aware of the imbalance of power I only did a little of this. In focusing I would go back to things that were of interest to me, but if the student did not want to talk about it I did not push it.

Seeking evidence – in the context of the interviews, the evidence was in the form of anecdotes and examples.

Summarising – I would use summarising as a way of closing the interview. This kind of summary was of the main themes we had covered. Often I would ask the student to do it, as this clarified for me what had been important to them. I also used summary throughout the interview as a way of checking understanding and focusing.

Playing devil's advocate – I used this technique a lot in the interviews with senior management at the end of Phase Two as the power dynamic was equal or reversed. I rarely used it with the students and if I did I used it playfully so as to dilute the potential power of it: 'Ok, so you say you hate school...but you stayed after school to be part of the school play!'. This approach encouraged people to think through the apparent contradictions and to clarify their opinions.

Seeking contrary instances – this is similar to the above except that rather than introducing anything from my outside knowledge of the pupil, I would look for contradictions within the interview: 'You just said you were stupid but earlier you said that Ms X was pleased with your progress in...'

Identifying clues and indicators – for me this was paying attention to non-verbal clues. If the student spoke more quickly, looked away, stuttered, pulled their coat round them I immediately began to ask myself why? Verbal clues such as repetition of parts of the story, or names or words also alerted me to the fact that they may indicate something important. I would then check out my thoughts or feelings.

As well as these techniques from Egan, I drew on my previous experience in the counselling world:

Attending – is how we communicate that we are paying attention. In the interview I never sat opposite the students as this could have been perceived as confrontational, I always sat beside them. I made sure that my posture was relaxed and open to show that I was open to them. At times I leant forward and throughout I maintained good eye contact.

Paraphrasing – is a way of checking, clarifying and showing understanding the content of what has been said, for example: 'So you were in the playground, with your friends and you had no idea why V came

over to you..?'. If I had paraphrased correctly the interview moved on, if not the student clarified, I re-paraphrased and then we continued.

Reflection of thought or feeling – this was when I fed back to the student an implied interpretation of feeling: 'You're saying, I think, that when teachers shout at you, you feel furious'. I would use this a way of checking understanding but I also used it as a way to clarify something which has not been made specific. Sometimes in the reflection, I would amplify the feeling expressed to see if in fact the truth was stronger than the student expressed. For example one student said 'I was irritated with my mum when she let my brother go into my room'. I reflected this back as: 'So you were really angry with her for letting him do that' and the reply was: 'Yes, I was really angry', with a sudden release of energy as this was said which seemed to support the strength of the feeling.

Here and now – (see p39) This is a gestalt technique which moves one's attention into the moment:

Though aware participation in the present moment may include the remembering of something from one's past, it must be remembered with the fresh, felt poignancy that brings it indelibly into the present (Clarkeson, 1996, p24).

So while I was listening to the story I was tuning into the verbal and non-verbal clues that indicated emotion and asked: 'So how do you feel now as you talk about it?' Often the pupil would reply with the emotion which had been obvious, but omitted wholly or partially from the narrative. Some pupils found it difficult to answer such questions, at which point I followed up with a reflection of feeling: 'I notice that you looked down and hunched your shoulders and sometimes when people do that when they feel sad'. If the student was still not willing or able to articulate their present feelings we would move on. We also explored our gender and roles as pupil and teacher in the here-and-now.

Adult to Adult - Finally, but crucially I believe, I talked and listened to them using Adult behaviours and my Adult ego state (See p44/5).

So, the ethos behind the method was complex and crucial and completely informed how I carried out the research process.

3.11 METHODS – PHASE TWO

Phase Two contrasted the first phase by focusing on group interactions rather than one to one communication. I was interested to see how my emerging themes of emotional literacy, anger and communication skills could be tested in that context. What follows is a discussion of the group work carried out and the subsequent review interviews with both staff and pupils.

3.11.1 Group Work

The Anger Management group self-selected and only boys were involved, in the junior school group the boys were selected by the junior school Head. However, the drama curriculum in year 7 involved both genders and all abilities.

Fritz Perls, the originator of Gestalt psychotherapy wrote:

No individual is self-sufficient; the individual can exist only in an environmental field...the nature of the relationship between him and his environment determines the human being's behaviour....The environment does not create the individual, nor does the individual create the environment (Perls, 1976, p115).

I wanted to triangulate the idea that identity was formed in relation to others, so the group was the logical setting in which to do this.

Although all three group situations were very different they had some things in common. First of all the role of the facilitator, be it me, the therapist, the counsellor, youth worker, the teacher or co-facilitator was of paramount importance, not only on a practical level, but also on a behavioural level. Ideally the leader should be able to:

- Work intuitively and imaginatively when familiar or traditional approaches do not seem appropriate in a situation.
- Work effectively with feelings.
- Develop the practice of right relations.
- Know when to leave a task to deal with a process or maintenance issue.
- Help members see the consequences of their behaviour, developing options, creating choice.
- Encourage the resolution of interpersonal conflict in a way which does not negate either party. (Benson, 1987, p174)

I felt very strongly that the facilitators had to model the behaviour we wanted to encourage. 'The therapist will model openness, honesty, support and confrontation' (Philippon and Harris, 1992, p22). This meant that we disclosed our own feelings where appropriate (see p86) and asked for what we needed. In talking about feelings it was important that *everyone* in the group 'owned' them (see p55), Crary (1995, p77). It was also important that everyone felt that 'feelings are ok...No one has to apologise for having feelings' (Benson, 1987, p176).

In all the groups we used checking in,

To check – in ...I ask people how they are feeling...[it]...helps members...include themselves, connect with others, settle down, helps the leader assess the mood and feel of the group, gets everyone talking at the start, affirms each member as important and unique (Benson, 1987, p186/7).

and checking out,

Check-out...involves members reporting on what they have remembered, learned, appreciated, or resented..[in order to] ..Wind down and relax, tie up loose ends, plan the next session, prepare for re-entry into the domestic environment (Benson, 1987, p189).

An example of the ground rules used for check in/out can be found in Appendix 2. Whether in the drama room, the junior school hall, or the therapy room, we sat in a circle to check in and out. For me this was a symbol of equality and allowed everyone to see and be seen at the same time. 'The circle format...is usually the best way of encouraging contact between all participants' (Philippson and Harris, 1992, p22 and p68).

The Anger Management group and the junior school group followed the same confidentiality boundaries explained above (see p95). In the drama lessons I made it clear that we had no contract for confidentiality and so therefore people should only share what they felt safe for lots of people to know. Each group had a clear time boundary, either a lesson or a two-hour session. After the initial session of the Anger Management and the junior school groups, no one else was permitted to join as the group had started to form. In the drama lessons the group was closed in that it was a pre-existent tutor group of roughly 29, although students were absent at different times and one pupil changed class.

3.11.1a The Therapeutic Group - Anger Management

This group was led by a trained psychotherapist and I was just there as an observer and a link between school and therapy. I also learnt a lot from the process. The therapist worked in a very unstructured way which contrasted with the constraints of school. Each session started with music playing, often Indian or Tibetan music with no discernible words or rhythm. There were a variety of chairs and cushions for

people to sit on and the room was part of the therapist's home and felt like it was. On the whole the therapist would say very little and just watch and maybe feedback on what he observed without judgement ('There's a lot of pushing and shoving going on'). He never told the boys off or told them what to do even when they were pushing the boundaries of, what I felt, was acceptable behaviour, instead he told them how he felt about their behaviour. He watched how they treated each other and would articulate what he had noticed and how he felt about it.

I really had to battle with myself during these sessions and I could not have led them in this way myself. I felt a constant pull towards my role as teacher; I wanted to stop them interrupting, throwing cushions, swearing, punching. I felt concerned for the therapist's room. I was scared that by loosening the boundaries, I would not be able to re-gain them in school especially as I taught two of the pupils for GCSE. When they asked me questions I did not know how much to say or if I should speak at all. I was scared that I was permitting something that the school would not allow and that this would be a threat to me, the students and the research if 'news got out'. I discussed the process, rather than the content with the Head who had met the therapist before allowing the project to start. He was not surprised by my descriptions and had confidence in the therapist. He also trusted the boys (even though the boys were seen in school as some of the most difficult in their year group) to stop before they went too far. He was right, they did. I will be eternally grateful to have worked with such a wise Head, at moments like these his faith was exceptional.

The therapist reassured me that he could take care of his room and the boys and that all I had to do was sit tight and notice my need to control and to question it. These reflections helped in my research analysis. My fears about loss of control in school did not come true, the students were perfectly capable of recognising that these were two different situations and did not transfer knowledge or behaviours inappropriately.

3.11.1b The Creative Group

The material used in the TA in drama and the junior school groups was a combination of my prior experience of drama courses, workshops and lessons as well as therapy training and experience. I am indebted to Hope House Children's Hospice and the bereavement support group Building Bridges where I was a volunteer. They paid for training and courses, and many of the techniques I used in the junior school project, I learned from Sandy, the play leader.

Both groups used metaphor as a way of working towards personal growth. Sometimes the medium was drama, sometimes art, sometimes games. 'Working metaphorically implies coming upon a situation from outside, intuitively and spontaneously..[it is] a way of shifting perception and creating meaning...engaging people and providing a context for work...act as a signpost, open up dialogue, and encapsulate meaning' (Benson, 1987, p203/4). 'Drama, art and fantasy – are powerful and effective methods of evoking and utilising maximum personal resource. They seem to build a bridge between the conscious self and unconscious elements and mediate between the rational mind and its more irrational, affective and intuitive parts' (1987, p206/7). Both groups used drama team games to 'encourage members to do something successfully with others, promote trust, co-operation, teamwork, cohesion, [they] teach the necessity of rules, procedures and framework. They promote discipline, control, self-responsibility, teamwork, and the exercise of personal will and choice' (p222/3)

The junior school project had some activities which occurred weekly and others which were session specific. The regular activities were used as a way of structuring the sessions and helping the transition from school to club. They included check in, establishing or reasserting rules and a leaving ritual. Our opening session focused on establishing the identity of the group and on group process. The second week focused on 'Myself Now' and the third week on 'My Memories'. The most powerful week was the fourth which focused on anger and the final week was called 'Endings and the Future' (see Appendix 3 for more detail).

The TA in Drama course was made of three elements; breathing, circle time/check-in/out, and Transactional Analysis (see Chapter 2.7) which was taught through drama skills and techniques. Some times I would start with practical work and ask the students to draw their own conclusions and then I would draw out the TA concepts on the board. At other times, the concept was presented first and then we experimented with it to check out whether it was true for us.

The practical work was largely based around role play, with occasional use of freeze frame and mime. Role play can be used to 'explore the role behaviour of an individual in a domestic, leisure, or work situation, practise new skills, explore and resolve a current problem...helping individuals learn how to assert themselves/handle certain emotions, drawing attention to interpersonal behaviours and group process – working with conflict, decision making, communication, trust, authority, control...' (Benson, 1987, 208/9). I certainly found these things to be true. Role play is the bread and butter of drama but I changed my teaching style so the focus was much more on process than product. So even if we were doing a role play about one concept, if I saw another concept illustrated I would stop the class and we would discuss that so that learning occurred naturally, in context.

During the role plays I would sometimes;

- Stop the drama to assess what is happening or what options are available.
- Ask members to reverse roles in order to help someone express what he senses the other is feeling.
- Ask non-playing members to double for the particular members and say what they think is going on or not being expressed (Benson, 1987, p212).

I felt that by focusing on process rather than product the stigma of not being 'good' at drama was lessened. We never worked towards a polished performance so there was no ideal of perfection for people to fail to meet. I found that pupils were then more likely to get involved and to volunteer to show their work. Role play 'increases involvement, increases spontaneity, enhances awareness and

understanding, facilitates problem solving, deepens group cohesion and mutuality' (Benson, 1987, p209/10).

If we did watch work, it was watched and discussed by actors and audience. This gave me opportunity to reinforce ownership of feelings and perceptions. As a class we found ways of making criticisms in a helpful way and ways of disagreeing with someone without hurting them. One of the major advantages of this way of working was that everyone had something to contribute as the role plays were based on real life situations, for example: 'A parent and child after a bad day deciding what to have for tea'. Also, as no one was ever perfect, and there was never a definitive answer, pupils learned to accept multiple opinions, truths and perceptions.

We used check in and out as a way of starting and ending the lessons (see p112). Once we were all sitting in the circle, usually after the check in, I would use the breathing approach described in Chapter 3.10.2. Sometimes I would vary the technique either using visualisation or physical movement, but the intention was always the same, to encourage awareness and calm. One of the difficult things with this was that it was hard for me to model as I was also teaching. Sometimes I felt that I could close my eyes and join in, at other times I kept my eyes open and used eye contact with those who did not have their eyes shut.

3.11.2 Review Interviews

I carried out interviews after every project and for the key staff there *were* only interviews. When interviewing adults the power dynamic was often reversed which meant that I was able to be more challenging. The interviews with pupils after the junior school club were carried out at the junior school and I was not involved in getting permission as it was organised as part of the agreement to be in the club. During the first interview I noticed that one of the boys was drawing on the desk so I kept pencils and paper on the table through-out the interviews and all but one child used them (findings p244). The

interviews provided the boys with a chance to work through their feelings regarding the group and particularly its ending.

The drama review interviews with pupils were shorter and more focused. I had specific areas to ask about: breathing, circle time and TA and if the pupil did not mention one of these areas then I would ask an open question about it. I rarely challenged, but did use active listening skills. I also interviewed one of the members of staff about her experience of teaching the curriculum. The Anger Management review interviews with pupils were exactly the same style of interview as for Phase One except that this time the interviews were only half an hour and the focus question was: 'How has it been for you?' Although I did not interview the therapist, after every session we talked through the previous session and planned for the next and I made notes of these conversations. He was also a critical reader of the research.

3.12 CONCLUSION

At the end of Phase Two I analysed the review interviews in the way recommended by Glaser and Strauss; constantly comparing and refining themes. Through-out the Anger Management and the junior school project I had made field notes after each session, with my reflections and thoughts as well as any points made by the other adults involved, I included these notes for analysis as part of the emerging data. I was seconded from the school at the end of Phase Two to write up the research.

My methodology evolved in a way which honoured and supported the democratic aims of the feminist research paradigm. By the end of Phase One I felt that I had gathered enough data for patterns to start emerging. I had been able to interview both boys and girls from Learning Support Unit and the mainstream school. If I were to repeat anything, I would allow a lot more time for the projects in Phase Two. I strongly felt that five or six sessions was not enough time for pupils to process emotions and thoughts in a way which could help them change behaviour. Even the staff training needed to be more regular, sustained and far reaching. All of the projects in Phase Two had their merits, but without having

on-going funding, staffing, time and space, they were little more than drops in the ocean. To conclude this section, I see my ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods as being essentially linked; they all connect with and support each other. The research taught me which path to follow and the method grew organically. Method and emergent themes were integral and symbiotic.

CHAPTER 4 PHASE ONE FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

During this chapter I will be answering the research questions stated on page 5, although in a different order to the way in which they appear there. During the analysis of this data, concepts from Transactional Analysis (TA) (see Chapter 2.7) will be used as will Maslow's hierarchy of needs (see p61). Rather than using names, I have indicated the sex of the student and I have numbered all the males. Pupils in the Learning Support department were given roman numerals and females were given letters.

During the period of the field research 95 different pupils were excluded. 70% (67) agreed to be interviewed. I did not investigate why the remaining 30% (28) of parents and/or students preferred not to be interviewed and how data from them would have changed the findings, if at all. Of those who refused to be interviewed 20% (13) were girls and of those who *were* interviewed, 21% (14) were girls. 1.5% (1) of those interviewed were either of mixed race or 1.5% (1) Asian. Interestingly it was only white students who refused to be interviewed. 9% (6) of the students interviewed were educated in the Learning Support department and all were boys. I only interviewed each student once even though some of the students were excluded many times both before and after the interview. If students mentioned other exclusions in their interview I did include this data in the findings so there are more exclusions discussed than there are pupils interviewed.

4.2 WHAT WERE THE DEVIANT BEHAVIOURS THAT LED TO EXCLUSION?

In answering this question I will be looking only at the actual events that led to the exclusion. 71 exclusion incidents were discussed in all. I use exclusion incident to mean the event which happened in the here-and-now (p39 and p110) which led to the pupil being excluded. The exclusion incident was a one off event rather than past or ongoing behaviour. The breakdown of what led to these exclusions was as follows:

Causes of exclusion

1. 35 or 49% arose from students having sworn at teachers.
2. 23 or 32% arose from fights between pupils.
3. 5 or 7% arose from students having unacceptable hair styles.
4. 2 or 3% arose from students setting off fire alarms.
5. 1 or 1.5 % arose from a pupil wearing a nose ring.
6. 1 or 1.5% arose from a student touching a teacher sexually.
7. 1 or 1.5% arose from students letting a teacher's car tyres down.
8. 1 or 1.5% arose from a student hitting a teacher with a tennis ball.
9. 1 or 1.5% arose from a student stealing from a teacher.
10. 1 or 1.5% arose from a student showing his bottom (mooning) to his friends for a joke.

I then grouped these exclusions under three headings:

Types of exclusion

A	Exclusions arising from direct student/teacher interaction	37 exclusions (52%)
B	Exclusions arising from direct student/student interaction	24 exclusions (34%)
C	Exclusions arising from student/school interactions	10 exclusions (14%)
	TOTAL	71 exclusions (100%)

Type A was made up mostly of those exclusions in which a student swore at a teacher (Cause 1). The school had a rule that 'under any circumstances, a pupil swearing directly at a teacher.....led automatically to a fixed term exclusions' (Head). I also included the exclusion from Causes 6: 'She poked the teacher up the bum with her pen, just mucking around and he turned round and blamed me' (Female A), and 8: 'I threw the ball and it just hit her...it hit my foot and then hit her on the head' (Male 43), as the students and teacher interacted face to face and the students' response was personal to those members of staff. Exclusions in this group were generated because not only did the pupil break a school rule (for example not to swear at staff) but where there was a personal conflict situation between pupil and teacher. In all of these exclusions both parties had an emotional response to the interaction.

Type B was made up mainly of Cause 2 exclusion incidents. These were either verbal: 'F you , you c' (Male 1) and/or physical conflict incidents: 'I head butted him and then kicked the shit out of him' (Male 7) between students. I also included in this exclusion Cause 10: 'I pulled a moony' (Male 10) as, although it

was the only exclusion in this group which did not involve conflict, it *was* a pupil/ pupil interaction and shared similar themes around masculinity.

Type C was made up of interactions where the student crossed the line of the school rules and where the member of staff gave the exclusions in an impersonal way as a representative of the school institution rather than from the position of feeling personally attacked (as was the case with staff in Type A). There were exclusions in Type C where neither staff nor pupil had a strong emotional response but where the line was crossed and the punishment accepted: 'Got excluded for me hair....it's not suitable in school if anyone comes around and sees someone with a bald head' (Male 1). Also in Type C were exclusion incidents where the student went into conflict with the school as an institution rather than individual teachers. Setting the fire alarm off: 'Then for some reason I just went down and smashed it....I thought it would be fun' (Male 39), was an example of this where the smooth running of the school was disrupted. However, even the letting of a teacher's car tyres down was aimed at the school and not at the particular member of staff: ' We let down one....take the cap off....push the pin in and that's what releases the air...just for the hell of it, being stupid but pancake flat' (Male 48). The pupil did not even know whose car it was and, when he found out, in fact liked the teacher.

For me the results were surprising as I had imagined that most exclusions arose from pupil/pupil interactions. However these were in the minority, making up only one third, with the remaining two thirds arising from interactions with staff and/or the school. In some ways I was shocked as I realised that I had fallen for the popular image of boys being 'the problem' whereas I realised that 52% of the exclusions arose from interactions between adults and students. My next response was one of hope, as if two thirds of exclusions were caused by interactions between the world of the pupils and the world of the adults, then there was some chance that we, as staff, could change things in such a way as to minimise the need for exclusion.

Interestingly, Type B was made up entirely of boys. Although there were no fights between girls during the research period (contrary to Davies' (1984) findings) the Head told me that there had been 'rare' fights between girls in the 14 years he had been at the school. Girls were excluded for either conflict with teachers or with the institution of school and never for conflict between each other.

4.3 WHAT DID EXCLUSION MEAN TO PUPILS AND PARENTS?

I will discuss how teachers saw exclusion in Phase Two (see Chapter 5.2). During Phase One I heard the students' opinions on exclusion as well as what they imagined teachers thought. Many pupils also told me what their parents' responses had been to the exclusion.

25 students (37%) felt that exclusion was like a holiday: 'It just means you are going to get a few days off school' (Male 35). Many described how exclusion meant that they could stay at home, play at their computer, watch TV or go to town, 'Spent it in bed...played with the computer, sit and watched the TV. It was a holiday really' (Male 43). Exclusion for some pupils meant more time free from rules and work and more time for themselves. These students said that they felt that exclusion did not work: 'Every punishment the school has given me hasn't improved my behaviour. It hasn't improved anyone's...it's up to the person...it's myself really' (Male 7).

However, the deciding factor in whether the exclusion was felt to be like a holiday or a punishment was parental response. Kinder et al (1999) also found that 'parental sanctions were seen as more effective' (p38). If parents took the exclusion seriously and followed it up at home with action which supported the school, then the punishment was perceived as having more impact by the pupil. 24 parents (and I have counted individuals rather than couples) were reported as supporting the school's actions:

I thought I would have a little rest day but she [mum] took the day off to make me work...I was me mum's slave for the day....I had to tidy my room, hoover ... she made me clean the house, everything (Male 41).

I was grounded for a while and that was my punishment (Female N).

'Grounding' (when the young person is not allowed out for a period of time) and housework were by far the most effective punishments at home as students felt deprived of personal time. However, removal of privileges such as use of computer, telephones and television were also effective.

Even where the parent was not so active in making exclusion feel like a punishment, a 'talking to' had a similar effect especially where the parents showed disapproval while also explaining their reasoning and/or reiterating the boundaries of acceptable behaviour:

JL How did they explain it?

Pupil That every one is equal to me. You can't treat people differently because of the way they are. That's how they explained it. Now I realise that (Male 38).

She [mum] understands why I did it but she wanted me to know that it was definitely a bad thing to do (Male 28).

Again Kinder et al supported this saying that some children were 'sensitive to their parents' feelings' (1999, p39) and that this was therefore a deterrent from future deviant behaviour.

Parents were less effective at making exclusion effective when their responses were divided. 'Dad said "I agree with you", mum said "you shouldn't have done it"' (Male 35). 'My dad said that I've got to stay in but my mum said she would let me out' (Male 29). The above students were both often in trouble at school and did not consider exclusion to be a threat or a punishment at all: 'If I got expelled I wouldn't care' (Male 29).

Some students such as the one above used parental disagreement to their advantage but other students really struggled to understand how they should behave as a consequence of the conflicting messages they were given.

JL What did your mum say?

Pupil Well, she was mad at me at first...After a while she understood it really. 'I understand why you done it but I hope you realise next time you've got trouble you go to the teachers'.

JL Would you?

Pupil Don't know cos me dad's always told me if you've got trouble just leave it till after school and get them after school.

JL So your mum says one thing and your dad says another. So whose word do you normally take?
Pupil Dad's. Most boys like to follow in their dad's footsteps don't they (Male 24).

However, later in the interview the pupil said of his father's violence:

I don't want to be like him...I'd like to be out of trouble.

If there was a divide between the parents, the above polarisation was repeated: the mother advocating a peaceful solution and supporting the school and the father recommending violence and undermining the school. I will return to this in my discussion on gender (Chapter 4.4) but the above students voiced clearly the dilemma faced by many of the students: feeling that their mother's way was what they wanted to adopt, but also feeling the need to identify with their masculine role model.

Parents were also ineffective when a boundary was put into place but then changed or removed: 'It's just me mum at home and she grounds me for a few days and then she gets sick of me in the house so she lets me out' (Male 18). 'If I wanted to do something and she wouldn't let me I'd do it anyway...I came home drunk one night and she grounded me for 6 months but then about three days later I'm back' (Male 15). Seven parents, all mothers, were reported as having moveable or weak boundaries.

Some parents attempted to make the exclusion a punishment at home but were unable to enforce it at all: 'They can't really ground me or anything cos I'll just go out anyway' (Female H). Other students practised deception to avoid punishment at home. One boy 'lied a bit' about his part in the exclusion incident: 'It's easy, she just believes everything I say' (Male 43), and as a consequence was not punished at home.

Some parents were actively against the punishment as they did not think it was fair:

She [mum] thinks it's like a holiday as well, so she doesn't see the point in it...she knows she has always stuck up for me. ...she's always got me out of it, I would have been suspended more times than once, but she sticks up for us (Male 2).

Other parents directed their anger at the school for making their own lives difficult:

She has got to go to work in the day and she gets annoyed leaving me at home...she goes mad...she can't be doing with it cos she has got to come up to the school and take a day off (Male 18).

Some parents put their work first and declined to supervise the exclusion or come to the re-admission interview:

She couldn't, not unless they were going to pay her £150 a day because she's doing really well at the minute...so she refused (Male 32).

17 individual parents were reported as being un-supportive of the exclusion. Finally, there were parents who supported the way their children behaved and encouraged it. This girl had sworn at a teacher and her mother:

Didn't have a go at me because she said she understood why I swore because the teacher pushed me...[her parents] have always said to me 'stick up for yourself'. My dad said he wasn't going to punish me because he would have done exactly the same thing if he was in that position (Female J).

It was noticeable that most of the above quotations refer to the mother. Indeed, in 12 families (18%) the mothers were referred to as the sole source of discipline and not all of these were single parent households.

For some pupils, it was the feeling of having let their parents down which was punishment in itself. 'I just feel like I've let my parents down and stuff' (Male 21). These students were upset by the fact that they had upset one or both parents and so exclusion felt like a punishment. For others it was the boredom of exclusion which made it a punishment and this boredom arose from being at home alone rather than with friends in school:

JL So, when you are excluded what is it like to be at home?
Pupil Boring.
JL What do you do?
Pupil Nothing, boring, I weren't even let out.
JL So there is part of you that likes being in school?
Pupil Yeah, in a way. Seeing my mates and that, having a laugh (Male18).

Nine students (13%) said that exclusion was meant to teach them a lesson: 'It sounds stupid but it has been like good for me really, in the long run. Else, otherwise, if I hadn't got excluded I think I might sort of

carried on being like I was' (Male 3). When I asked one student what exclusion was for he replied: 'To make them [pupils] learn from mistakes or just stupidity or anything like that or bad behaviour so they can learn from it' (Male 4).

Eight pupils (12%) spoke about the fact that exclusion was 'time out' (see p54) of school, an idea supported by Bates' research (1996, p2). Their definition was different from those who saw it as a holiday as they did not just see it as time off, but as time to calm down, relax and review:

Pupil When I've been wound up in school, I've got a fag in my hand and I'm like that [miming smoking] like, so every teacher will see me.....You just think 'oh yeah, I'll get suspended'
JL So its almost like you do that to get time out, away from school?
Pupil That's what you need, time out sometimes, away from school like.... (Male 13).

Even staff were perceived as seeing exclusion as a calming down time: 'She sent me to Mr F and he phoned up my mum and said I had to have a day off school to calm down...' (Male 4).

One pupil suggested that teachers use exclusion as a way of making themselves look authoritative: 'It shows...that you get done, thrown out like, which looks like they've [teachers] got discipline' (Male 13), an idea supported by Kyriacou (1989) and Bates (1996) who discussed the pressure teachers are under to perform. A couple of pupils felt that exclusion was for the school to avoid pupils and situations it did not want: 'You get rid of the trouble makers for a bit and try and get some peace and quiet to try and teach their classes properly' (Male 32). Finally, one pupil who was excluded following a fight during which he felt attacked, saw exclusion as the school's way of protecting him: 'I suppose if they [teachers] don't do anything then you're in danger aren't you? They're not going to know if the whole gang is waiting for you' (Male 24). The efficacy of exclusion depended to a large extent, on the actions and attitudes of the parents. It also became clear that there were many different pupil perceptions of exclusion and what it meant.

Internal isolation (where a pupil was removed from lessons and kept with a member of staff throughout the day often including during break and lunchtime) and the addition of the exclusion to the pupil's records

were perceived as having greater impact on pupil behaviour. Pupils hated isolation because they still had to get up, wear uniform and come into school, hence losing the 'day off' which exclusion gave. They had to work during the day while having all their social contact removed: 'being on your own all day, just working, not getting out at break' (Male 10). The humiliation of trailing round after a member of staff also added to the power of the punishment: 'I was in isolation for a day once and it was so embarrassing cos you have to go into dinner with Mrs C and it is really horrible with all the teachers watching you eat' (Female A). Pupils were concerned about their school records because they would be used to write references in the future for jobs. 18 pupils, (27%) were concerned about the effect their school record would have on their future: 'It looks bad on your record' (Male 23).

Pupil The only thing that would bother me is that it goes on record. Because then when I'm trying to get a job, they will show it (Male 14).

4.4 PARENTAL BEHAVIOURS AND THEIR IMPACT ON STUDENT BEHAVIOUR IN SCHOOL

In brief, if parents advocated a way of behaving which was in contrast to the school's expectations, mostly it was the parents' way of behaving which was adopted, either consciously or unconsciously. This can be explained through the Freudian concept of introjection which can be defined as: 'The process in which the individual takes attributions of other people...into him/herself and installs them as part of his/her own inner world' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p308). As revealed above, some parents were explicit about their expectation that their child should seek combative solutions to their problems. This was particularly powerful when the advice was given by the parent of the same sex. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, p92) found that boys copied their fathers' behaviours and my research confirms this. The following are examples of when explicit advice from fathers was re-enacted by their children, even though the mothers and the school advocated a different behaviour:

For example, Male 23 was excluded for fighting: 'Some one was mouthing me and I retaliated and punched em'. He showed no remorse at what he had done: 'Taught him a lesson really coshe'll think

twice about mouthing anyone else again'. When the student told his parents his mother advised: 'Just tell the teacher' when he was being 'mouthed' (called names) but his father said: 'If anyone mouths you around, then do it back, hit em'. 'Dad just said "good lad" really. "Taught him a lesson"'. There is a direct correlation between not only the action the student took when being verbally attacked, but also in his reasoning for fighting back. To tell the teacher, as his mother advised was 'harder, it's easier to hit someone than tell the teachers, just don't know why'. Therefore the father's advice was clearly adopted and followed rather than the mother's and the expectations of the school. Kinder et al (1999) found that family values were a major influence on the occurrence of deviant behaviour (p16) and Swain (2004, p306) and Francis (1999, p364) confirmed the idea that pupil behaviour was influenced by parental role models.

However, Male 28 provided an illuminating contrast. He was the victim of ongoing taunting from one particular boy at school and having 'tried telling someone in school' and having 'told my mum about it on several occasions and that didn't work either...she rang the school to sort it out' he eventually 'just hit him a few times'. So this student had done what the school advised and had told someone about the fact that he was being bullied, but the adults in his life were not able to stop it. His parents were angry at him for having used violence although they understood what had pushed him to it: 'She [mother] was shouting at me not ever to do that again' and his father 'understood but wanted me to know it was wrong'. So, as in the above pattern, the student had followed his parents' way of behaving for some time. He had ignored the taunting, talked to adults about it and avoided trouble as he was advised to do by parents and school. 'Violence isn't really the answer to things. You should talk about it'. However, these approaches did not solve the problem but the punch did: 'I think now that's happened its all been sorted out. I think that that's made a difference, but if he'd just been told off I don't think that would really have done anything'.

Male 28 started by adopting the behaviour advocated by his parents. However, he then shifted from this behaviour to adopt a more aggressive one. The behaviour his father and mother were advocating was to

talk things through and to behave reasonably. However, this approach failed as the bully perceived it as weak and so the taunting continued, at which point the student adopted a violent approach which actually over-powered the bully and 'solved' the problem. In TA terms, the student switched position on the Drama Triangle. When he was being called names and was trying to sort things out through peaceful means he felt and was perceived to be in Victim role. He asked his parents and the school to Rescue him but they failed, so eventually he switched roles to being Persecutor for an instant, thus reducing the bully to Victim and removing his power.

Much has been written previously about the way in which hegemonic masculinity is constructed through the use of bullying which 'is a major way in which boys are able to demonstrate their manliness' (Askew and Ross, 1988, p38), fighting (Swain, 2003, p306; Willis, 1979, p35; Connell, 1995, p106) and 'one's sense of power that comes from dominating others' (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998, p188). Therefore, even though Male 28's father advocated a peaceful approach to problem solving, it did not work and so his son successfully adopted hegemonic behaviour and won the battle.

Male 23 had only ever had the hegemonic Persecutor role offered him by his father and so he had no hesitation in adopting it. When this 'male as Persecutor' role was used against the child himself, as was the case with Male 24, the child was forced into Victim role:

JL So you don't always feel safe at home?

Pupil I feel safe sometimes, just not when he gets naggy and he does anything, punches the doors and walls, anything

When a child is in Victim position at home, he is likely to pick up his Persecutor role elsewhere and with added force as a way of gaining back his lost power whenever he can. However, Male 24 had started a process that I believe had the possibility to free him from the need to even get onto the Drama Triangle.

He had begun to analyse his behaviour and that of his father to decide how he wanted to continue to be:

JL So how would you sum up what we have been talking about? What is the most important thing for you?

Pupil Just to have the guts to walk away.

Fathers were also a major influence on how girls responded to situations in school. Female B was excluded for swearing at a teacher who she felt was intimidating her. Although she did not use physical force in this situation, she admitted:

I've hit my mum before which I really regretted. And I've hit my old friend, slapped her round the face...I have never really punished someone and then got them on the floor and keep kicking hell out of them I wouldn't do that...but a slap ain't really nothing.

When she fell out with a friend her father's advice was: 'Just to hit her...just hit her, she'll soon realise she's upset you'. She could see that: 'My dad always resorts to violence'. Her mother's advice was: 'Just have a go at them, they'll come round'. So both parents offered violent solutions; the father physical attack, the mother verbal attack.

However, this girl responded differently to her father's advice than the boys did: 'I don't always listen to my parents. I think if I want to do something then I have to make my own decisions.' I would argue that this was because, although her father was a major influence, she and he were not the same sex and so she did not feel the same ties that the boys felt to follow their male role models. The Persecutor role her father offered her was not one which is backed up by popular images of femininity, or if women do Persecute, they are more likely to do it verbally rather than physically (Davies, 1984).

Also, this particular girl had developed an open and caring relationship with her female form tutor who provided a third model for behaviour and was influential because the student trusted and liked her as a person. I will come back to the theme of trust (Chapter 5.4). Cooper (1993), John (1996), Christian Action Research (2000) and Cooper et al (2000) all wrote about the importance of a trusting relationship in counteracting deviant behaviour. 'Trust' can be defined as 'that state of being during which people believe that their needs can be met without injury by others or the environment' (Clarkson, 1996, p75).

She's [form teacher] more of a friend.....cos she always helps me with my problems, she's like a mum. I feel closer to her than all the other teachers. I've asked her advice and things with friends and she's always tried to help and you can't really do that with other teachers cos you don't have that bond with them...She's always jolly and wants to listen and she lets you have your say...I've got to know her and she's got to know me and it's more like a friendship.

When she went to her form tutor with a problem,

I asked Ms R, 'If, like you've made a promise that you won't tell, but you think you should, what would you do?'. And she said 'Well you need to talk to your friend and if its really important I think you should tell someone, but its your choice', and she had a few suggestions on what you could do (Female B).

The students discussed above had parents who were explicit in their messages about behaviour. As we saw with Female B and Males 24 and 28, as the messages were explicit, the young people were aware of them, and so were able to consider another way of behaving. However, the next group of students I will discuss came from homes where even if the behaviour was not overtly talked about, it was acted out so regularly that the pupils just assumed that the behaviour was normal, as they had no other models to refer to.

Three of the boys I interviewed were from the local traveller community and all three of them spoke about violence being an accepted part of home life. Two of them had been excluded for fighting:

Every fight I have had they never get me down, not one of them, hardly touched me and by the time they've got one punch in they'd be on the floor cos I just give them a few punches in the face. I used to do boxing. (Male 42).

I wanted to hurt him bad style, I really wanted to do him over (Male 47).

The third had sworn at a teacher, although he had been previously excluded for fighting.

Although from different families, their home life shared many similarities. Men and women used physical violence 'Sometimes they slap me and sometimes they don't' said Male 36 of both his parents while Male 47 reported that his parents 'thought well done' (for hitting someone) although 'they were angry at me for being excluded from school'. The lesson he learnt from the exclusion was to avoid trouble in school, but to carry on with the same behaviour outside school: 'Yeah, I would do it again. I know the consequences inside school but outside school they can't do nothing. Except the police'. Finally Male 42 said:

Me dad does the same...[and the women]... don't take any hassle from nobody. Me mum's the same and her sisters, brothers, everyone I know is the same. If they say anything they just go straight up and hit them.

Two of these boys talked about being scared of the violence but because it was so much a part of their community, did not question it. Rather, they saw it as a training ground for how they should behave and were conscious of their actions.

This pattern was not only confined to the traveller community. 'I was getting more and more wound up....and I thought "right then"....and I went up to him and slapped him' (Male 40). Again, this pupil treated others in the way he himself was treated at home (I will go on to develop the theme of domestic violence in Chapter 4.13.2). The exclusion was hidden from his dad in case he 'might of slap me around the head'. When I asked how often this happened he answered: 'Only when I've done bad stuff'. Not only was he scared of his father, but of his mother, who was no longer at home but who used to 'hit me several times. She was always slapping me and kicking me up stairs'. This boys was a Victim in his home and at school switched into Persecutor himself, regaining the power he lost at home the only way he knew how. He did not view his home life as a training ground for how to live life, rather he wished it was different, he wished he had a 'proper family that's real strict and keep you in....to teach me not to do it again..'. He was crying out for safe boundaries (as recommended by MacGrath, 1998; Rogers, 1998) and ways of behaving, but his home life was unable to give them to him and school rules were not powerful enough to modify years of conditioning.

However, there was an exception: Male 5 (see also p209) was subjected to violence by his mother as a young child: 'She used to hit me, throw me down the stairs, all sorts'. In junior school he had re-enacted this behaviour:

That had a really bad effect on my school....I had 7 fights a week and had no friends or nothing, played hell with the teachers, all sorts. Cos I didn't know what to do.

However, he was able to re-learn more social behaviour, not at school, but with his grandparents:

It was really weird when I went to my nan, discipline and all sorts came in and I was like 'what is all this...I don't know what I am supposed to do here'....you go there being this unknown little person and then not having anyone hurting you is strange.....whenever my granddad would raise his hand to say 'out' or something, I would crap myself thinking he was going to hit me.

He did not and the healing continued through the relationship of openness and trust he built with his father and step-mother when he went to live with them:

We always have these talks now, ...I love her [step-mum], there are only three people I really trust, J [best friend, male], my step mum and my dad.

None of the girls was excluded for physical or verbal aggression towards another pupil. However, when interviewed, half of them had indeed been violent themselves and had violent households. Female E told a teacher to 'f off' but inside she 'wanted to punch her in the face'. She talked about incidents outside school when she hit a neighbour: 'I slapped her in the face and broke her glasses'. In these incidents she was the Persecutor, but again, at home she was often the Victim. Her brother 'hits me all the time' and 'boots the doors and slams doors and punches everything' and her mother 'can't exactly hit him cos he's 16 now and he's more bad tempered than her and he'd only hit her back', so her mother was no protection. Her father 'used to hit me quite a lot...with his belt'.

Similarly, Female G prided herself for her violence and said:

Cos I'm a tom-boy...Cos I am a girl and I wear trousers and beat people up and girls don't do that do they?

This girl's home life was so unsafe that she had had to adopt not only the Persecutor role whenever she was able, but also a masculine identity in order to cope with the brutalising influences at home. She said of her brother: 'He's going to kill my dad with a base ball bat' and 'slices his arm and put a knife to his throat once'. She described her mother as 'hard', and she had just been removed from her father 'cos he tried to kill me'. In order to survive she had to be as brutal as the other members of her family, and school rules did not have the slightest effect in comparison.

Again, there was one exception. Female D (see also p211) was also raised in a very violent household.

Her dad would grab her brother,

About 6 foot off the floor by the neck and [her brother] got a knife to him ...I've hit him [her dad] before cos he's strangled him[her brother] before, so I punched him.

Her brother (see also p211), whom I also interviewed, had been excluded many times for swearing at staff, some of whom were scared of him. He also had a reputation for being one of the 'hardest' in his year. His sister had also acted as Persecutor: 'I jumped on him and was squeezing' but was learning to become less violent herself, through close relationships with trusted female friends in which she would 'talk and talk just get all our feelings out'. Davies (1984, p43) also found that girls emotionally supported each other. Rather than turning to adults who had let her down in the past she talked to her friends: 'I've got me friends round and just keep myself to my friends. They tell me all their problems and I tell them mine'. 'Friends are important...they offer support and security' (Cullingford and Morrison, 1997, p62).

Interviewing a brother and sister was enlightening in terms of content and the relationship we developed in the interviews. The boy talked about teachers, rules and power: 'I don't like people telling me what to do'. He talked about his family life incidentally and was protective of it against staff: 'I don't like people talking about my family. Because if teachers say: "Do you not have discipline at home?" I start'. When he talked directly about his home life it was to tell me how little control his parents had over him: 'My parents go to bed at half past ten. I go out and stay out'. Very briefly, right at the end of the interviews he mentioned his parents: 'If my mum and my dad were having an argument, I would go on my mum's side. She's always been there for me but my dad hasn't'. So, the content of the interview was largely constituted of school experiences, which was the common ground that he and I shared. He confided in me very little in comparison to his sister and I felt that he did not really trust me even though he said that he had talked to me because he knew me, 'If I didn't know them, I wouldn't trust them'. His sister's interview, in contrast was mainly about home life and friendships and just as she chose to talk to her female friends as a way of getting her feelings out, she saw the interview as achieving a similar end (see p185). When asked why she agreed to the interviews she replied ' I just wanted to...to get it all out of my system....to talk to someone...I feel a lot better now cos it was all building up and up and so I feel a lot better now' (Female D).

These two interviews clarified for me one of the reasons why so few girls were excluded and so many boys were. As one Head of Year put it: 'Girls talk to friends about their problems and boys just punch'. Swain (2003, p305), Martino (2001, p83) and Askew and Ross (1988, p15) all shared this view that boys do not talk about feelings. The sister and brother both had the same home experiences and to start with both had adopted the Persecutor role in school, having introjected their father's behaviours. The boy continued with this role but the girl, on occasions was able to step off the Drama Triangle by talking to friends, listening to music and 'chilling out' (developed in chapter 5.5). However, regardless of gender, home life had a clear impact on student behaviour in school but anti-social behaviours changed in the presence of loving, stable and trustful relationships (see Chapter 5.5) (Cooper, 1993; John, 1996).

I will now answer the questions: *What does gender Identity mean?* and *How do students construct their gender identity?* These two questions will be tackled together as the answers arise out of the same material. I am going to answer these questions before explaining why students are deviant, as I will argue that a lot of the behaviours associated with being male led to exclusion and this is why nearly all of the students excluded are male. I reiterate that the information is gathered from pupils who had been excluded and although they spoke generally about being male, I did not interview boys who had not been excluded about their masculinity.

4.5 MASCULINE GENDER CONSTRUCTION

What follows confirms much of the work on gender construction in school explored in Chapter 2.2.3 However, my analysis goes beyond a description of *how* masculinity is constructed, to *why*. Boys were excluded because of conflict situations with staff, the school boundaries and peers. Much of the conflict between peers started verbally, but the school only excluded pupils for fighting. I am therefore going to start my analysis of gender by looking at Type B (see p 120) and will answer why boys fight and what happens before, during and after a fight.

Masculinity in school is constructed around the issue of power (Connell, 1995, p73; Mills, 2001b, p23). As discussed above, boys allied themselves with the Persecutor role on the Drama Triangle more than any other position. To have power was seen as being masculine, to not have it was to risk appearing a 'Poof'. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, p146) discuss how the hegemonic masculinity is heterosexual and is constructed in opposition to homosexuality, hence the reoccurrence of terms of abuse such 'woos' and 'poof'. To walk away from conflict was seen as weak:

Pupil You can't really walk away or everyone will call you a woos and stuff.

JL So what does 'woos' mean?

Pupil Dunno, just being scared to fight and not being very hard and stuff.

JL What does being 'hard' mean?

Pupil Being like good at fighting and tough and stuff (Male 21).

Pupil Some people would say 'Oh you're a woos you are'...then I go back and hit them.

JL What does that word mean?

Pupil You're weak. You can't look after yourself (Male 24).

So, in a conflict situation, to not fight one's corner, either verbally or physically was seen as not being masculine. The opposite to being seen as a 'woos' was to be 'hard' and there are all sorts of rules to be followed in order to be hard.

4.5.1 Sport

The link between sport and the construction of a masculine identity which conforms to hegemonic norms has been explored by others (Connell, 1995; Gard, 2001). Sport was found to be 'manly, social competitive, physical and violent' (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998, p64), allowing masculinity to be constructed 'through action...strength, power, skill, fitness, speed' (Swain, 2003, p302) and was reported as being an 'outlet for men's naturally aggressive tendencies' (Mills, 2001, p24). The school curriculum provided a forum for these forms of masculinity to be displayed:

In PE if you're hard you can get to the top of the ropes, then you're hard, and if you can't you're not (Male 34).

We can pick up the medicine ball easy, like a weight ball, its not too heavy and some of the boys in our PE group can't run with it...and its not too heavy, so they are little weaks (Male 41).

Both of these quotations refer to PE lessons which some boys used to prove their masculinity and which some staff then reinforced (see p178). Scraton (1992, pp112-136) also showed how P.E. was used to reinforce hegemonic images of masculinity.

Four boys who were seen as amongst the 'hardest' not only fought informally, but also learned boxing which reinforced their reputation:

In primary school, you get to year 5 and 6 and everyone is saying to you 'Ah who's going to be the toughest in secondary school'. Because I did loads of boxing and all that, kick boxing ...everyone was going 'I reckon you will be' (Male 23).

I used to do boxing. Went for a couple of sessions, just sparring in the ring. Me and my brother have got boxing gloves at home and weights so we train at home (Male 42).

Football was also an acceptable badge of masculinity and was often a way of finding success when academic work did not allow this. Male 16 was one such example. He said: 'I am not the brainiest of people, that's what they used to take the mickey out of me for'. However, outside school he worked hard and was successful at with his football:

I've got a trial for county...All I want to do is play football. I am always saying that I don't need an education because I am going to play football (Male 16).

So, sport provided a way of getting positive strokes (see p48) or attention. In Male 16's case, he achieved a lot of attention and acclaim in his sporting career outside school, to the extent that he wanted to coach others, whereas in school, where he was not academically able, he got his strokes from his peers. It was therefore no surprise that students opted to spend time on sport, at which they felt successful, rather than on academic work where they felt they are failing. Male 4 found work 'boring and I didn't really like doing the work and I tried to keep up with the work and just found it difficult', so when he got the chance he focused on what he could succeed at:

I've got a lot of mates that I go out with at night and play footie and that and go to clubs so I don't get time to do homework (Male 4).

Sport offered an opportunity for males to work with each other, to be on the same team and to sense a feeling of belonging and working towards a common aim:

It's like a commitment thing really. I am the only goalkeeper in the team, if I don't, go I let the whole team down, so I have to go (Male 45).

Even the informal kicking of a ball around at break and lunch time provided the same feeling of togetherness and connection.

Not illuminated in previous research is how sport was an acceptable way of letting feelings out as it provided a non-verbal catharsis of emotions (developed on p243).

I do javelin as well and I knocked four meters off the record....and when I did that I was in a mood that day and when I lobbed it I just screamed and let it all out and it worked....gets it all out (Male 41).

4.5.2 Fighting

Physical strength had to be tested and it was the 'capacity to fight which settles the pecking order' (Willis, 1978, p35). Swain (2003), Askew and Ross (1988), Connell (1995), Mills (2001) and Foster et al (2001) all wrote about how fighting and violence are mechanisms through which hegemonic masculinity is established and maintained. What follows explicates the exact rules and reasons for fighting and puts these within a TA framework.

One student explained clearly how a 'hard' reputation was built in junior school and how this transferred to secondary school:

JL Were you the hardest in your previous school?

Pupil Definitely, yeah...everyone is scared of you until everything settles....You get a rep [reputation] from your previous school....you win a couple of fights and hang around with the hard crowd. Then you come to school and then all the other reps from other schools and they want to claim the hardest in the year. You don't want to lose your rep because you have been beaten up, because you lose your rep if you have been beaten up. We have all got to fight each other until it is settled. It was settled mid-year

JL Was there a final fight?

Pupil No, there wasn't many really, just little ones. You've got a big rep and then everything settled down. In year 7 everyone was settling around you. You have got to be quite wary of

each other as soon as you come to school because anyone can kick off to gain their rep, unless you know them already, because everyone wants to be hard

JL Can you change things?

Pupil Yeah, the one above you, the known hardest, and then everyone will think you are the hard nut. You just push up (Male 47).

Once in secondary school the reputation has to be maintained:

Pupils have had fights before but no teachers have found out about that. In year 7, that was the worst year because you have to come in and you have to build a rep [reputation]. Everyone is coming in from other schools and everyone want to have a fight with you because you are from another school (Male 43).

'If a boy bases his status on toughness and fighting he needs to be ever attentive to potential rivals

(Swain, 2003, p306).

4.5.2a Rules for Fighting

Physical power also had its taboos and there were rules for fighting which needed to be observed. The fight had to be seen as fair in terms of the number of people participating:

None of his mates would get involved and none of mine would unless someone else started on me.....Because it would be unfair, if it's two on one it's not fair (Male 20).

Fights were also acceptable if between people of the same age: 'It's OK if they are the same age' (Male

3). If someone older picked on someone younger it was acceptable for the younger person to be

defended by an older champion:

I thought it was shady [unfair/unacceptable] an eleven year old beating up a nine year old so...I just sorted him out (Male 47).

Hitting girls or 'girl bashing' (Male 3) was also unacceptable, even if a girl was calling names and provoking a male:

Pupil I would just swear at her. If it was a lad you could actually hit them.

JL Who said you can't hit girls?

Pupil Because it's the law. That's what people say (Male 3).

JL Why is it not OK to hit girls but it is OK to hit blokes?

Pupil Because girls are weaker aren't they? You are scared of getting a name for yourself...You get called faggot and things. I just can't imagine hitting girls.

JL What does faggot mean?

Pupil It means not very hard or something (Male 40).

So, the same theme of physical strength defined by with whom one could fight and the concept of fairness was central to this code of conduct. The code was so strong that a couple of the above boys refer to it as 'the law' and 'what people say', so the rules of the code of fighting conduct were upheld and reinforced by the boys themselves.

Finally, there was rule as to how far a fight could go:

If you seen someone bleeding and that, you'd stop it wouldn't you? (Male 14).

Once one's opponent was on the floor and/or bleeding the fight had to stop and if the participant did not stop, then it was acceptable for an outsider to stop it:

One of me mates said 'leave it, you're going to kill him if you don't stop' (Male 7).

In the above fight, the intervention by the friend was not a threat to the attacker's masculinity as he had by then beaten his victim to the floor. However, his extreme violence was shocking to the crowd and staff alike. He felt that after the fight staff were talking about him:

Everyone was around me and saying things like 'I've never seen you like that before'...Making me out to be a psycho...he [Head of Year] said everyone couldn't believe the brutality....doesn't know what I am capable of doing....just making me out to be dangerous.. (Male 7).

So, extreme violence was unacceptable, even in the fight situation and could result in the victim winning the crowd's sympathy rather than the attacker. This was in keeping with the rules about not fighting those weaker than you. When the victim was reduced to a certain state of powerlessness, it was time to back off or be seen as taking things too far and earning disapproval.

4.5.2b Staff Intervention in Fights

Teachers could step in and stop a fight but the timing of the intervention was crucial. There had been a member of staff at the fight above but the friend intervened before the teacher:

There was a teacher, he just watched me do it, he wouldn't step in. He kept on going as if he was about to step in, but he just never did (Male 7).

In trying to explain the teacher's role on the Drama Triangle I found Law's (2003) Bystander role to be helpful. Law defines the role as one which does 'nothing in situations which require action' (Law, 2003, p6). The teacher witnessed but was not active in breaking the fight up. As a consequence of the staff inactivity, the fight led to serious injury and hospitalisation. This inactivity on the part of staff was not isolated. The friend, in the following situation used the power associated with his masculinity in a positive way, whereas the teacher did not use their institutional power:

The teachers knew that something was going to happen...it would have been better if the teacher would have come in and break it up (Male 25).

Usually if the teacher intervened, the action was accepted and the fight broke up. This was because, whatever the power dynamics going on between the students, the institutional power of the staff was greater than this and so was accepted:

You can't do anything about a teacher stepping in, but if another kid pulls you out then you are classed like 'oh he pulled you out and you're a wimp' like (Male 25).

If staff intervened too soon the fight just resumed at a different time and location until the point had been proved:

The teachers came and stopped it....[but] if I see him out of school there's going to be nothing anyone can do (Male 37).

Teachers also inflamed some situations when they were not sensitive to how the fighters are feeling:

A teacher came along and said 'why are you hitting him?' I said 'he's been beating up my brother' and she said..... 'I don't give a damn about your little brother'.....she didn't do the right thing, she got me fired up (Male 47).

Although the fight broke up, the above student walked out of school as a consequence of what the teacher had said as he felt it to be disrespectful of his younger brother. In all of the above incidents, staff did not understand the rules of fighting and as a consequence behaved in a way which was seen as unacceptable by the students. However, staff interventions which had allowed for the rules of fighting were welcomed:

Miss X and Miss Y got him and they just got hold of my arm and shoulder and pulled me back...I was alright with them (Male 20).

An attacking punch had been thrown and a defending one so the teachers were intervening at a stage that was acceptable to the students.

4.5.2c *The Crowd*

It was possible for a fight to be set up by others to provide in-school entertainment. I interviewed both participants in this fight and both were Victims of the crowd's desire for a fight:

There was me and a group of lads and saying stuff to him and he thought it was me saying it but it wasn't....later in the day people had been stirring....Don't have a clue who they are....I hit him back and then loads of year 11's piled in and it was chaos (Male 21).

His opponent also said the crowd:

Kept calling me names and I hit him once.....I didn't want to hit him again but everyone was going 'hit him, hit him'. And they pushed me into him and it started off from that...people circled around us, pushing us into each other (Male 24).

The students understood what it is like to be in the crowd and what a fight provided: 'What most kids want is to enjoy it [the fight], it stops school being boring' (Male 24). 'I've done it myself, if there's a fight...everyone will rush over...people like watching fights' (Male 25).

Although some members of the crowd appeared to be in Bystander role, I would argue that in fact the whole crowd were actually Persecutors because once there was a crowd assembled, it was impossible for the fighters to walk away as to do so was to be seen to become emasculated:

If you walk away everyone will go 'poof', cos you can't stand up for yourself and walk away and like so you don't want to walk away when there are people watching you....you've got to fight, you can't get out otherwise you'll lose respect of the crowd...the loser gets gibed [mocked] saying 'ah, you can't fight anybody, you're really weak' (Male 25).

'Much verbal abuse was homophobic' (Askew and Ross, 1988, p36). Without an audience people were more likely to walk away from a fight: 'If you're in a remote part of school where there's nobody you probably less likely to have a fight' (Male 25), but in front of a crowd it was 'disastrous for your informal standing and masculine reputation if you refuse to fight' (Willis, 1978, p35), too much reputation was at stake and so the battle had to be fought. Masculinity was not only based on *being* powerful, but also on

being *seen* to be powerful, there was a large aspect of display and performance in order to maintain one's gender identity. Connell (1995, p22), Swain (2004, p306) and Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, p47) all drew attention to how masculinity is a performance which requires an audience and actors.

4.5.2d Reasons for Fighting

Every single exclusion due to a fight began with students 'mouthing' each other. 'Mouthing' included name calling, insulting the student, his friends, his family. Mouthing was different from 'gibing' in that mouthing was meant to hurt and offend whereas for some students, 'gibing' or mockery was more likely to occur between friends. Gibing could be hurtful, but this could be unintentional. Mouthing in particular was seen as;

A way of abusing someone from a distance, you can't get close up and you can't punch them cos you know you're going to be in the wrong but its easier to get away with calling someone names more than like going up to them and punching them. I think most of the bullying in this school is verbal bullying rather than physically hitting someone (Male 25).

Willis (1978) noted how boys used 'piss taking' as a way to alleviate boredom (p34) and Martino (1999) explained that relating between boys is 'based on a system of verbal abuse and put downs in which a hierarchy of masculinities is established' (p246). Kehily (2001) refers to the 'abusive name calling' as 'ritualized insults' (p112) and agreed that name calling was a competitive way of establishing position on the hierarchy of masculinity. The 'ability to absorb "very personal" comments with seeming indifference' (p113) was also part of the hegemonic ideal of not reacting to pain (see p155). Name-calling was certainly experienced as being as painful as a physical attack by some of the students interviewed for this research:

The words just burn your mind and back of your head...and you hear it and something just clicks in side you 'ah it's my word, people being nasty to me'....it makes you feel bad, I don't want to be called those names, I don't like it....its not really very nice...I don't see why people do it...its upsetting (Male 28).

There were different rules for different people as to what was acceptable gibing and what was unacceptable:

People can take being gibed themselves but as soon as you start getting their family involved and who aren't there and can't stick up for themselves then they get a bit annoyed and emotional (Male 25).

Pupils who I interviewed saw insults directed towards mothers as unacceptable and 'out of order'.

However Kehily (2001) found that his subjects used the mother regularly as a target for insults and abuse.

If they gibed me, I would gib them back. If they say something that is not nice, then I would punch them (Male 30).

Mouthing and gibing were precursors to fighting although not every gib or mouth led to a fight. Verbal abuse was punished less often by the school due to the fact that it was often less apparent to staff in the school, or was seen as a lower level disruption of disruption than fighting or verbal abuse aimed at teachers.

The maintenance of power and identity were the motivators for fighting in the first place. The most common reason given for fighting was self-protection which in some cases was protection against physical threat:

He was like threatening to get me after the lesson and stuff and then he started spitting at me and I just lost it (Male 5).

However, more often than not, students were protecting their identity and self-esteem. Mouthing and gibing were ways in which students experienced their identity being threatened:

I hit him every time he calls me a name (Male 11).

If someone calls me it [ginger] and I don't know them or I don't get along with, I just don't like it (Male 27).

The abuse was aimed at looks, ability, race, class, indeed, anything which marked one out as different or not conforming to the hegemonic norm:

JL What do you get gibed about?

Pupil My weight and that. Its sad isn't it? I'm not bothered, I gib them back....it gets on my nerves.

JL Does anyone get away with not being gibed?

Pupil No, nearly everyone's got a gib.

JL Is it a girl thing or a boy thing or both?

Pupil A boy thing. Girls do tend to join in but not too much...they're more mature than boys (Male 22).

Davies (1984) found that her 'wenches' did indeed fight, insult and bully. However, I would argue that the boys were more overt in their verbal competition as their identity depended on being seen to be in the right place on the masculine hierarchy. Also the desire to avoid the Victim role was more pressing.

For some students the abuse was widespread and ongoing. The following student was eventually permanently excluded from the school but was himself a victim of name-calling and humiliation. His main enemy not only played Persecutor but also a Victim.

He keeps calling me 'stig' and saying I live in a cardboard box...I just feel like walking out of class to get away from them....makes me feel upset (Male 34).

This kind of abuse was hurtful because it was about something over which the student had no control and could not change: his home life. Once the abuse started, a cycle of tit-for-tat retaliation occurred as, in order to defend himself, he attacked his Persecutor.

He called me stig so I called him blackie (Male 34).

The two students involved were constantly switching positions on the Drama Triangle; the Persecutor called the name and forced the other into Victim position. However, very quickly the roles were reversed and the Persecutor was attacked and moved into Victim role himself, leaving both of them feeling angry and hurt:

JL Do you have racist comments made to you in this school?
Pupil Things have started to improve now.
JL What stopped that?
Pupil I beat them up...I thumped them in the face.
JL What's it like to be called racist names?
Pupil It hurts your feelings (Male 30).

Sometimes the two students would invoke staff to intercede in the conflict by joining them on the Drama Triangle as Rescuer which developed the Game further.

JL Have you ever told your teacher [about the name calling]?
Pupil Yeah but he did nothing cos he didn't believe me.
JL Do you lie about it?
Pupil Sometimes.

I had taught these two students in the same class and was aware of a constant and disruptive barrage of name-calling both had described happening in other lessons. However, I am ashamed to say that on the whole, I saw the name calling as an irritation for me, without considering the effect it was having on the students. I did step in to defend one or the other, but as I was in Rescuer role it did not stop the Game and I was never sure who was the Victim at the time I intervened. It was only after the interviews that I realised how, by not addressing the feelings behind the name-calling, I had indirectly been responsible for allowing the perpetuation of this cycle of abuse. The reality of the case was that both were Victims.

This ongoing pattern of name-calling was common and always involved the roles on the Drama Triangle, with each fighting to be Persecutor rather than Victim. It is also possible to analyse this behaviour in terms of life positions and strokes. All the time the students were operating from a position on the Drama Triangle, they were giving and receiving negative strokes. The Victim received negative strokes through the abuse and then felt so bad that he switched position on the Drama Triangle and tried to get rid of some of his bad feelings by dishing out negative strokes. So the cycle would continue with participants not feeling OK about themselves one minute and so then projecting this feeling onto the other and making them not OK and worthy of the abuse they wanted to give. The cycle continually eroded the students' sense of OK-ness and self-esteem and the more their bank of positive strokes depleted, the more they looked for any kind of stroke, even if it was a negative one.

Fighting and conflict also arose out of a perceived attack on significant others in the student's life such as family, girlfriends and male friends. In these situations, the boys adopted a heroic Rescuing role, fighting for other people's identity and safety. However, I would argue that in so doing they were also defending themselves in terms of identity through a relationship, in terms of how far they let other people go in gibing them.

In lesson he said that I go to bed with my mum. I waited till lunchtime and then I done him (Male 29).

The student here was primarily protecting himself and his sexuality while also protecting his mother.

Protecting others also led into the ongoing tit-for-tat cycle we saw above.

[Step dad] does karate and bugged up his knee...it clicks and he walks all funny. Everyone is taking the piss out of him. My friend he's sixteen and takes the piss out of my step-dad. I said 'if you take the piss out of him, I'll take the piss out of you; your dad's a cripple'. He said 'don't say that in case I kill you'. I said 'fine by me, don't take the piss out of my dad or I'll take the piss out of yours' (Male 11).

When it happened, abuse aimed at the student's parents, in many cases, was seen as worse than personal abuse.

Protecting siblings was a re-occurring theme:

My little brother said that he [an older student] got him onto the floor and started calling him names...he just asked me to sort it out and of course you are going to help your brother (Male 47).

Male 42 fought instead of his older brother in order to protect him from the ensuing punishment:

I wouldn't let my bother do it cos he's got his GCSEs coming up and if he does anything he won't be able to, so I pulled him back, for his career like. He wants to go into the army and it will mess up his career.

One boy even moved school to act as a protector for his brother:

I only came here because my brother wasn't allowed into [another school] so I came here so I could stick up for him a bit (Male 11).

Finally, the boys also verbally protected their siblings against staff:

He [teacher] was calling out each persons' name on the register and he was saying.... 'oh, your brother is X isn't it...he's had a shit life...he's in prison now isn't he?' in front of the whole class and I went mad at him and then he said sorry afterwards...I didn't say sorry to him...protecting me brother really, cos what he was saying about him wasn't really nice was it? (Male 18).

One group of students were particularly committed to protecting the extended family and these were the boys from the travelling community. This was partly because of the male role models in the community (see p132), but also because there was a heightened sense of community and belonging.

X is my cousin and he's a traveller and if I'm in a fight with quite a few people and it's just me against them, he'll come in and join in cos me and him are quite close as well and that's just the way it goes....me dad does the same. He sticks up for his relatives as well (Male 42).

It was acceptable to fight to protect one's girlfriend: 'He'd offended me girlfriend the day before...so I went to the playground and hit him' (Male 26). However, this protective urge was sometimes born out of a sense of ownership of the female:

- Pupil This lad had been bad mouthing my girlfriend...he reckons that he has been in my girlfriend's knicker drawer.
JL How does that make you feel?
Pupil Not very happy cos he shouldn't do that stuff. I didn't like it. I get mad because *its my* girlfriend (Male 27) [My emphasis].

Although he appeared to be defending his woman, I would also argue that he was defending his territory and that the girl was that territory. Willis (1978, p44) pointed out how his 'lads' objectified girls and, like some of the boys in this research, used the term 'the Missus' as a way of claiming ownership of their girlfriends.

Finally, the boys would fight to protect their friends:

- I punched someone in the face....I was protecting a friend cos he got into a fight and was jumped by some year 11's so I stepped in (Male 25).

One boy described himself as 'very protective of people' and explained that fighting for his recently bereaved friend was:

- Just my way of dealing with things. It's just the way I am. I don't try to be anything, it's just me. I don't try to act or impress anybody. It's how it is (Male 26).

He argued that his behaviour was *not* part of a need to be seen as behaving in a suitably male way. The urge to protect is human, but the way in which he acted this out physically in a display of power was influenced by the list of acceptable male behaviours. I was interested to know whether he also showed his caring side through talking and listening. He replied:

- I talk to some extent but it's still strange as obviously it [the death] wasn't long ago...you have to be very carefulin case you upset him or make him angry (Male 26).

The same male who was prepared to fight for his friend physically, was wary of sharing emotions with him (developed on p164 and p240).

Verbal abuse, which had a basis in truth, was particularly painful. In two cases below the abusers picked up on something that was true about the parents, and then played on the pupil's worse fear: death.

Sometimes they say stuff about me dad and that gets me more wound up than about me....he's a bit over weight and they take the mickey out of that and it scares me a bit and that's why I lose it and end up hitting them....I'm scared that he might have a heart attack and they scare me even more when they say he's over-weight and they say he might have a heart attack. So that scares me (Male 24).

Something that really upsets him is that his parents are pretty old and that and people call his mum and dad Adam and Eve and that really winds him up and he's cried cos of that in lessons cos people just...like saying 'Is your dad still going to be alive when you get home?' and that sort of thing. He burst into tears cos at that (Male 25 talking about Male 21).

One of the males responded by fighting, the other through tears, but I would argue that both physical reactions are born from the same source: fear of loss and death (developed in Chapter 4.13)

Revenge was a theme articulated by nine of the students who are aware of what they were seeking.

Many of the other students were in fact carrying out acts of revenge, but did not articulate this. The cycle was so ingrained in instances such as those above, that it was impossible to distinguish who was taking revenge on who. Revenge usually arose when an individual had been hurt or made vulnerable and so rather than experiencing the pain, it was projected physically onto the perceived cause of it. The following student found out that his girlfriend and his best friend were seeing each other:

He's been my best mate for 3 years and he stood there and lied to me....I think I wanted to humiliate him (Male 7).

Male 11 lived in a neighbourhood where there was ongoing trouble and violence. He was:

Walking up the shop with my dad, after my brother's mate's window got put through, I seen the lad's [who broke the window] dad's car parked in the road, I just wanted to pick something up and chuck it through the window, just to get revenge (Male 11).

Again, we see the desire to make someone else feel what he had felt, to make them suffer too. Even teachers were not immune from acts of revenge:

They [teachers] should leave us be, then at the end of the day, we won't get in trouble...then we won't do revenge (Male 43).

Revenge in this case was acted out by pupils escalating their bad behaviour. Revenge was also be directed against the institution of the school in an effort to act out the anger the student felt and to make the institution suffer as they have suffered.

- JL Why did you want to get one over the school?
Pupil For all the detentions.
JL So kind of revenge?
Pupil Yeah revenge, get back....
JL So you wanted payback?
Pupil To get one over the school, kick their head in (Male 48).

Fighting and conflict were also cited as necessary to avoid trouble in the future:

I don't know why butcausing a bit of trouble, it like stops more happening....none of the year 9s who saw that, or whoever was there are going to come and mouth me for no reason now are they? (Male 37).

to teach a lesson:

Taught him a lesson really cos he won't go, he'll think twice about mouthing anyone else again now, saving other people the hassle as well (Male 23),

to stop being persecuted:

I think now that it's happened [fight] it's all been sorted out. I think that that's made a difference but if he'd just been told off I don't think that would really have done anything (Male 28),

to keep or win respect:

I just wanna prove that I won't be mouthed for no reason (Male 37),

and even for fun:

Me and my brother used to play football and used to have fights...we just used to have fights, just muck about fights...it was just a laugh really (Male 18).

4.5.3 Displays of Power

The theme of power underlies all of the above reasons for fighting and is central to the construction of masculinity in school. 'Boys in school confirm their identity through physical aggression and violence' (Askew and Ross, 1988, p33). Even the fun fights are away of displaying strength and control albeit in a less explosive situation. To be seen as powerful or 'hard' was to be popular:

To some extent it would make you more popular if you're seen as a fighter and all the rest of it....they sort of look up to you; weaker people, quieter, not as aggressive (Male 26).

This idea is supported by earlier work by Swain (2003), Connell (1989) and Mills (2001). I found that moments when the pupils' hierarchy came into immediate conflict with the staff hierarchy were when exclusion incidents occurred. The following example where a student was excluded for bullying a member of staff illustrates this. The member of staff in question was one of the site maintenance team who was responsible for picking up the students' litter after break. The pupil called him:

- Pupil Stig and things like that...I've seen a few people treat him badly. But not as bad as we did but like calling him names and stuff....I threw a couple of stones....I thought he was one of us.
- JL So you don't see him in the same way as you see the teachers?
- Pupil Yeah.
- JL Why is that?
- Pupil I don't know. I realise now he is not [like a pupil] (Male 38).

So the student was punished for treating a member of staff the same way he would have treated another pupil, he was punished for whom he bullied as well as for what he did. However, this confusion over the power position of the man in question was a product of the school hierarchy as teaching staff and non-teaching staff were separate for much of the school day and in many administrative and social ways.

Some male students were aware of the power structure of the school and tried to use it to for their own ends:

It's obvious that Mrs Z isn't going to do anything so I went to see the Head ...straight to the top (Male 14).

The higher up the hierarchy staff were, the less likely they were to be pupil targets due to their greater institutional power:

I don't want to shout back because he is really important and he can do anything to me because he is Head of Year. They can exclude me or anything. I always try to take in what he is saying and keep calm (Male 46).

Student teachers were victims of the school hierarchy in that some students viewed them as fair game for a power struggle:

Teachers that are new to the school....we always try it on to see if we can get away with anything....If they are a new teacher and they get real mad, we give them abuse and we are not

going to have sympathy for them...we try it on to see if we can have a go at them, mess around, chuck things around, talk and stuff and not do our work (Male 43).

Some males turned relationships with staff into a battle for power and control in the classroom:

Pupil I just felt really angry...she [teacher] stole my pen.

JL What happened after that?

Pupil Kind of like war....sort of like a big war.

JL How did you fight the battle then?

Pupil It was like a speaking battle, I was saying things and they say things back (Male 35).

Power was also fought for by refusing to accept the staff's definition of the seriousness of a situation:

You can't help it when they are shouting their heads off at you and going red in the face, I just laugh (Male 6).

Mockery was another way of belittling the staff's institutional power:

There's this one teacher that when he talks at you, he spits and that. You have to go like this [gestures wiping face] all the time trying to wipe it off. You say 'don't spray it Sir, say it!' (Male 6).

The school and its staff were seen as legitimate arenas for pupils to establish hegemonic masculinity.

Gilbert and Gilbert also found their boys had an 'admiration for the excitement of behaviour which openly confronts authority...excitement of pushing the boundaries, of showing one's independence and strength' (1998, p174).

Power was also therefore sought in non-violent ways. Much has been written about the role of laughter in schools. Willis wrote about how his 'lads' had fun and used 'having a laff' ...to defeat boredom and fear and to overcome hardship and problems' (1978, p29). Woods developed this theme extensively. He found that laughter was 'a reaction against authority and routine' (1976, p178) Renold too referred to humour as a coping strategy (2001, p374). Woods referred to 'institutional' laughter which was 'subversive...undermining' in contrast to 'natural' laughter (1976, p179). He went on to say that having laugh:

Displaces the grimness, the sourness and the hostility that impinges upon them, and makes their school lives more palatable...a pleasant way of surviving...[it] emphasizes togetherness, camaraderie, fortifies the group and provides identities within it (Woods, 1979, p102).

Askew and Ross confirmed how humour formed identity as 'peer group pressure..[led boys to] create the role of the joker' (1988, p45) and Kehily developed this to show 'forms of masculine identity are organised and regulated through humour...an unofficial source through which boys learn about the cult of manhood' (2001, p110).

Jokes ..free things up...they are a way of making relationships more intimate...making and alliance (Woods, 1990, p19).

Jokes therefore are way of finding the sense of identity and belonging which Maslow (1954) and Reasoner (1982) (see p61 and p64) found to be necessary for self actualization and self-esteem.

My research confirmed the above but I would also add a new interpretation: that laughter is a way of getting positive strokes. Making others laugh was a way of gaining respect and attention:

I pulled a moony [showed his bare bottom]...everyone was having a laugh....I gave a bit of a dance as well (Male 10).

The student was caught by a teacher and excluded but had succeeded in gaining the attention of his friends before hand.

Pupil The lads play up a bit in class, they show off.....When you're with your mates you do don't you? Show off?.....
JL What are you supposed to be like to be a bloke?
Pupil Be a lad
JL What does that mean?
Pupil Have a laugh (Male 14).

This role offered the boy attention and a non-aggressive role to play that meant that he did not need to establish his masculinity through fighting. When students spoke about 'having a laugh', there was again a sense of power in the act; power to make others laugh, to trigger their emotions, to gain attention, and sometimes, to irritate the teacher. There was also a sense of abandon in their actions, throwing caution to the wind and letting go of the normal constraints of behaviour, sometimes in extremis.

Dangerous behaviour and risk taking are recognised as being another way in which hegemonic masculinity can be established and maintained (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998, p130), (Willis, 1978, p42) and (Mills 2001, p56):

I put lighter fluid in my mouth and sprayed it onto a lighter and a big flame came out (Male 9).

I'll always wanna do something that is a bit of a dare...it's adrenaline isn't it?...You shouldn't be doing it so you wanna do it more (Male 2).

To take risks was to show that one had no fear or that it had been conquered. This mastery of feelings was again a form of control, except this time of one's self rather than another person.

Another form of self-mastery was the power to be seen to resist pain or to avoid feeling it. 'Being able to withstand pain is seen as universally available as a test of one's developing manhood' (Gilbert and Gilbert, 1998, p66).

I don't feel anything. I can take a beating and I don't feel it...I don't know why but if I take a punch it just doesn't hurt (Male 16).

However, he then continued to say that in fact he used a distraction technique to take his mind off the pain:

I always think about something. If you think of something good it takes your mind of the pain...so you don't feel it anyway (Male 16).

So he had trained himself to become physically desensitised. When the pain was felt it was converted into anger:

X kicked the ball and it hit me in the head....I just blacked out...I can't remember, when I came and sat down next to Y and I was crying and she said 'what's wrong' and I lashed out...apparently I hit the caretaker in the face and then I was kicking all the bins and lobbing them..... (Male 41).

When he heard the girl's concern, the boy stopped crying from pain and converted the pain into violence as a way of catharting the pain, violence being a more acceptable male behaviour than crying. 'It was important for a boy to refrain from showing weakness particularly by crying' (Swain, 2003, p305).

To have a laugh, to take risks, to fight and to protect self and others were all seen as acceptable forms of masculinity in school. However, all these behaviours were also masks which hide their 'real selves' (developed in Chapter 5.4) (Martino, 2001, p84) that once put on, were difficult to take off.

I don't want to, but I act the clown (Male 16).

This student had already been permanently excluded from his previous school but was re-adopting the role which had previously got him into trouble. He was so used to having the 'joker' as part of his identity that he did not know how to shed it, nor the 'fighter' identity. One boy who was often in trouble said:

I'd hang around with different people if I could start again (Male 23).

Although he was looked up to by others in his year, he felt trapped within the role he had created for himself.

You've got to put on a hard face and not act soft in front of anybody unless they are a really good friend who know what you are like (Male 25).

Very few of the boys were so identified with their 'hard' role that they believed they *were* their role. Most of them, like those above, could see that they were performing a role especially when there was an audience to convince. The maintenance of that role was more important to them than any trouble they got into with the school. Detentions and exclusions in some cases supported the role they were playing by confirming their 'hard' identity.

4.6 ANGER

How anger is expressed is linked to masculine identity. Anger is caused by:

A symbolic threat to self-esteem or dignity, being treated unjustly or rudely, being insulted or demeaned, being frustrated in pursuing an important goal (Goleman, 1996, p60).

My research confirmed MacGrath's hypothesis that: 'Anger may mask...emotions' (1998, p100), and I now want to look at what is behind that mask. Previous research discussed how boys hide their feelings from each other. 'Boys 'need' to keep their emotional distance from each other, perhaps because they are afraid of each other and their own emotionality and lest they appear soft' (Askew and Ross, 1988, p37). Martino explained how, to 'just sit there and talk', was seen as feminine and so was to be avoided in the construction of masculinity (1999, p253). I have already mentioned above that some feelings were permitted and some were not. Male 41 described how he let his feelings out when throwing the javelin, Male 25 talked about the pain of being mouthed, Male 7 described how he cried after a fight which he 'won', even though he was in front of a crowd, Male 26 said he avoided talking to his bereaved friend

about his loss in case it upset him, Male 25 described how he felt fear but did not show it, Male 16 explained how he had trained himself to avoid feeling physical pain. I want to delve deeper into which emotions are part of the image of hegemonic masculinity and what happens to the emotions that are not.

I believe that only certain emotions are permissible in the straight jacket of acceptable masculinity. The one emotion which was the most highly accepted was that of anger or 'temper'. Anger was one of the few ways in which males could be seen to be 'out of control' and many boys spoke about anger as a force over which they had no power. 'Anger was explained as a desperately difficult emotion to handle' (Kinder et al, 1996, p24). 34 Males (51%) interviewed spoke directly about their tempers and their experience of anger and all but three of the male exclusions derived from an incident in which the student was angry. 'Many of the pupils...described feeling angry as a precursor or component of their disaffected behaviours' (Kinder et al, 1996, p24).

Male 7 violently attacked his ex-best friend for dating his girl friend, his anger was so strong that it became destructive. He described the feeling as: 'When I go into a temper, I don't know...'. This loss of awareness at the peak of the feeling of anger was common. The phrase 'I just lost it' (Male 5) occurred in many of the interviews. The use of the word 'just' indicates the suddenness with which they reached their anger peak and the verb 'to lose' indicates the loss of rational thought and awareness. 'Anger...is the most explosive and threatening emotion' (Kinder et al, 1999, p37). Male 18 described what it was like for him to 'lose it':

I just lost it. I can't remember what happened...I just say things I don't think I should be saying...it's like a rush feeling, I start shaking...it's mental...I get very hot...I just lose it, can't remember, I just blank out...I don't remember what happens....that's why I said I can't remember....I just forget, I just go mad (Male 18).

This description was common:

Pupil I lose my temper easily.... I forget everything... I lose my temper and lose control... psycho mood.
JL What's 'psycho mood'?
Pupil A real bad temper....I just can't stop hitting him.....I can't stop unless someone stopped me. Sometimes I go so psycho that I can't tell what is going on around me...afterwards I

get a headache...Really hot...I can punch someone when I wasn't psycho, but when I am psycho I can get power (Male 30).

Anger was somatised to such an extent that the body took over the mind and physical sensations were remembered when thought processes or emotions were not (confirmed by Crawford et al, 1995, p25).

Physical sensations of heat were common: 'I get hot and feel like I want to hit someone' (Male 46) as was the blotting out of everything outside the focus of the anger. For some people the explosion was instant, for others there was a build up:

I get hot and worked up...it builds up (Male 4).

Always the moment of 'losing it' was unprepared for.

Even when the boys were aware of the physical changes going through their body, they did not use this awareness as a key to controlling their anger. As the anger built, the urge to act it out appeared to overwhelm the decision making part of their mind which indicated that they were not using their Adult ego state or behaviours:

I just reacted (Male 19).

Powerful electrical images, which were sometimes onomatopoeic, were often used to describe the anger. This imagery highlighted the sudden and harsh nature of the onset of anger and the need for a speedy reaction:

Short fuse (Male 8),
Somebody sparks me off (Male 9),
Like this switch inside your head (Male 13),
I'll snap (Male 26),
Something clicks (Male 46).

War imagery was also used which highlighted the intensity of the conflict:

I would battle them (Male 30).

Cooper et al also referred to how pupils 'just flip' or 'lose control' (2000, p75).

Research shows that anger, (as all emotions), has an active physiological aspect (Harris and Phillipson, 1993):

Blood flows to the hands, making it easier to grasp a weapon or strike at a foe, heart rate increases, and a rush of hormones such as adrenaline generates a pulse of energy strong enough for vigorous action (Goleman, 1996 p6).

Some of the students were aware of the effect of adrenaline on them:

Sometimes your adrenaline takes over so you feel like you want to hit someone (Male 25).
I was worked up ...adrenaline, just feel angry... (Male 28).

At the point of awareness of the physical sensations, there is a moment in which the acting out of the anger could be stopped. Many of the boys regretted that their temper was so quick that it got them into trouble. They felt that the anger was not in their control. However, I would argue that the decision to act out the anger *was* made, however unconsciously, and that this was as a result of the way masculinity is constructed. Crawford et al argue that 'emotion is gendered' (1995, p15), and to clarify this, I have found that the way in which we *display* emotion is gendered, rather than the emotion itself.

The acting out of anger usually leads to violence, either verbal or physical, and we have already seen how this is a part of the hegemonic male identity (Chapter 4.5). The energy of anger for boys was projected or transferred outwards onto other people or objects. 'Running, ...playing football are all ways of expending anger energy' (MacGrath, 1998, p97). Nine of the boys (13%) were aware of this themselves:

I'm a drummer...I feel I can take my aggression out...battering, battering something to death... (Male 2).

I start to feel angry and then I just can't stop myself like my dad, I have to hit a brick wall (Male 24).

Not all boys who get angry hit others or swear at teachers. However, those boys who were offered male role models at home (Chapter 4.4) who were violent, were more likely to behave in this way, as they had introjected violent images of masculinity. The most common ways of expressing this emotional energy other than through violence against a person, was through smashing things:

I take it out on beds, punching beds (Male 18).

This student had learnt to release his anger in a way which did no harm to himself or anyone else. Many of the boys, rather than harming others, hurt themselves:

- JL What do you do when you are really angry?
Pupil Just take it out on something, hit the wall or something.
JL Doesn't that hurt?
Pupil Yeah, but it doesn't bother me. I'd rather do it on the wall than on somebody else (Male 11).

Some of the students did have strategies which they tried to employ to control their anger if they felt it building early enough. The language they used to explain this process was antithetical to the heat of the fight:

Cool down (Male 42).

Cool off (Male 47).

We have already seen that exclusion was seen as an opportunity to calm down (see p126). If left to their own devices, the boys utilised the same technique of getting away from the situation or person which was angering them:

You just walk away (Male 8).

Sit on my own and keep my head down, stay away from anyone (Male 23).

So, Instead of engaging with an other thing or person, they disengaged and distanced themselves as a successful way of averting conflict. Instead of fighting, they used flight (Kinder et al, 1996, p22) as a survival mechanism, but not through fear; through awareness and choice. So, in answer to the research question '*Do students self-exclude?*' I would answer yes, sometimes. They would exclude themselves from conflict and some times this also meant from school. Walking away or withdrawal acted as self-exclusion from the incident and many of the boys, saw exclusion itself as way of getting time out to calm down.

Anger was the one emotion which was seen as acceptable to the repertoire of hegemonic behaviours whereas to cry or show vulnerability was not (Askew and Ross, 1988). It was unusual to express hurt through tears:

I try and bottle it up sometimes if I am really upset, I'll bottle it up until I'm on my own and then I'll let it out...when nobody is around and nobody sees you...sometimes I just burst into tears. But

once you have burst into tears you realise that you want to act hard so you'll try and put it off and try and hold it back (Male 25).

Orbach explains this as:

It isn't that boys don't have feelings, but they are rarely taught to name them...the feelings that do get practiced endlessly are those of competition, of aggression...They develop into men who find it hard to recognise their feelings of vulnerability, fear, tenderness and connection. And when they do experience their feelings they are uneasy and try to soothe them by competing, ranking, appearing not to need. Above all, they avoid, they avoid taking responsibility for such feelings by displacing them onto others or acting them out aggressively (1999, p208).

I believe that it was this resistance to showing emotions such as sadness and fear, which were perceived as weak, that led to the catharting of these emotions through displays of anger and aggression. The male above was conscious that he hid his vulnerability, other males recognised the physical signs of emotions without being able to name them.

JL How does it feel when you start to get angry?
Pupil Your eyes start to water (Male 30).

Watery eyes (tears) are a physical symptom of being upset or hurt. The conversion of these emotions into anger was so quick and unconscious that the student did not recognise what was happening.

He beat me up and I started crying and I went into psycho mood (Male 30).

Male 7 offered further proof of this:

I was screaming and everything and then after it happened I started crying and I was crying for ages....I was proper gutted to be honest (Male 7).

He had already proved his masculinity by badly beating his ex-friend . Only after acting out his anger was he able to feel and release the pain and betrayal he felt, through tears. The sister of Male 6 described her brother's reaction to a bereavement:

He started crying...he loses his temper and he starts crying.... he's got a massive picture on his wall of her, he looks at it and starts crying...he loses his temper and in his temper he cries (Female D).

She made the link between tears and temper and I would again argue that the tears and grief alone were so unacceptable to her brother that he converted them to anger which was a suitably masculine mode of expression.

I checked out this idea in subsequent interviews and it was confirmed. The following student had just been told some life changing news by his mother:

Pupil I had that feeling when you have a lump in your throat, fighting the tears back...it's a pain in the neck and you think you're going to cry.

JL So what do blokes do when they want to cry?

Pupil Punch things (Male 17).

Tears were seen as absolutely unacceptable but the physical and emotional energy had to go somewhere so it was converted to anger:

I would never cry, I would just get angry...I would hit them and cry afterwards (Male 27).

Apparently unaware of the contradiction in what he says, Male 27 clearly shows how the repressed tears are converted into anger while in contact with the other person, thereafter reverting to tears in private.

4.7 GIRLS, EXCLUSION AND EMOTION

At this point I want to make a quick step across the gender divide to look at the girls and what they did to get excluded and why. Answering these questions throws light on what happened for those boys who found themselves excluded.

None of the girls who agreed to be interviewed was excluded for conflict with other girls; instead it was for coming into conflict with staff or the school rules. 5 out of the 13 girls came into conflict with male staff and 6 with female staff so the gender of staff was not significant on a general level although it was in a couple of personal cases. As discussed at length by Davies (1984) in *Pupil Power*, the conflict was lower key and, in my research but not hers, less violent, but I would argue that there was still a battle for power and control going on. Girls attempted to argue with staff rather than swear at them in the first instance and would only swear when they felt they could not be heard any other way.

He was invading my space...I said 'you're spitting all over my face and you're walking towards me and I told him to stand still and then I moved back and he kept coming close.....so I lost my temper with him (Female B).

Girls were more likely to challenge authority through extended dialogue than boys:

I have to argue with teachers...I like to prove them wrong...Cos the teachers always think they're right. They're not (Female A).

However, there were some girls, who for reasons I will look at later (see p 212/3), had had to adopt the hegemonic role of masculinity in order to survive in their lives; they had introjected the masculine role models in their lives. These girls were interesting as they confirmed that aspects of hegemonic masculinity could be learnt and used by either gender.

Girl G (see also p134) was the clearest example of this as she was aware of her constructed gender identity. She was excluded for 'strangling some boys' and described herself as:

Half boy and half girl...girls wear skirts and slap in the face, but I punch them.

She had adopted the language of hegemonic masculinity 'I like looking hard' and behaved in a way which proved her 'hardness',

I cut myself....I've got some scars there. You're hard cos you're doing it.

Female E (see also p133) also displayed anger in the same way as boys:

When somebody annoys me I just go mad...I just lob [throw] books everywhere and have a go at them, slam doors, kick them and everything.

Female D (see also p 134/5) was the sister of Male 6. She had been used to using introjected male behaviours to deal with emotional impact of situations:

I lost me temper....I think I tripped him up [a student] and jumped on him and was squeezing his throat....I just flipped.

However, she had started to learn to cathart her emotions by talking to trusted female friends:

X is the one who calms me down..... I talked to X, cos X is like my sister...someone to talk to.. like X...so I kept talking to her about it and she kept calming me down every time I lost my temper... (Girl D).

Her brother continued to physicalise his feelings through shows of aggression. Davies also found that her 'Wenches' were 'very tuned into each other's feelings' (1984, p43 and p70).

4.8 TALKING

I would argue that part of the construction of femininity is that girls talk and share their feelings and that when I interviewed girls, the interview was in keeping with this gender behaviour whereas, as Askew and Ross argued, boys were 'not able to 'rehearse' skills...of personal interaction, intimate communication and caring or cooperative behaviour (1988, p25). My definition of 'talk' in this situation, is to talk about thoughts, feelings and perceptions rather than problem solving, transactional talk. This hunch was proved when I asked the boys why they had talked to me and if they would have talked to a man in the same situation:

I prefer male teachers but I don't know if I would stand here and talk to them...I wouldn't like to talk to them and them listen.....I would talk to Mr but I don't think he would listen as much as a woman would...women are better listeners than men (Male 46).

I'd feel like most blokes think that boys/men should sort it out like that [physically]. Not to speak to people, keep it to yourself. They wouldn't expect you to speak about it (Male 24).

One of Martino's interviewees confirmed the above, saying: 'Females can talk to each other about personal stuff...Guys...can't really talk about their innermost feelings' (1999, p244).

Male 24 above talked about what he *thought* other males would do, in order to help him decide how to behave. This is the strength of the hegemony, the fear of what other people will think. This policing of image was so strong that the boys who did talk to me openly, felt like they had done something which no other male would do and when I told them that other boys had also talked, the response was one of amazement:

I think I know some of the other people you've interviewed cos I have spoken to them and I couldn't really imagine them saying that (Male 21).

Gilbert and Gilbert also found that their interviewees spoke more intimately when alone rather than when they were part of a group interview (1998, p132). I would argue that this was because in a group the boys were presenting an acceptable hegemonic image of masculinity and so were less likely to talk personally.

Boys are:

Usually in a group and so you're not really talking one to one and you're doing something with someone so there is not really any time to talk about it (Male 21).

Many of the boys talked about using computers. One boy raised the point that for him, communication via the computer allowed for the possibility of editing and redrafting what was said in order to censor the way in which he presented himself:

When you are typing things you can think about what you're going to say and like you can type it seriously and see if it makes a good or bad impression but when you are speaking, once you have said it there is no going back on it, so that's why I think typing is better (Male 25).

Many boys hid their real feelings from other males in case they were perceived as being less masculine.

This fear of discovery had a distancing effect.

They are all two faced cos that's the way they are. They've all got to be the hardest or whatever, but they are just covering up (Male 2).

The irony was that many of the boys were pleased to talk, but did not see this as a normal way for boys to behave and so could not imagine other men talking in an intimate way. So, this mask of masculinity actually trapped men behind it and there was a constant editing process going on, during which boys were thinking about how other boys would perceive them. They did actually want to talk, but did not dare reach out to each other to do so in case they were seen as less masculine. As a consequence they turned to females to talk to, as talking and listening was seen as an acceptable part of femininity. Boys *will* talk to the women in their lives: to step mothers: 'We always have these talks about if I am alright when my dad is away' (Male 5), to girlfriends: '[she] knows and helps me through' (Male 13), to mothers, sisters, female friends or even, in the case of the research, me. 13 boys (20%) interviewed were explicit about this in the interview.

Girls are always more understanding (Male 19).

Girls are easier to talk to. I feel I can trust girls more (Male 13).

Male 26 was scared of upsetting his friend by talking with and listening to him about this bereavement.

However, one boy whose grandma had recently died said:

I like to talk about her...just remembering her (Male 1).

The fear of not knowing what to say seemed to stop males listening to each other:

I told the person who sits next to me in science....but they didn't know what to say ..[student wanted] someone to talk to (Male 25).

There is no point talking if no one is listening and many pupils talked about the importance of being heard. Askew and Ross also reported 'how difficult many boys seemed to find listening to one another' (1988, p36).

I've got my reasons for doing things that I do, but no one listens, like they just jump to conclusions (Male 2).

To talk and to be listened to was something which boys and girls alike said they valued as they said afterwards their situation 'Feels better' (Female L) as 'It'll be off my chest in that I have talked to someone else' (Female M). 'Listening carefully to someone tends to help the person feel valued and respected' (MacGrath, 1998, p113). 13 (20%) males and 6 (46%) females said they felt better having talked to me in the interview about the exclusion and the events leading up to it:

I don't mind having this talk, to be honest I've wanted to get it off my chest for a long time (Male 4).

It gets it out of my system. Someone has asked me why I am angry. Then I just calm down a bit (Male 46).

Talking and being heard was another way of catharting feelings verbally rather than physically and therefore less harmful to self and others. Cooper et al also found this to be the case (2000, p57 and p75) and was confirmed in Phase Two (see Chapter 5.5.7). By 'being heard' I mean that the listener displays Rogers' Core Conditions. These conditions were often found to be lacking:

I talk to my friends but they don't really understand, they say they are sorry but they don't really know. You don't until it happens to you (Male 19).

However, listening skills could be learnt and some pupils did find people who would really hear them (see Chapter 5.5.11).

Girls did talk to each other and share secrets so the trust was greater which encouraged more talking and sharing. 'Most of the boys we observed demonstrated a general lack of trust and support towards each other' (Askew and Ross, 1988, p35). Trust was more important than the gender to the listener. Those

boys who did have intimate male friends, had known them a long time and my impression was that the intimacy was established before the need to fit into hegemonic masculinity. However, trust between males could be built (developed in Chapter 5.5), and an example of this was the relationship built between several of the boys and the male youth worker.

That's helped me behave, get behaved and everything...he's helped me...Just helped me understand myself. So say I have got a problem I can go and see him or me mum and they won't say nothing (Male 23)

I have already discussed (see p131) the importance of a trusting relationship with an adult who can counteract messages received from home.

The interview did appear to enable boys to talk about feelings. 18 (33%) boys in the interviews talked about being sad or upset:

It's really sad cos I got on with them all and they were close to me (Male 16).

I have become more unhappy...because my mum and dad are not together I'm unhappy (Male 19).

11 (20%) spoke about being scared:

Felt a bit scared (Male 21).

It was quite scary (Male 38).

Feelings such as regret: 'we hurt him too much' (Male III), 'depressed' (Male V), helplessness: 'Can't do anything about it' (Male 21), shame: 'I didn't want to be seen in case I was walking in the street and some teacher has come past in their car and they see me and think 'Oh! A no hoper'. I don't like stuff like that' (Male 40), rejection: 'He didn't want to know me' (Male 17), remorse: 'I shouldn't have reacted like that' (Male 8), and humiliation: 'You can't not laugh cos you look stupid then' (Male 10) were also mentioned.

Many boys felt a combination of vulnerable feelings:

I feel...like grumpy, sad, upset and scared stiff (Male II).

4.9 REPRESSION

Boys who are raised not to cry become men who are ashamed to cry... Eventually he will become so unaware of his own sadness that he will deny it even to himself. He will deny other feelings of vulnerability to, such as shame and longing. At this point he will only recognise the strongest of his emotions; such as furious anger and mad love (Steiner, 1997, p174).

Boys *could* talk about their vulnerable feelings (developed in Chapter 5.3), they just chose not to in many situations. Boys became isolated from each other and rather than supporting each other, they attacked perceived weaknesses; weaknesses which were projections (see p73) of their own inner process. Instead of owning vulnerable and painful feelings, they were projected outwards in an effort to make the other person suffer rather than the self.

Secondly, just as vulnerable feelings were not seen as 'male', feelings of anger are not part of the repertoire of hegemonic femininity so the real anger, which got the boys into trouble, was repressed by girls for the same reasons that the boys repressed sadness and fear and the other feelings discussed above. The problem for boys is that as a culture we are not comfortable with anger and so we do not train our young to express it safely. As a consequence, anger becomes unsafe and so is repressed and not dealt with, so the problem escalates. While teaching in Spain I observed that both young men and women were altogether more comfortable with expressions of anger. I saw many a heated argument but never a physical attack in the year that I was living in Madrid; the energy of anger was allowed, aired and dissipated verbally rather than physically.

Four (7%) of the boys experienced a split within themselves due to the repression of unacceptable or uncontrollable feelings:

I've always have a bad side to me which is easy to go back to (Male 5).

I've got the bad side and the good side (Male 13).

Jung (see Murray Stein, 1995) would call the 'bad' side our 'shadow' and he argued that we all have a shadow which contains the bits of ourselves which we do not want to face ourselves, let alone show to the world. This could include things we have done and are ashamed of, feelings which we censor, thoughts which we think to be perverse and so on.

To refuse the dark side of one's nature, is to store up or accumulate the darkness (Johnson, 1991, p26)

Jung argued that we can not ever get rid of the shadow, but that we could get to know it through talking, and in getting to know it, remove its power over us. All the time we run from our shadow it has power over us as we have to work on keeping away from it and keeping it hidden. We can run away from our shadow but it will keep following us as it is part of us and it is only when we turn around and confront the enemy within that we see that it is just part of ourselves and no better or worse than anyone else's shadow. All the time we try to split off feelings which we think are unacceptable, we are giving them power which then escapes, for some boys, through uncontrolled displays of anger.

Unless we do conscious work on it, the shadow is almost always projected; that is, it is neatly laid on someone or something else so we do not have to take responsibility for it (Johnson, 1991, p31).

As I will show in Chapter 4.13, most of the pupils I interviewed had suffered a loss or threat of loss which threatened their security and/or safety. Repression is a: 'Defence mechanism by which emotions or ideas which are unacceptable to the ego are rendered unconscious' (Greenhalgh, 2000, p310). It is a coping mechanism; it gets us through difficult moments. 'Many abused and neglected children, forced at an early stage to deny and repress their true feelings, act in a destructive and irrational manner' (Miller, 1995, p137). This lack of safety, coupled with the pressures of hegemonic masculinity meant that for most of the pupils interviewed, repression was a way of surviving a difficult life outside school, whilst ensuring that their identity was such that they had a group to whom they belonged inside school, thus meeting their level three needs to belong (Maslow, 1954).

4.9.1 Drink and Drugs

'Alcohol is an important signifier of masculinity and has obvious links to masculinized violence' (Mills, 2000b, p22). My research supported this statement and found that smoking and drug use were perceived in a similar way:

If you go out at weekends and get drunk and smoke and that then you are classed as cool and if you don't then you're not (Male 25).

However, I would also argue that drink and drugs were another way of deadening emotions. Fewer of the students mentioned drugs than I had imagined, although this could be of the boundaries I gave the students at the start of the interviews (see Chapter 3.9.4). Male 13 spoke to me at some length about his drugs problem as his mother had already told me she knew about it and he was working with a drugs counsellor. He was trying to stop using ecstasy:

It's not like an addiction it's like the physical mind and you can't be happy without a pill...I'd be having eight to ten in a weekend...messed me up inside.

He described the process of trying to stop:

You got through stages where you don't want to live life but you don't actually harm yourself cos you haven't got the bottle really...feel like it sometimes, but I don't (Male 13).

So all the time the drugs were linked to mood and emotions, and what he was learning through giving up was that 'You don't have to have a pill to be happy'. His mother and his girlfriend supported his withdrawal, and it was through talking and being close to someone, that he counteracted the need for the artificial happiness of drugs. Connell also recognised the 'influence that interpersonal relationships can have on the self-image and behaviour of the individual' (1993, p144).

Cannabis was not viewed as a serious drug and a handful of boys referred to the fact that they or others had used it:

I know a few people who take wacky backy...I used to but I don't anymore (Male 17).

Instead of giving up all drugs, he replaced one with another on the grounds that:

[Cannabis] has the same effect on you as if you get pissed and it lasts longer if you are pissed and it's easier (Male 17).

Alcohol was 'easier' to use as it was legally and cheaply available. When the boys described drinking, they always described doing it in excess, in line with the risk taking behaviour described on page 155. The effect of this excess was that feelings and thoughts were blotted out after the initial laugh, thus

providing another form of escape from uncomfortable emotions. Whereas fighting and mouthing catharted the energy of the emotion through its conversion into anger, drink and drugs sometimes wiped out the emotions temporarily and instead of harming another person, they risked harming themselves:

I used to spew everywhere, be sick, you have a drink and you're having a laugh but then you go back to your house and lie down and the room is spinning and you just chuck up everywhere (Male 48).

We got drunk.....I was on observation [in hospital] the next day but he had to get his belly pumped....he drank vodka...a few bottles (Male III).

Drinking also led to a loss of inhibition so the urge to fight was sometimes exaggerated:

This kid tried to push this thing into me and I was walking along and they just pounced on me...they were well drunk (Male 16).

It also seemed that alcohol use by youths was, to some extent, tolerated by the adult world:

People drink just about anywhere, on the streets, no adults care, when you are sitting there pissed out of your face on the bench and everyone is walking past and couldn't give two shits...you wouldn't want them to, but they should take it off you...I wouldn't want someone to come and take my booze off me but it's what they should do don't you think? (Male 48).

The fact that adults ignored his drinking made the boy feel like no one cared about him. Caring is developed more in Chapter 5.5.6

4.10 THE IMPACT OF EMOTION IN SCHOOL

The emotional condition of the pupils had an impact on the institution of the school. What happened outside school, came into school with the pupils. Goleman calls this 'emotional contagion' and explains it as 'we transmit and catch moods from each other' (1996, p114).

Getting shouted at, you just shout back at them [teachers], real let rip on them and you get into trouble and you can't tell why, you can't say 'ah, its because of the drugs' (Male 13).

In this case the drugs were taken over the weekend and the teacher was confronted with the come down on the Monday. In this case, the mood of the student had a physical as well as an emotional cause.

Often, it was just feelings generated at home which seeped out in school. Many of the students were following a difficult time at home:

I think it was just a pretty bad week cos me mum and me were always falling out (Male 5).

My mum was going into hospital the next day for an operation and we had had an argument that morning and I was narked about it (Female N).

Salzberger-Wittenberg argued that:

Our capacity to function intellectually is highly dependent on our emotional state. When we are pre-occupied our minds are literally occupied with something and we have no space to pay attention, to take in and listen to anything else. When we are frightened we are more likely to make mistakes, when we feel inadequate we tend to give up rather than to struggle (1996, p81)

Emotions were not only carried forward from home, but are carried from one lesson to the next, or from lunchtime into lessons.

Bad day, bad lesson (Male 35).

I was already wound up from the last lesson and I went up to him and slapped him (Male 40).

From the above we see that the construction of masculinity did contribute to exclusion. Part of the construction demanded that males appeared to be powerful or 'hard' and in order to do this, vulnerable emotions had to be hidden. The males and females in the various parts of the research clearly showed vulnerable feelings but females were more likely to talk to each other to find support and caring. Females were more likely to cathart their fears and pains through this process and move on. Boys, however, converted these feelings into an emotion which was in keeping with the idea of power: anger. They then used this anger as a way of harming themselves and /or others as a way of catharting all emotions, especially the ones which left them feeling the most vulnerable, 'Fear, anxiety and mistrust are breeding grounds for aggression' (MacGrath, 1998, pv). So instead of seeing just the anger and the violence of an exclusion incident, it is important to look behind it. as I would argue that the greater the attack, the greater the pain, the greater the anger, the greater the vulnerability. Instead of seeing these pupils as deviant, we need to start seeing them as having unmet needs and in order to find out what these are we need to listen. If a pupil is excluded we need to ask why and in asking this question we need to go beyond the presenting behaviour to look for the cause and the way to do this is by asking and listening.

4.11 STAFF / PUPIL RELATIONSHIPS AND THE GENERATION OF EXCLUSION INCIDENTS.

Although school was not the only factor, it certainly contributed to the construction of deviance. The research showed that certain teacher behaviours increased the likelihood of an exclusion incident and others decreased it. Hargreaves et al referred to two types of teachers: 'deviance provocative' (p260) and 'deviance insulative' (1975, p260/1). More recently Burke and Grosvenor (2003) wrote about teachers that pupils liked and disliked. Rather than looking at teacher types I will be looking at types of behaviour and using Transactional Analysis to give an overview of why some behaviours are provocative and others insulative. There were some ways of communicating, and some ways of behaving which teachers used which hooked into the need for boys to live up to the expected image of masculinity. A few teachers appeared time and again in accounts of exclusion incidents, whereas the great majority of staff were never involved and I was interested in why that was. I have already discussed (see Chapter 4.4) how some students had introjected behaviours from their parents which were not always helpful to them in school. As teachers, we also have a potent and influential role to play in offering new models of behaviours to introject. The 'personality of the teacher plays a crucial role' (Vandemeulebroeke, 2004, p286). I am now going to look at specific teacher behaviours and the effect they have on pupils.

Pupils liked boundaries and rules (MacGrath, 1998):

[Teachers] should have control on the kids, if they don't control the kids the school would be in mayhem (Male 20).

If there weren't rules then you would probably get people killed...well, not killed but there would be quite a lot of people fighting and swearing more....messaging around and people wouldn't work (Male 44).

Boundaries made the school a safer place and pupils liked the boundaries to be made clear as:

You know how far [to go] and you know when to stop. If you're messaging around you know when to stop cos you know how much they can take so you get on with it (Male 13).

Pupils worked better for teachers who they saw as 'strict':

Say you are in Mr Z's class, he is strict and I work hard (Male 40).

Again this offered them safety as they knew what was expected of them and the consequences of overstepping the mark. Rules can be applied without putting the student down, without making them 'Not OK' (Rogers, 1998) (see Chapter 2.8).

Labelling has been discussed on page 26 and pupils reiterated some of the concepts in their own words.

They disliked being labelled as they felt it fixed them with a false identity:

If you are a smoker they think 'Oh he is trouble he is'....think I was on drugs and stuff. Don't touch them...a waste of time (Male 1).

They felt that labels were oversimplified and denied the complexity of human beings:

They [teachers], put you in a genre...like 'you're skiving'; 'you're naughty' or 'you're in school; you're good', if you do work you're good, if you don't do your work you are bad...there's no where in between (Male 2).

Labels were confirmed as being self-fulfilling (Hargreaves, 1976, p201-p206):

Some teacher just try to pick me out...because I was expelled from another school, whereas Mr P is giving me a chance to prove that I can behave...it's alright with him (Male 16).

Teachers who did not see beyond the label frustrated any of the pupil's attempts to change and the frustration turned to anger which led to conflict, drawing the pupil into old behaviours and confirming the teacher's opinion:

He knows what my behaviour was like so he is trying to pick me out....[he] was having a go at me, said I was being vicious and cheating.....I told him I didn't want to play cos I knew I would get sent off and just before half time I told him to f- off (Male 16).

In this case the student knew he was nearing his limit of tolerance but was not permitted to leave the after-school football game and finally exploded, as he feared he would. Labels did not recognise change or the potential for change and so students gave up as their efforts went unnoticed. However, teachers who did not label offered the chance of a change not only in behaviour by raising the pupil's self-esteem which in turn raises achievement (see Chapter 2.10):

I used to be 'couldn't care less' but the teachers probably thought there wasn't any point in teaching me, I was just useless. ...I just want a good reputation...for when I leave and teachers can say 'aah, X, he was a good lad' instead of saying 'X, what a nightmare'...if the teachers would like me again then I would think I was worth something (Male 3).

18 (27%) pupils disliked teachers shouting, as did some staff (see p229). Teachers who shouted often elicited the same response from pupils:

If the teacher thinks they can shout at you, you can shout back because all through junior school there was a saying 'treat others as you would like to be treated yourself'. So they shout at you and you shout back. They don't shout at me, I'll talk to them (Male 2).

In TA terms, a shouting teacher will either be showing Controlling Parent, or Rebellious Child behaviours, both of which invite the pupil to respond using complementary Rebellious Child behaviours, leading to conflict. If the teacher is able to talk, they use Adult behaviours which invite the pupil to respond using complementary transactions using Adult behaviours themselves, leading to problem solving.

What's the point of shouting when you can talk? Cos they are not going to get through to me if they shout. Why don't they just talk? If they had to talk then I would listen and understand more. When they shout its like 'ner, ner, ner' I can't hear it properly, so there is no point in them shouting (Male 13).

Shouting does not support the OK-ness of anybody as it is aimed to bully and humiliate. 'Lack of respect by staff was a common grievance...lack of respect by staff reinforces low self-esteem' (John, 1996, p168). Shouting is a negative stroke and is likely to lead to both parties stepping onto the Drama Triangle and losing here-and-now awareness. More often than not, when we shout as teachers it is because of our own anger and the pupils recognise it as that and enjoy the loss of control over feelings:

When he shouts and screams it is really hard not to laugh (Male 43).

Some pupils admitted to baiting staff to try and make them angry:

You think you can annoy them by not doing what you are supposed to (Male 2).

You find their weak spot...we aim for that (Male 39).

Teachers who were aware of their own anger and found a safe way to deal with it, encouraged this behaviour in pupils.

Similarly, staff who bullied pupils confirmed that bullying was an OK behaviour. Cullingford and Morrison (1997, p137) and Cooper (1993, p21) confirmed that some teachers bullied pupils. Some pupils felt that staff went out of their way to bait them and get them into trouble:

She [teacher] wanted me to have a detention, cos what I did wasn't bad enough to get a detention. So I got on with my work and she came over and started having a go at me to see if I would snap (Male 13).

Certain teachers...they'll argue with you more and try and make you, they want you to swear at them, try to wind you up even more, they think 'ah, he'll swear in a minute' and they keep pushing you (Male 23).

Some staff were said to insult and mock pupils:

They laughed at me when I got a question wrong (Male 6).

Some pupils spoke about how teachers had used physical contact as a way of gaining power in a situation:

She came and she grabbed me, I told her to get off and we started arguing (Male 6).

A teacher grabbed my mate and he pushed him back (Male 39).

Ms Y came around and grabbed me like that...I didn't like the thought she was grabbing me and holding me there...I didn't want her holding onto me and I didn't like it. She was over-powering me (Female K).

When teachers bully and shout we are using our power to get what we want and although this may work in the short term, the subtext of this behaviour is that 'to get what you want you need power' which supports the masculine behaviours described above and even invites some student to pick up the gauntlet for the battle for power and control. When teachers bully and mock they model an 'I'm OK, You're not OK' life position which is communicated through negative Child or Parent behaviours, negative strokes and roles on the Drama Triangle, all of which lead to conflict and low-self esteem:

They always think that they are bigger because they are teachers. They think 'oh we've got so much power over you' but when they take it too far, that's when it gets settled (Male 43).

Some staff actually supported the hegemonic image of masculinity by encouraging males to be 'hard':

Mr Q said 'don't mess with these ones [who got to the top of the ropes], these are much harder than you are' (Male 34).

It is not good enough for staff to treat pupils as OK; we also need to feel like this about our colleagues (see p 228). If students see staff bullying other staff then again it sends them the message that this is an OK behaviour and if this is what they also see at home, then we are strengthening the behaviours we do not want, rather than offering them alternatives.

When staff were not feeling OK in their work environment, their stress (Lacey, 1970, p175) and insecurity increased (see p 228) and then they passed this on to the children, which again increased unwanted behaviour:

Once you are in a bad mood you get the other people down.....Then they [teachers] are in bad mood with me and I don't want that...sometimes they just tell you to shut up...some days they are in a bad mood and I know how they feel (Male V).

Students disliked and responded negatively to teachers whom they saw as petty:

I want to get rid of some of the teachers here, always down your ear hole and won't give up...always having a go at you for little things, like not having pens and that...they know you don't have a pen....they could just give you one and say 'can I have it back at the end of the lesson' (Male 1),

Nagging:

I thought, 'I'm not doing any more work, stop nagging' (Male 22),

Patronising:

They would speak to me like I was a baby (Male 16),

and sarcastic:

I like some of them [teachers] but it's that some of them are too sarcastic (Male 6).

They disliked being humiliated (confirmed by Rosse and Harre, 1976, p176):

I would start shouting at them and asking them why they were saying it and why they did it in front of my friends.....They make me feel like I was a kid. I am not the brainiest of people, that's what they [teachers] used to take the Mickey out of me for (Male 16),

threatened:

[Teacher] is aggressive towards kids and she'll give you abuse or detention just for doing the smallest thing (Male 25),

or picked on (Kinder et al, 1999, p35):

The teachers are just, well they think: 'He's been suspended now, I'll get him told, I'll get him done for any little thing'. They see you do the slightest thing and they get you expelled, or suspended again (Male 23).

Again, all these behaviours come from a 'I'm OK, you're not OK' life position and are negative strokes.

Just as with positive strokes, the more we give, the more we get. Some students will be so used to never getting positive strokes at home that they will set up situations which can lead to them getting negative strokes as that is all they know. The only way to change this is by constantly offering genuine positive strokes instead. Teachers in Phase Two alluded to how slow the process of change was but that positive strokes eventually increased pupils' self-esteem and changed their script beliefs.

Pupils wanted teachers who were relaxed: 'A more relaxed atmosphere would be better' (Male 26). When asked why he got on with one teacher but not another, Male 11 replied that she was 'just laid back'. *How* things were communicated was as important as *what* was communicated and pupils liked a calm voice:

She doesn't shout, she just speaks in the right sort of voice to you (Male 22).

He wasn't snappy, he just spoke calm and didn't snap which made me feel secure (Male 32).

The more relaxed the staff were, the more relaxed the students were (developed in Chapter 5.5.7).

Humour was a way of achieving this and creating a positive relationship (Kinder et al, 1999, p41).

Tell jokes, be good at telling jokes (Male III).

She talks to us as if we were the same, cos she'll have a laugh with us (Male 14).

This kind of laughter was a way of sharing in something (Woods, 1990, p19) often a Free Child- Free Child moment of intimacy, and this was opposed to the power difference in the relationship, as well as brightening up a lesson.

Fairness was expected and a perceived injustice was one of the most common reasons for pupil/teacher conflict (Davies, 1984, p34). The process of justice and fairness needed to be transparent to the pupils as well as the teachers:

She should treat everyone fair (Male 14).

I don't like getting done for things I haven't done (Male 27).

Pupils also wanted teachers to show a willingness to compromise on occasions:

She never lets us say anything back and I think if we could then she could work something out and then it would be better (Male 3).

All the above behaviours communicated 'I'm OK, you're OK', so the students and teachers who used them were less likely to set up the power battles which led to 'deviant' behaviours. Dawson (1981, p44) confirmed that teachers should use behaviours which convey Unconditional Positive Regard (see p74).

Time and again the pupils spoke about how they wanted staff to treat them as they would like to be treated:

What's wrong with being civil to any one? Or nice? If teachers are nice to pupils, pupils will be nice back (Male 1).

If I'm not allowed to shout at them then they're not allowed to shout at me (Male IV).

Pupils felt that if teachers wanted respect, they also needed to show respect:

I respect her cos she respects people and you respect them as a teacher. Cos there's some teachers who talk to you and you talk to them proper (Male 14).

This was also confirmed by Kinder et al (1999, p52), Woods (1990, p17) and John (1996, p168). Respect entailed Adult- Adult transactions which communicated equality and OK-ness.

The students wanted a 'real' person as a teacher and the more 'real' teacher was, the greater the trust and the better the relationship (developed in Chapter 5.4). This idea was also raised by Woods who used the word 'human' (1990, p17) (see p28) and Lacey who referred to the teacher persona or mask (1970, p175). Rogers referred to this as Congruence (see p75).

I've known Mr P for so long now that it feel like friends in a way, I know him a lot more (Male 15).

[I saw] a strange side to them [teachers] cos they actually understood which was really nice...I was not expecting them to be so nice...it's like they were human (Male 28).

'Real' was variously explained as being more than just the teacher role. The more the pupil knew about the teacher as a person; their home life, thoughts, feelings, the more 'real' they became. Just as pupils were more than their 'hard' identity, so they wanted staff to be more than just their 'teacher' identity (see Chapter 6.3). Part of this 'being real' was the ability to admit mistakes:

Just say sorry and that would be it (Male 27).

Hold up their hands and say 'that was my fault, sorry (Male 43).

It was important that to students that they 'got on' with staff (also in Kinder et al, 1999, p41):

Teachers should get on with the people they are teaching (Male 14).

I get on with her [teacher], I just talk to her about anything. We get on well with each other (Male 11).

Students wanted teachers who would help them (Kinder et al, 1999, p5):

He's kinder than the others. If I put my hand up he will come and help (Male 22).

They [teachers] should help you when you're stuck (Female F).

They wanted teachers who believed in them and who would give them a clean slate when they made a mistake so that they could start again and move on from it:

When I had to say sorry to him he was alright with me then...didn't used to get on with him but now I do (Male 11).

They wanted staff to listen to them:

We're the ones here, we're getting taught so we should at least be able to put our views across of how to be taught. ... Cos like we are the ones who know best how it's going to get through to us (Male 2).

Rather than ask me questions they were telling me....they weren't taking my point of view (Male 20),

and they wanted staff who were 'caring for the children' (Male 34). This idea was explored by Cooper et al (1993, p46 and p116) and I will develop it in Chapter 5.5.6

All the above teacher behaviours come from a position of 'I'm OK, you're OK' and are either from Adult or Nurturing Parent ego states which made it less likely that participants would step onto the Drama Triangle. Positive strokes were also given, making it more likely that communication would lead to both participants feeling OK about themselves and the other person, therefore supporting self-esteem. Teachers need to cultivate these behaviours but they have to be genuine. Students wanted to know 'real' people who are teachers and not just teachers who are adopting another set of behaviours but keeping themselves hidden.

When choosing subject options, pupils, against all school advice, said that the teacher was more important than the subject they chose:

Teacher comes first and then the subject (Male 10).

I was good at [the subject] in primary school and then I came to do it in year 7 I lost interest in it because I didn't like the teacher but now I've got Mrs X again and I like her and I worked really fast and I'm good at it again (Female F).

The quality of the relationship determined the behaviour in lessons:

You just hate the lesson so you mess about and get into an argument with the teacher (Male 23).

The research confirmed that old adages of 'do as you would be done by' and 'what you stroke is what you get'. When pupils felt that staff were looking for and expecting bad behaviour, they behaved badly, but when teachers expected and affirmed good behaviour, it increased.

Phase Two showed that teachers found it hard to stay with 'I'm OK you're OK' as they often felt 'not OK'.

Constant government changes, curriculum changes, OFSTED, even staff relations left staff feeling depleted and disempowered themselves (see p33 and p228). Some students recognised this in staff and had sympathy:

I know the teachers have got to follow the curriculum, not their choice (Male 26).

They don't teach how they really want I don't think. They're all the same. They all stick to the whatever it is, National Curriculum...the rules set by the government...they all just teach the same, they have to don't they? (Male 2).

This need to follow the curriculum put pupils under pressure to work at a certain rate which created tension:

There isn't enough time...[I have] slow writing that I can't help. I try and write neat and then get slow, I can't help it...I just can't keep up with the time that I've got and it annoys me...when you've got to keep up I just get wound up and I shout mostly and get real worked up....they say 'keep up, keep up' and I'm doing my best (Male 4).

Kinaesthetic learners particularly struggled as most of the core subjects focused on visual and aural learning styles.

I like practical things like PE...but when we have to sit down and write I just can't (Male 29).

I try my best in drama...I really like it cos there is no writing to be done (Female A).

Students felt under pressure to perform, particularly higher up the school nearing GCSE exam and coursework deadlines:

Sometimes I can't be bothered, there is too much work to do (Male 19).

All the coursework snows you under...I think they put too much pressure on you (Male 20).

The added pressure for pupils and teachers led to frayed tempers which in turn led to conflict and possible exclusions:

When they [teachers] have got troubles, they shouldn't take it out on the kids. It just makes it worse, it makes the relationship worse. They should take some time off and go and seek some counselling (Male 43).

Stress, pressure and anxiety caused pupils and staff to slip out of here-and-now awareness, instead focusing on fears and hopes for the future. In stepping out of awareness, staff and pupils lost contact with their Adult ego state and were more likely to draw on the historical behaviours of Parent and Child, which then led onto the Drama Triangle, negative stroking and unhealthy life positions (see p265, Model 2).

The findings showed that if teachers spoke from Adult, using Adult behaviours then they would eventually be able to draw the pupils into Adult as well and once in this position, negotiation and problem solving could occur without the need for power. Pupils liked Adult- Adult transactions;

Mr P always comes down and talks to me like an adult (Male 22).

Controlling Parent behaviours, were sometimes helpful but very often invited pupils to take up the complementary position of Rebellious Child, thereby encouraging unwanted behaviour. This student was articulate in his dislike of Controlling Parent commands and his preference for Adult to Adult requests which showed respect:

What teachers don't understand is how to work with children like. A lot of people feel the same. They don't talk to you on the same level, they talk down to you like you are some kind of prisoner, trying to make you do stuff. They only have to ask and I'll do anything. They only have to ask and I'd work as hard as they liked (Male 26).

It was also apparent that teachers sometimes reverted to Rebellious Child (see p263) behaviours which again formed a complementary transaction drawing the child into Rebellious Child behaviours:

They have a go at me and I have a go back (Male 16).

Playing rugby and I got tackled and hurt my lower regions and sir was being real cocky about it (Male 13).

All complementary transactions led to ongoing communication, which if Adult-Adult, was helpful.

However, Rebellious Child- Rebellious Child, or Controlling Parent to Rebellious Child transactions led to the participants stepping out of the here and now situation and into old roles on the Drama Triangle.

Teachers seemed to 'win' the game on the Drama Triangle by dint of their institutional power, but the negative strokes which they and the pupil incurred as a result of the game had an ongoing effect and could damage future relationships and learning.

In conclusion then, there are various strategies which staff could use to lessen 'deviant' behaviour. The first and most simple way of doing this is to re-frame it by engaging with the possibility that being angry, defiant and rebellious is all part of the developmental task of being an adolescent (see Chapter 2.5), it may be normal and healthy. Rather than rejecting these behaviours and labelling them as 'bad' we need to see them as natural and accept that our role as adults is to help the adolescents learn safe ways of expressing anger, fear and aggression, rather than trying to eradicate or suppress them. To repeat, we need to model an 'I'm OK, You're OK' life position.

Secondly, rather than seeing 'bad' behaviour as the sign of a 'bad person', we should question whether it is a sign that things are not as they should be. We have seen that Persecutors in one situation were often Victims elsewhere and that anger was often projected fear. That being the case, we need to resist stepping onto the Drama Triangle and instead remain in Adult.

Thirdly, it could simply be that the behaviours that we want in school are not those behaviours which the pupil has learnt at home. We then need to teach the behaviours which we require explicitly. This should be done from a position of OK-ness. Rather than claiming that one repertoire of behaviours is 'better' than another, they should be seen as alternatives.

4.12 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

In answer to the research question; *Are pupils conscious of their own behaviours?* the research showed that all pupils had some awareness of their behaviours and why they engaged in them. They often knew when they were going to irritate a teacher, they made the decision to fight or to 'gib', they knew what made them angry and what helped them get along with people. I was surprised of the level of awareness shown when the issue of gender identity was brought up. Many of the quotations above show that the students knew the game they are playing and why they needed to play it to preserve power and identity. They could analyse the effect of not conforming to hegemonic images of masculinity and were aware of the differences between acceptable female and male behaviours. All of the students were able to reflect on some of their feelings and many were aware of the physical manifestations of these emotions. They talked about how they dealt with those feelings and why they chose that way. There were only three students who I felt took no responsibility for their behaviours and blamed others for 'making' them behave in certain ways. However, all of the other students, even those who started off with an external locus of control, ended the interview with an awareness of their own agency in the situation.

I believe that the process of the research allowed for self awareness and became part of the answer to the 'problem' of male 'deviance'. What I unwittingly did, was offered a space for the students to talk, to cathart their feelings and do to so in a space where what they said would not be judged and would go no further (unless discussed with them) (see Chapters 4.8 and 5.5.7). I remained in Adult as much as possible and avoided negative strokes. My attitude was one of 'I'm OK, You're OK' and it was this environment which helped the students talk (developed in Chapter 5.5).

I wanted you to know what makes me angry....If I told all the teachers this they would blame me for something, you just listened (Male 27).

Cooper et al discussed how pupils were put on report following their exclusion and how they met with staff regularly to review it. They too found that the opportunity for one to one communication made a difference to the pupils' behaviour, rather than the report itself (2000, p61). Many of the students arrived with the expectation that an interview was when a teacher talked and they listened. All of the students had been interviewed on re-admission after their exclusion but this was very much described as space where the school laid down its expectations and pupils and parents agreed to them.

Just felt weird that he [teacher] was telling me what to do when my mum was there...my mum just sat there really quiet and listening and then he wasn't really involving my mum which I thought was the point of her being there so that he could talk to her, but it was all aimed at me (Female B).

Although I think it is necessary for the school to clarify boundaries, I also think there should have been another follow on interview during which the students could talk about the exclusion and be heard, in the way that I describe.

When I asked why they talked to me, often it was simply because I had asked and therefore shown an interest in them which gave pupils an opportunity to say what they wanted:

You ask me questions so I feel you are getting involved...I am doing the talking....you are interested and want to find out everything else. That's better for me.....I have learnt a bit more about it today (Female K).

Boys and girls enjoyed having more control over the discussion and valued being given the space and attention to explore and learn new things about themselves. Often the interview was the first time

students had spoken about their lives and in so doing they were able to understand what had led them to the point of the exclusion incident:

I just want people to know what it [the problem] was but they probably wouldn't listen to it...there's not much else that could go wrong but as it comes in stages you deal with it and then move onto the next thing and then they go wrong again and you've had this and you've had that and...it's a bit scary (Male 8).

We spend so much time in schools helping pupils to understand things outside themselves and so little time helping them to explore themselves. Without this self-knowledge then the self-esteem, emotional awareness and control necessary for success is impossible (Chapter 2.10).

Boys spoke to me not only because I was female (see p165) (confirmed in Askew and Ross, 1988, p57) but because they knew me and so felt that they could trust me. This trust came from either having been taught by me, having seen me round school, through my associations with other trusted staff:

I know you cos you know Mr X....I feel like I've known Mr X a long time, for long that it feel like friends (Male 15),

or, through references from their friends:

I was asking people that have been here what you were doing and they said it was alright so I came along (Male 17).

Not everybody came to the interview with the intention of sharing their lives and feelings. One boy had felt obliged to attend and four admitted to doing the interview to avoid their lesson. Ten boys (18%) and three girls (23%) spoke to me because they wanted to be heard either just by me:

I'm glad you've let me have my say basically (Male 3),

At least someone knows how I feel now (Male 2),

or by others as well. As a teacher I was in a position of greater institutional power than them and some of the pupils wanted a voice in the school hierarchy.

Pupil I wanted you to know what makes me angry. If I told the teachers this they would blame me for something, you just listened.

JL Is there anything you want me to pass on?

Pupil Tell the teachers (Male 27).

JL You and your mum wanted you to be interviewed?

Pupil To get something done about it...as long as it stops I'm not bothered.

JL So you want me to speak to the Head about it?
Pupil Yeah. I just want it stopped; I'd talk to anyone as long as it stops (Male 42).

Others wanted their voices to travel much further to other pupils and teachers outside the school. They wanted to use the power of the research to be heard:

If you were able to write a book, if kids bought it and they read it they would at least know that someone was listening to their point of view and they could get their message over (Male 20).

Some pupils saw the interview as a reversal of the normal power roles in school in that they saw themselves as helping me (which they were):

You want to get your qualification, fair enough, you can get it, so you need people to help you, I can help you by doing this (Male 2).

I wanted to help you with it (Male 14).

One student was not only willing to help but also showed empathy:

I knew that it would help you with your research...everyone needs a bit of help sometime in their lives. Just like I needed help...My family were here to help me get over that so if I can do something to help someone else (Male 20).

The interviews provided a chance to talk and be heard. Behind the masks of masculinity adopted by the boys and some of the girls, there were sensitive, kind human beings who were open to communicating something of themselves and their lives, in what was usually a warm and intimate exchange.

The methodology of the interview provided a key for future change. Pupils became aware of their behaviours and motivations, often revealing profound and insightful thoughts. Given time and the right conditions the pupils showed an awareness of themselves and the situations they found themselves in. They also showed insight into the factors which motivated them and which led to exclusion. In order for anyone to think about doing things *differently*, they first have to be aware of how they do things *now* so if we want pupils to change we have to give them the time and space to reflect and not be judged and then support them if they want to make changes.

4.13 LOSS AS A CAUSE OF 'DEVIANCE'.

To recap what has so far been established about the causes of deviance:

1. Pupils used behaviours which they saw modelled at home, even if these were considered 'deviant' by the school, unless they learnt other ways of behaving.
2. The maintenance of the image of masculinity was more important than conforming to the school rules and the very act of breaking rules supported a certain image of manhood.
3. Due to the way that masculinity was constructed, boys vented their emotions through displays of anger and power which led them into conflict situations which often led to exclusion.
4. Certain styles of transactions encouraged conflict.

These points explain what happened at the moment of exclusion, they explain behaviour. However, I will now go further into the students' lives to explain the underlying causes which, in turn, led to the emotion which led to exclusion incidents. I will be using Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Reasoner's five senses of self-esteem (see p64) to explain my ideas. Maslow clearly stated that just as it was desirable to climb the hierarchy, it was possible that certain life events caused us to move back down to lower levels: 'The process of regression to lower needs remains always a possibility' (Maslow, 1968, p172). Although Maslow uses the word 'process', I believe it is possible to very suddenly drop into lower areas of the hierarchy for example, victims of the recent tsunami in South East Asia, however, creative, spiritual, or dignified, will have been catapulted back to the bottom of the hierarchy, trying to meet their physiological needs.

Cooper et al found that:

Prior to being excluded students are often already experiencing a set of difficulties that alone would lend them to be put in the category of 'children at risk of further personal and social problems' (2000, p7)

The research showed that all the excluded students had experienced, or were experiencing losses or threats of loss to such an extent that they could not move to the levels of self-esteem and fulfilment which education focuses on; instead they were trying to get more basic safety and belonging needs met. 44 students (65%) had suffered an actual loss in the past and 100% of those interviewed had experienced a threat of loss or actual loss in the moment of the exclusion incident.

4.13.1 Losses or Threats of Loss in the Moment of the Exclusion Incident.

In the moment of the exclusion the following losses or threats to loss were experienced. For some students (32.5%) the only losses or threats to loss were those to identity, belonging and control which occurred in school. None of this group was from divorced families, all had parents who were supportive of them and they had calm home environments. I believe that it is this group of pupils who the school could do most to influence through using the suggested behaviours above. The losses or threats to loss were not ongoing but flared up in the moment as a result of negative transactions.

<u>Categories of actual or threatened losses experienced only in the moment of the exclusion incident</u>	
1. Loss of, or threat to safety due to violence –	1.5 %
2. Loss of, or threat to control and power –	13 %
3. Loss of, or threat to identity and belonging–	18 %
TOTAL	32.5 %

I have categorised students according to the main theme of the interview, but many of them touched on at least two areas of loss such as threat to identity and power, if not more. Having listened to the students in Phase One I understand the word 'identity' to be the image that one is trying to show to others, how we want other people to see us, what we want them to think about us (explored in Chapter 5.4). Clearly the maintenance of gender identity is crucial in many of the incidents described above. Tied in with this defence of one's identity is the need to be accepted and to feel part of the school population. My definition of 'belonging' is the feeling of being part of something, of feeling included, of having a place with people other than oneself, of being connected to others. Students in categories 1 and 2 had their needs for safety, security and predictability threatened making it impossible for them to move beyond Maslow's

second level while these conditions persisted. Students in category 3 experienced a threat to their level three needs for being understood and accepted as part of the social group so it would be impossible for them to move beyond this level until these needs were met.

I have already looked in detail at issues of gender identity and power and so will now re-frame this in terms of Maslow and Reasoner. Hegemonic masculinity and power go hand in hand so to have one threatened is to have the other threatened. In order to protect one's identity as a male one has to take control of the situation through force, usually either fighting or 'mouthing'. Part of this need to protect one's identity is to fit in, to belong, to be accepted by others. Reasoner's hierarchy maintains that until we have secured our sense of identity and belonging we can not move forward towards purpose and competence, hence the fact that the for the pupils who get excluded, school work and achievement is not even considered at the time of the exclusion incident.

If we fear that we are going to lose our sense of belonging and identity we immediately move down into Maslow's second level which is where safety and predictability needs to be restored. Again for many pupils, we have seen that fighting and mouthing are a way of trying to protect oneself and/or others as well as reinforcing one's identity and place in the school community. So again, using Maslow and Reasoner , until security, identity and belonging are made safe, it is impossible for the individual to move towards self-esteem and self-actualisation.

Although Maslow and Reasoner agree that a sense of belonging is needed before one can develop self esteem and competency, let us first understand what 'belonging' means to students. 25% of the students interviewed referred explicitly to the fact that school is 'social innit?' (Male 14). This was a view held by boys and girls, mainstream and learning support students alike:

JL What is more important, your friends or the work?
Pupil My friends (Male III).

JL Do you see yourself managing to stay in school...do you want to?
Pupil Yeah cos then I see all me mates and have laugh...and all that (Female D).

Phase One showed that friends were important for many reasons including; for support, to share with, to trust, to mess around with, to talk to, to give confidence, to help with work and for protection (confirmed by Woods, 1997; John, 1996; Barton and Meighan 1979).

Pupils experiencing a loss or threat of loss of identity or belonging in the moment felt unsafe and slipped further away from competency and self-actualisation while putting energy into restoring what was lost.

Another way of understanding this is in terms of Bowlby's attachment theory. Bowlby argued that all human beings need secure attachments in order to become assured and confident human beings. When attachments are broken or are not available, humans suffer from attachment anxiety;

So long as a child is in the presence of a principal attachment figure...he feels secure (Bowlby, 1982, p209).

During infancy the primary attachment figures are the parents or carers who provide a:

Secure base...from which a child or an adolescent can make sorties into the outside world and to which he can return knowing for sure he will be welcomed when he gets there (Bowlby, 2003, p11).

However:

During adolescence and adult life a measure of attachment behaviour is commonly directed not only towards persons outside the family but also to groups and institutions other than the family (Bowlby, 1982, p207).

This explains why attachments to friends were so important and also why pupils spoke about the need to have a 'real' relationship with their teachers. Pupils were looking to teachers to offer another attachment relationship in order to provide the security needed for growth. Both males and females in the research suffered the feelings of broken attachments: however boys converted the concomitant feelings of fear and sadness which they experienced as a result of these losses or threats into anger as this was the most acceptable emotion for them to display while upholding their masculine identity. Anger is also one of the emotions experienced as a result of loss (see p196).

The following statistics horrified me once I saw them written down as I had never expected to find such difficult life events in the stories of ordinary secondary school pupils. The next group of students had factors in their lives which meant that they are not only dealing with threats and losses in the moment, but had also suffered from losses in the past, or were still suffering from losses or threats of loss. For this group of students, the greater the loss, the more difficulty they had in school because their position on Maslow's and Reasoner's hierarchies was low and they were also dealing with more powerful and pervasive emotional reactions to the events in their lives.

4.13.2 Past Losses

None of the following events occurred at the moment of the exclusion incident, but were either recent, ongoing or past losses or threats to loss.

- 9 students or 13.4% had experienced the loss of a person close to them through death
- 24 students or 35.8% had experienced a loss of a person close to them through divorce
- 2 of the students or 3% had lost siblings as they knew them when they were seriously mentally and physically disabled through injury
- 8 students or 26.9% had experienced a loss of their own safety due to violence at home
- 2 students or 3% had experienced near loss of a close relative through attempted murder
- 1 student or 1.5% had experienced near loss of a parent through attempted suicide
- 6 students or 9% had lost their home life when they were sent off to be cared for by other people either in the extended family or in foster care
- 1 student or 1.5% had lost her baby through miscarriage

What the above statistics do not show is that some students had experienced multiple losses. In terms of Maslow's hierarchy, all of the above events would have threatened the student's level two needs for 'protection, safety and security'. For example divorce leads to the breaking up of a home, a person moves out, the child may live between the two houses, routines and rituals are changed. Clearly violence at home leads to insecurity and concern for safety. Death not only leads to bereavement but changes of circumstances, maybe finance, living arrangements and so on. In all of the above situations, it is not only the child who is involved but other siblings and parents, each of whom have an emotional impact on each other.

I grouped the students according to the nature of their losses. Where there were multiple losses I either categorised by the type of loss most often mentioned or by the most threatening loss. The labels of the following groups are mine for two reasons. Firstly, students were not always aware enough or simply did not have the vocabulary to analyse their stories as they were going along and secondly, some students were so embedded in their situation that it had become normal for them. This was particularly the case where violence was present in the home, as students did not see it as such, but accepted as an everyday part of family life.

Categories of past losses

- Loss of safety due to serious threat to one's own life or the witnessing of a serious threat to someone else's life in violent circumstances – 13%
- Loss of a person through death or personality changing illness or injury and loss of security brought on by the impact of the death – 10%
- Loss of safety through physical violence – 19%
- Loss of a relationship through divorce and loss of the stability brought about by the change in family life – 16%
- Loss of security through health problems of either oneself or a close family member – 7%

I would argue that all of the above situations threaten or destroy secure attachment. In death an attachment is completely lost, violence in the home threatens the secure attachment as the people who the child needs to trust, damages that trust in their violence. Divorce removes one of the attachment figures from the household and illness threatens self and relationship. 'Attachment has a survival value to it' (Bowlby, 1991, p8), by which he means that when our attachment is threatened, then our lives feel threatened to a greater or lesser degree as we have lost our provider of 'security and safety' (Bowlby, 1991, p7). West also found that 'Deviant children are less "attached" to parents and teachers...Exclusions of "trouble makers" from school events weakens possibilities for these attachments' (1979, p137).

Memories of being held always in the wrong, of having to care for a depressed mother instead of being cared for yourself, of the terror and anger you felt when father was violent or mother was

uttering threats...of the grief, despair, and anger you felt after a loss, or during an enforced separation...no one can look back on these events without feeling renewed anxiety, renewed anger, renewed guilt or despair (Bowlby, 2000, p150).

Threat of loss or actual loss of attachment triggers the emotions of bereavement; anger, frustration, helplessness, anxiety, shock, loneliness, yearning, emancipation, relief, numbness and fatigue (Worden, 1991, p22 and p24), which, when coupled with the normal volatility of adolescent anger can be difficult to manage. If the students were securely attached they dealt with the grief more positively (Bowlby, 2000, p107). In teenagers normal symptoms of loss or threats of loss include:

Mild depression, anxiety, fearfulness, sadness, acting out, testing limits, anger, emotional withdrawal, weight gain, stubbornness and rebellion, ...less common [are] refusal to attend school...use of drugs and alcohol, destructive acting out (e.g. stealing) aggressive behaviour leading to personal injury or dismissal from school, school failure, serious accidents, severe regressive behaviours (Hyslop Christ, 2000, p164).

I quote at length as I feel that the above information coupled with an understanding of the losses the students had experienced is pivotal to understanding 'deviant' behaviours. The emotions encountered by the students are universal, but, as I have already shown, gender roles determine which emotions are permissible and for males this is anger. My own theory about anger and masculinity was confirmed by the literature on bereavement:

Especially boys...express their feelings of grief through anger and acting out...feelings of abandonment often underlying such behaviour (Worden, 1996, p62).

Boys sometimes expressed their anger by being messy in their personal appearance...fighting with siblings and peers, provoking teachers and parents and demanding and testing limits. *Their anger often subsided when the surviving parent elicited the sad feelings hidden by the anger* (Hyslop Christ, 2000, p121) [my emphasis].

Both of the above quotations confirm that for boys, anger often masks more vulnerable emotions. I only read Bowlby having analysed the findings and discovered the theme of loss and threat of loss. He would not have been surprised that many of the students who were excluded had suffered a loss or threat of loss. He referred to a study carried out in Minnesota in 1954 which interviewed 11 329 15 year olds and followed them up in 1972 when they were 33. The study showed clearly that students who suffered a loss

of attachment before the age of 15 were significantly more likely to suffer from major illness, extreme emotional distress, arrest/conviction, and divorce themselves (Bowlby, 1980, p296).

The greater the losses, threats, insecurities and dangers, the more powerful and unrelenting the emotions surrounding them. The closer to the bottom of Maslow's and Reasoner's hierarchies, the more life becomes a battle for survival at any costs and people will adapt in any way they can to ensure survival.

Students dealing with overwhelming emotions can cathart these emotions through talking to an attachment figure (Chapter 5.5). However, where there are no secure attachments, the feelings are projected and/or transferred (see p73) outwards onto other people, often giving rise to 'deviant' behaviour.

I have battled with an urge in myself to create a hierarchy of my own but have not been able to as I felt it is not for me to judge the severity of a loss or the strength of an emotion. The order in which I am going to write about the groups' losses is therefore not a hierarchy, but what is true is that the last group I will discuss had experienced many more losses and dangers. I will look at this last group in more detail firstly as testimony to what they lived with daily and still managed to come to school and also because their extreme situations crystallised much of my thought in Phase One.

4.13.2 a Loss of security through health problems of either oneself or a close family member

Students experienced the potential loss of a parent as understandably frightening. Adolescents fully understand the finality of death and this coupled with the fact that parent/child relationships are often at their most strained at this developmental stage can result in guilt as well as fear.

Mum was going into hospital the next day for an operation and we had an argument that morning and I was narked [irritated/angry] about it (Female N).

Drugs, legal or illegal threatened the safety and security of some students' lives as they came to depend on them and the drugs themselves were not always predictable . Two of the students I spoke to took ritalin as a part of their daily life and I would argue that this was a source of insecurity as if the timing was wrong or if they forgot to take it, they found their behaviour harder to control:

I used to take it at 12 o clock cos at dinner time I usually be silly but now I take it earlier so I'm not so silly....I used to get wound up then....too much energy...I'd feel silly...making a fool of myself...saying silly words (Male I).

I hadn't had my tablet and they calm me down and I don't get as high (Male VI).

Male 13 explained how the ecstasy made his behaviour unpredictable:

You come up and you come down just like that (Male 13).

Male 16 talked about how he was attacked by drunk males and Male III described how he and a friend ended up in hospital after drinking vodka.

Finally, one female suffered from some form of mental illness which threatened her identity, her self-control and her sense of safety:

I have to go to the doctor. They say there is something wrong...she's a child psychologist...there are things going on in my head that no one understands but me.....I have got so much anger and aggression and everything that I don't know how to control it.....I take it out on everyone else and it gets me into trouble...I have had so many traumatic things in my life...Not poorly ill, but in my head (Female K).

She recognised that she projected and/or transferred her feelings onto other people and that this meant she was seen as 'deviant'.

4.13.2b Loss of a relationship through divorce and/or loss of the stability brought about by a change in family life

Divorce is seen as so commonplace today that we have become desensitised to the effect that it has on the family members. First of all, one of the parents moves out of the family home which leads to a loss for everyone, the person leaving and the people who are left. The adults have to adjust to a new financial

and domestic situation as well as their own feelings which can mean that the children feel like their interests are ignored:

When they split I think they wanted what was best for them and not what was best for us (Male 44),

and communication was put under more strain:

JL Have you talked to either of them about how you feel? About their divorce?

Pupil No not really. My mum has been pretty blunt since then, I don't know why. We decided we wouldn't talk about it (Male 19).

Some students found the new living arrangements confusing and lonely:

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday I stay at my mum's but Thursday, Friday Saturday and Sunday I stay at my dad's (Male 19).

For this student, all of the changes and losses involved led directly to exclusion:

JL If someone had laughed at you before your parents split up, would you have reacted the same?

Pupil I don't think I would. It would have been two people [parents] in the same place (Male 19).

Many students talked about the sadness they felt at the divorce:

I loved it when he came back but when he went it hurt (Male 29).

When a stepfamily reformed with either parent, students often felt replaced or ignored:

I felt left out when my little [half] sister come (Male 46).

He [dad] ain't got much time now cos he got twins (Male 1).

All in all the children lost time and attention with one or both of their parents:

It's really hard when both your parents aren't noticing you (Male 1).

and as a consequence sought attention elsewhere, in any way that they could get it, even if it meant negative attention at school. For one pupil, it was his difficult behaviour which got his parents back together:

I got my mum and dad back together because I was naughty and my mum couldn't control me, so she said, then my dad had to come in the morning to take me to school cos I wouldn't go. That's how they got back together (Male 6).

Communication often broke down or was threatened after the divorce as the children often held the parents responsible.

Divorce, more than death is a matter of choice. The fact that one's parent has chosen to leave the family can leave the child feeling abandoned and less good about him or herself and can lead to feelings of anger towards the person who has left...Boys had more difficulties after divorce than girls (Worden, 1996, p126/7, p132).

I got really angry and he came down and I took everything out on him, cos he is never there really....he weren't bothered (Male 1).

Some students did not want to burden their parents with their own problems and therefore, the talking which is so important for releasing feelings, was not happening at home and so catharsis was sought in school. When talking was impossible, aggression was often the release. Vandemeulebroeke also found that young people from divorced families have: 'More externalising and internalising problem behaviour, have more academic problems and move onto higher education less frequently' (2004, p275).

I also included a boy whose brother went to prison in this section as the loss of his brother, even though for a limited period, was traumatic. The brothers had been close and he explained;

What made me go off the rails when I was younger in this school was when me brother went to prison. I didn't handle it, it had a bad effect on my life...when he came out I started calming down (Male 18).

Not only was this because of the feelings of loss but because of the consequences of his brother's actions on his own identity:

The police see you on the streets or something and they come over 'Ah you're X's brother. You are going to be just like him'...most coppers are like that. I hate them (Male 18).

The negative expectations of the police made him feel like there was no point in being good as they were harassing him anyway, he lost his trust in their authority and their ability to see good from bad. This was a direct threat to his identity and security.

Finally, a couple of pupils talked about moving areas and the difficulties this had caused for them:

Pupil We've moved around a lot.

JL Is it a positive thing?

Pupil Not really when you have to go through the process of learning teachers' names and trying to remember them (Male 32).

I was living in Chile and [moving was] quite scary really because I didn't have many friends of my own age...in Chile I felt more at home (Male 38).

Moving areas meant that not only was the school new but so possibly, was the whole neighbourhood or country. The loss of security was acute and the process of starting a new school and being the outsider without the cushion of supportive friends heightened the need to create an identity which would be acceptable and protective so that one could experience belonging.

I feel myself that I am calmer. It feels better. I've got more friends now. X is a really good friend and he would stick up for me...I used to get into fights but I used to lose them...Then X said, 'everybody shut up'. It's been all right since then (Male 38).

4.13.2c Loss of safety through physical violence

I have included violence at home and violence in the neighbourhood under this heading and for all of the students in this group, violence of some sort was part of their ongoing lives. My definition of violence here is that of actual physical attack accompanied by intimidation based on threats of physical attack. The violence in this group was different from that experienced by the final group discussed in that it was not life threatening, although it was frightening.

For most of the students the violence at home was so much a part of their everyday life that they had come to accept it as normal, usually seen as part of the way in which discipline was carried out at home. I have already spoken about this group of pupils in some detail when answering the question about the influence of home on behaviours in school (Chapter 4.4).

If I misbehave at home, I know my dad would give me a back hand....sometimes he will just give me a crack on the head, but sometimes he goes too far.....sometimes he just smacks your head in (Male 22).

However, what I did not discuss above, is that according to Maslow, this lack of security and safety makes it impossible to move up the hierarchy of needs towards self-actualisation. Therefore it was not only the need to construct a viable masculine identity, but the loss of safety and the need to re-establish it, which led these pupils to exclusion. Students who had experienced domestic violence experienced a loss

of security, the role of Victim on the Drama Triangle, an I'm Not OK, You're Not OK life position and negative stroke quotient. This was also true for students who felt unsafe in their own neighbourhood:

- Pupil They shout abuse and that and they always chuck stuff in the garden and at the windows.
JL What happens when the police come round?
Pupil They come round and say they will go to their house but they don't (Female C).

This girl responded to the situation by truanting. Rather than adopting the Persecutor role in school as many of the boys did, she tried to avoid school altogether. When she was in school, she behaved in such a way as to get sent home again as she felt so unsafe outside the home.

There's loads of people that's after me, don't know why, want to fight me and all this....loads of lads chuck stuff at me windows and that...just want to go out there and smash them in. Too many of them though....the police went round to their houses and then the weekend after they come after me again (Male 11).

This male felt the urge to persecute his persecutors but was out-numbered. However, in school he could adopt this role more safely by swearing at staff who he knew could not hurt him. By swearing he was also catharting the anger which he felt about his home life and behind the anger was the fear he felt at being trapped in his own home. Both of the above students had experienced the police to be ineffectual in resolving the situation and so not only could their family not keep them safe, nor could the police. This heightened their sense of abandonment, insecurity and isolation. These feelings carried into school and were constant in those children's lives.

- Pupil X's sister's boyfriend is going to kick my arse...he's strong, he's really big.
JL Do you feel safe in school?
Pupil No...X running after me, I just push him away and just run. I was scared stiff...he's big. I don't want to mess with him...He's got muscles and he can kill people...I'm tired and I've got sore eyes and I run home watering eyes...scared (Male II).

Without feeling safe in school or knowing that they were going to be safe on their way home and at home, the pupils could not put their energy into studying, as so much of it was going into keeping themselves safe and dealing with the emotions that the lack of safety brought.

4.13.2d Loss of a person through death or personality changing illness or injury and loss of security brought on by the impact of the death

Stroebe et al define bereavement as: 'The objective situation of having lost someone significant' (1993, p5) and mourning as the: 'actions and manner of expressing grief which often reflect the mourning practices of one's culture' (1993, p5). English culture does not allow for a lengthy period of mourning or provide rituals (other than the funeral) to facilitate it. Grieving is the; 'emotional response to one's loss' (Stroebe et al, 1993, p5). The emotions of grief are multiple, complex and changing and the way in which we express them partly depends on our environment.

The following student's brother had been killed in a recent accident:

JL Can you talk about it at home?
Pupil I don't really want to.
JL Do your parents ever talk about it?
Pupil No (Male 12).

Although his initial explanation for why he was fighting was that someone had been 'mouthing' his girlfriend, what actually came out during the interview was the grief and sorrow that he had been unable to express at his brother's death. It was the grief which was the cause of his outburst: 'Nothings been right since' (Male 12). The mouthing was just a trigger which led to a release of some of his feelings. He wanted to talk and spent most of the interview talking about his loss because: 'It's better to talk about it. Not to keep it to yourself' (Male 12).

The urge to talk about their losses was common:

I like talking about her....haven't talked to anyone...didn't like to (Male 1), but the mask of masculinity prevented males from entering into the scary realm of feelings in case they 'upset him' (Male 26). A student who had lost his grandmother who he was close to told me:

Never cried though, just bottled it...makes me angry then...always been angry since then. Someone says anything, I just think, just get angry (Male 1).

We have seen that anger is a natural part of the grieving process (Bowlby, 2000, p209) and, as I explained above, the sorrow was perceived as an unacceptable emotion for males to show so was converted to anger and acted out instead. One boy's father told him:

Don't cry, it's embarrassing (Male 1).

And another's school friends were:

All just looking at you all the while...I don't know if they would want to talk (Male 12).

There was often no outside support for the particularly the men in the families, and unable to support each other, each withdrew into their own way of dealing with grief. In the face of such a huge loss, everything else lost its importance, including imminent GCSEs:

Doesn't bother me whether I do them or not (Male 12).

Adults sometimes felt that by not including young people in the funeral or talking about the death with them, they were protecting them; (children 'are often the forgotten ones' (Kubler-Ross, 1997, p157)).

However, this was not the case and denied the young person full support and expression of their grief.

Male 1 described how angry he was not to have been included in the funeral or in sorting out his grandmother's effects.

Bowlby found that resilience to loss was increased through the presence of strong bonds with other people (2000, p107) as they provided secure attachments to replace the one which was lost. Male 8 was attached to his grandmother who died but due to his close family, found his support there and was able to talk to them about it. It was only when there was a subsequent series of major losses; loss of the farm stock due foot and mouth, threat to the farm due to flooding, his grandfather's heart attack and the fact that the grandfather was isolated due to foot and mouth, that he lost his temper in school. However, Male 1 had already had his security threatened as his parents were divorced, so he had fewer attachments and less security to help him with his bereavement, and so his behaviour in school was much more confrontational. Death did not just effect students at the time, it was a life changing event, and mourning was a lengthy process, especially if it was not given time and attachment:

After my dad died, when we moved, [that's] when me and my brother started to compete, that's when all the trouble started...I got worse around Christmas time...I get bad as its when he died as well (Male 32).

'Miscarriage involves the loss of a person' as well as the fear of future loss 'as to whether she will ever be able to have more children' (Worden, 1991, p104). However, the loss often goes unacknowledged as only the potential mother may have been aware that there was a life. One of the girls I interviewed had recently suffered a miscarriage and was partly relieved as she had not wanted to be pregnant:

I want a career first, and I wanna have a life, I wanna get married (Female M).
However, she did also feel overwhelmed by the enormity of being pregnant and then not being pregnant: 'I was trying to pretend that I wasn't I think'. Her boyfriend knew what had happened but she felt that she could not talk to him: 'It'll just upset him as well and he doesn't like to talk'. She and her partner had bought into the image of men who do not talk about feelings and the consequence of this was that she did not share her feelings with him. She did not confide in any of her female friends as: 'I don't trust any of them' (Female M) and exploded at a teacher who would not let her go to the toilet. She saw the interview as an opportunity to get chance to talk about her feelings.

Today...this was all I needed...One hour to get it all off and now I feel lot better. That was all I needed. I don't need anything else after cos it was only if it builds up again, that's what I'm scared of (Female M).

Two of the students had found out that their parentage was in question. This involved a loss of relationship with the person they thought was their father, the loss of the parent they had never known and a loss of trust and attachment to the parent who had lied to them. One boy described how his real father did not want to own him and his brother:

He thought that me and my brother didn't belong to him and my mum took him to court and had DNA tests on him (Male 32).

Another boy's mother:

Told me older sister that he is not really my real dad and then me real dad lives somewhere in X and then me sister told me and I was real upset about it...I had that feeling when you have a lump in your throat, fighting the tears back....he ran off when me mum was three months pregnant....I was pissed off she lied to me, but at the end of the day much angrier with my dad (Male 17).

Not only did he find out that his dad had abandoned him, but also that his mum had lied and that he had lived this lie for 15 years. The news threatened his attachments and his identity and he was at the stage

of wanting to be taken into care as his trust had been broken. He could see the link between this revelation, his behaviour in school and the exclusion incident which happened 'two days' after he had first found out. The anger that he felt for his mother and father was transferred onto the next adult authority figure who crossed him.

Finally, two students had experienced the loss of a brother, not through death but through injuries which were so severe that their personalities, abilities and care arrangements all changed. Activities which used to be shared were lost:

Before he was run over, he was 8 and I was 7, he used to be more sporty and I could get on with him and play footy (Male 15),

and the relationship changed:

JL What are your memories of him before?

Pupil Funny, noisy pest...he can't get to stay with us anymore...he stays with me nan...he can't talk properly. He has fits. Can't do things he used to do. Still just crawls round the place....Every weekend he goes somewhere to give my nan time.....he can't do things that we used to do together. We used to mess about together. We can't do it anymore (Male 31).

Although the brothers were still alive, they were not the same in any way as they were before and for the siblings who, in both cases, were close in age, the loss was life changing.

4.13.2e Loss of safety due to serious threat to one's own life or the witnessing of a serious threat to someone else's life in violent circumstances

The last group of nine students I will discuss had experienced life threatening violence. This would have threatened attachment in the most crucial way as the violence was perpetrated by the people who should have been care giving. Of these, four had also experienced at least one bereavement which was a real and physical loss of a person to whom the students were attached. Three of this group were girls and there was one brother and sister from the same family. Some of these students have already been mentioned in Chapter 4.4.

Two students had witnessed life threatening attacks on other close family members in their past. Male 48, who was excluded for letting car tyres down, described how:

One day I heard an argument, I came downstairs and me mum lunged at me dad with a knife...dad diverted her out of the way and wrestled her down and pulled on her throat...and he took the knife away.

Not only did he have to live through the fear of watching both of his parents involved in a life threatening situation, so too did he have to suffer the consequences of it:

I seen all that happening. I started crying cos I was only 9, then me dad got taken away cos me mum phoned up and said he had assaulted her, but it was self defence cos if he hadn't moved or tried wrestling the knife off her she would have stabbed him. He got taken to prison for ages...and I couldn't go as a witness as I was underage...I didn't see him for ages and he ended up living with my granddad.

So, not only did this boy witness the violence, but he then lost his father for a period of time due to his mother's false accusations and lost his trust in his mother. The boy eventually chose to live with his dad and rarely saw his mum.

The second student, Male 31, who was excluded for fighting, described how his mother's ex-boyfriend went into his baby brother who was crying one night and:

Banged his [the brother's] head on the wall and then he [brother] fell off the bed and banged his head on the radiator.

Male 31 was aware of what happened but:

I was frightened, and I didn't really understand.

The brother was 'rushed to hospital' and the student was frightened when he visited because:

All I could see was tubes. I wouldn't go there again. [The brother] was in there [hospital] for six months...he's got a ditch in his head now. And he's lost all the strength all out of one arm...can't move it. He can't talk properly. He has fits. Can't do things that he used to do. Still crawls around the place.

This student was already living in a household where his parents were divorced. He then lived through a brutal attack on his brother and the ongoing situation in his life was that although his brother had lived, he was not the brother he had before about which he felt 'really sad'. As if all that were not bad enough, his mum was then accused of the attack:

They thought my mum had done it.....and they didn't have proof that he done it. Consequently his brother was removed from her care and Male 31 was fostered. So, instead of stability and reassurance after the attack, the student was removed from his home and lost his mother. The events built up to his mother's attempted suicide:

Me mum's lucky to be alive now cos she took tablets and nearly died. Thus all major attachments were severed, mourning was experienced and his home environment became unsafe and insecure.

Neither of the above two students had spoken to another adult about what had happened. Both of them had lived through a miscarriage of justice by the court system which led to them losing their most secure attachment figure following a life threatening situation. Most adults would find the above events difficult to deal with and yet these two boys continued going to school even though they had no support even from their peers:

I don't really tell no one...I don't tell my friends or anything cos they usually tell people...No one knows about me mam (Male 31).

Little wonder then, that these two students found it difficult to settle to the expectations of school:

I couldn't concentrate...I'd stop working in the middle of a lesson....and start thinking about me mum and dad, start thinking of that day when I walked in to kitchen to see me mum with a knife...I used to get done by the teachers...I couldn't be bothered to do anything (Male 48).

Student 48 explained that he behaved in this way as 'I suppose you could say I was a bit traumatised'. It is clear from his description above that he could not focus at school as his energy was tied up with the events at home. This is an example of what Bowlby calls 'emotional detachment' (Bowlby, 2000, p127), which is a classic symptom of grief. Student 48 had tried to deaden his emotions in various self-destructive ways 'I don't drink anymore...I used to get pissed and a bit mashed [on cannabis] on a Saturday night'. It was from this position of emotional detachment that he and others were able to make fools of themselves in lessons, take revenge on staff cars, as, being detached from their own emotions, they were less able to have the empathy to understand how their actions effected the emotions of others. I would also argue that where young people had experienced authority to be unworthy of trust (be it their

parents, the police, the courts), they were less likely to trust the school's authority. If there is no trust that authority is safe and just, then students were more likely to challenge and refuse it.

Violence against the student themselves had a similar traumatising effect. Male 5 (see also p133) had a very clear awareness of how his past influenced him in the present. He had suffered emotional abuse from his mother:

She uses weird psychology to make me feel bad....she likes to put me down, as well as physical abuse:

She was a child beater when I lived with her. . [She] made it out as if it wasn't bad...as if it were a good thing [and when he cried] I would just get hit even more.

The immediate impact of the abuse was that at junior school: 'I don't think they saw a piece of work...until year 5....I had like 7 fights a week'. He explained his behaviour:

I was only 7 or 8 so I was changeable.....cos when I got put into this naughty person who got into trouble all the time.

He could see that the way he was treated at home led him to behave in a violent way in school. He then went to live with his grandparents who gave him boundaries and safety which at first was a real surprise

I thought I was walking on glass so I would be really careful, then I realised I wasn't and that it would be ok so then I started to loosen up a bit.

It was at this point that his school work started to pick up.

This student could clearly see for himself the effect that his lack of safety had had on him in school in the past and he recognised it in the present, although with some horror. He was excluded when he tipped another boy off his seat and threw the desk on top of him because the other boy: 'Was threatening to get me after the lesson and he started to spit at me'. At this point he 'just lost it'. However, he himself understood what had happened on reflection. Firstly, he had seen his mum recently: 'Just a pretty bad week. Cos me and mum were always falling out'. So not only had he seen the woman who inflicted so much pain on him, but their rows had continued the emotional pain into the present.

Secondly, I think that the threat posed by the boy in class caused the student to unconsciously flash back to the feelings he felt when threatened by his mother and his reaction was a transference of these feelings from his mother onto the boy. 'In TA language we say that the present situation is a rubberband back to the early situation' triggered by when 'the here-and-now scene resembled a painful scene from childhood' (Stewart and Joines, 1987, p111). The theory is confirmed, unprompted by the student:

I knew where it [the anger] had come from but it didn't feel right. Cos I thought....well this isn't me now and it used to be me...it's not like me...it's more like my mum...cos me mum put me into this.

He also makes clear that his reaction is not only a transference of his old feelings for his mother, but that he has introjected and replicated his mother's behaviour. He was very unhappy about his reaction:

I have always still got this bad side of me which is really easy to go back to....cos then there was no good side to me in the classroom there with X...everything kind of went blank and then it was a different me...I have never gone to the horrible side in me for years so going back to it was really strange...it just doesn't feel right...not ordinary.

I do not think this student is using 'oh I just blanked out' as an excuse for bad behaviour. On the contrary, he was extraordinarily self-aware and insightful in the interview. I think his experience was a classic rubberband back to an old situation which happened in the moment outside his awareness, the fear he had experienced as a younger child was projected outwards as he tried to make the other boy feel afraid of him. In Drama Triangle terms, at the start of the exclusion incident, he experienced himself as being in Victim position just as he was with his mother. However, rather than remaining Victim as he had when he was with her, he had enough power to become Persecutor, thus taking over the role his mother used to have for him.

Student 40 was also abused by his mother:

She's an alchie [alcoholic], and she used to hit me several times. She was always slapping me and kicking me upstairs.

His dad eventually threw his mother out which made the home situation safer but the student still experienced it as a loss. What he most wanted was for school to think that he had:

A normal family...a proper family that's real strict and keep you in...teach me not to do it again. He craved attention and love and as he was not getting it at home he played for attention at school:

I wanted to be a silly lad. I just click me brain off. I do daft things, to get laughs. He wanted a girlfriend as:

You are just happy with a girlfriend...because you know someone cares for you, loves you. He looked to his peers to provide what he was not getting at home.

The brother and sister pair Male 6 and Female D (see also p135) had experienced extreme violence at home from their dad who had left home and then returned. Recently their grandmother and their cousin had died, both of whom they were very close to. The girl was with both her cousin and her grandma when they died:

I was holding her at the time she died so she just went in my arms (Female D).

Although they responded very differently to the same events (see p135) the emotional repercussions of these events went with them into school:

When she died I just lost control and that was when I started having a go at teachers and when I changed (Female D).

Not only did they both act out their bereavement and anger at the abuse in school, but as with the boys above, the authority figures in their lives, in this case the parents, had let them down:

JL [summarising] You trust females your own age and your brother but you don't trust older people?

Pupil I don't know why...I just don't trust them as much as me mates, they have been there for me and mostly adults haven't (Female D).

She had replaced her attachment to her parents with attachments to friends and got her strokes from them. She was lucky in that the strokes she was offered by her friends were helpful as they listened to her and calmed her down. However, her brother received negative strokes from getting into trouble as his masculinity as well as his losses prevented him from trusting. He was constantly aware of the need to be in control as this was his way of keeping himself safe at home and the behaviour had carried into school.

Like Female D, the other females in this category had suffered the bereavement of an attachment figure and had had their own lives threatened. All three shared aspects of their identity which would normally be considered part of hegemonic masculinity rather than femininity. Female E had a violent brother: 'He got

his hockey stick and smashed up all the walls', a violent father: 'Me dad broke his arm punching me mum', a violent mother and a violent younger sister. Female G also came from a family where everyone was violent:

I left my dad cos he tried to kill me...[her brother] is going to kill my dad with a baseball bat....My mum is hard.

and where 'hardness' was something to be proud of:

Everybody is scared of our family...he [brother] carves...on his arm with a compass. In our family we don't really care what we do to ourselves (Female G).

These three girls confirmed the idea both boys and girls were capable of introjecting violent behaviours (see also Chapter 4.4). They did this in order to survive within the family by being able to give as good as they got. In school, they adopted the Persecutor role and catharted their feelings through displays of violence against themselves and others. Female D did talk to her female friends and was learning other ways of dealing with her feelings. However, the other two girls were so saturated by the violent 'masculine' behaviours that they had introjected, that they did not have close female friends. Nor did they have the groups of allies which males had as they did not engage in bonding activities such as football. They therefore found themselves isolated and unsupported so continued to act out their feelings in very destructive ways.

I have already argued that girls were excluded less as they talked to each other (see Chapter 4.7) and that this was a way of managing emotions. I would also argue that girls forged secure bonds with other girls which then cushioned them against any lost attachments. However, these girls did not have that and their lives were so chaotic that they really were just trying to keep safe. It was also significant that all of the girls in this group were regularly excluded. Femininity allows for tears and sharing, so the fact that these girls were so often in conflict situations should have alerted us to the severity of their traumas. It takes more for girls to act out their feelings in a confrontational way because it is not a normal part of their gendered behaviours. However when they do, we need to ask why.

Students who present problems often have difficult situations to deal with - often with little support – in their personal lives. School may be their only source of sympathy and stability in an uncaring and unstable world (Cooper et al, 2000, p86/7).

4.12 CONCLUSION

On page 190 I stated that the causes of 'deviance' were that:

- Pupils used behaviours which they saw modelled at home, even if these were considered 'deviant' by the school, unless they learnt other ways of behaving.
- The maintenance of the image of masculinity was more important than conforming to the school rules and the very act of breaking rules supported a certain image of manhood.
- Due to the way that masculinity was constructed, boys vented their emotions through displays of anger and power which led them into conflict situations which often led to exclusion.
- Certain styles of transactions encouraged conflict.

In addition to these conclusions, the students living in extreme circumstances allowed me to formulate the ideas below. The following conclusions, as well as those above, can be applied to understand the behaviour of all of the excluded pupils, although not every point applies to every pupil.

- When pupils had experienced violent behaviour in their past, they had introjected this behaviour and under stressful conditions reverted to this behaviour.
- When conditions in-the-moment replicated situations in the past, the student transferred historic feelings onto the situation in hand and acted them out.
- Bowlby said 'threat of loss gives rise to anxiety and often anger' (Bowlby, 2000, p106) and this last group of students confirmed this. Anger at loss of safety and attachment, either past or present was catharted during exclusion incidents.
- Students tried try to get strokes in school if they were missing at home and even negative strokes were better than none at all.
- The construction of femininity allowed for close peer bonds and trust to develop, and this then cushioned the effects of loss.
- The construction of masculinity did not allow for close bonding so the loss of an attachment figure was even more keenly felt.
- Boundaries were desirable and necessary and showed caring.

- All students who had been excluded, had experienced a loss or a threat of loss.
- Actual losses or threats of loss of security and attachments led to the emotions of grief which included anger.
- Pupils who were often in Victim role in the Drama Triangle at home, sought to adopt the Persecutor role in school in order to project their unwanted feelings onto another person and to regain a sense of power.

I want to end with a summary of what these pupils were living with, as I want to emphasize the point that these pupils really were not bad, but sad and in need of our care and attention. Most adults would be unable to bear what these students had suffered and yet these young people *did* come to school and *did* try to take exams. I do not only see these students as victims but also as survivors and if nothing else, I hope my research causes us to ask 'why?' much more and to listen to take the time to really hear what the answer is.

Male 48 saw his mother try to stab his father, he had flashbacks to the night of the attack, his father went to prison, his parents were divorced and he had to chose who he lived with.

Female E had survived a serious car crash, had seen her father beat up her mother, had revived her mother who was unconscious from carbon monoxide fumes, had a violent brother who would regularly smash the house and hit her and lived in a neighbourhood that was unsafe.

Female D and **Male 6** had recently had their grandmother die and their baby cousin die; the female had been present at both deaths. Their parents had split up and reunited and their father was very violent.

Female G had a brother who threatened to kill her father and a father who threatened to kill her. She had divorced parents, her grandfather, to whom she was close and who had been a stable influence had recently died. The household used severe violence as a way of life against each other, themselves and the rest of the world.

Male 31 saw his brother critically injured by a man who escaped. His mother was wrongly convicted, he was put into care, his brother was in hospital for six months and has never recovered. His mother tried to commit suicide, his parents are divorced and his mother is not allowed to care for his brother.

CHAPTER 5 - PHASE TWO FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The findings of Phase One led to me to a new area of questioning (see p6) which called for a refining of my ideas. I wanted to see if it was possible to find ways for young people, particularly young men, to express emotions like sadness and fear in such a way that instead of alienating others and causing conflict, would safely bring them the support and emotional release that they sought.

Phase One found that certain teacher behaviours were more likely to trigger the acting out of anger and I was interested to find out how aware teachers were of the impact of their own behaviour on students. I also wanted to see if, with awareness, behaviours could be changed so that conflict could be avoided more often and so that that a more healthy and peaceful mode of communication would be modelled for students. I agreed with Clarkson, a gestalt therapist, when she said:

What the school curriculum frequently neglects is issues of emotional education such as how to cope with failure or how to deal with feelings of anger, fear and sadness (1996, p71).

Consequently, the Phase Two projects included a two day TA training for staff who volunteered, a junior school club which explored the self and emotions, an Anger Management group made up of secondary school boys interviewed during Phase One and a year 7 drama curriculum which involved TA, emotional literacy, conflict resolution, circle time, and meditation. In what follows I will pick up on the major themes from Phase One and explain the developments to my thought and practice that Phase Two brought.

Staff are signified by 'S' and included teachers and non-teaching staff as well as staff from other schools and institutions, 'F' denotes female and 'M' male and a personal number was given to each adult; the numbering is random and is not related to institutional status in any way. Junior school pupils are identified as 'J' followed by a number (all of them were male). The pupils who were interviewed after the year 7 drama project are identified as 'D' for drama and then either 'M' or 'F' for male or female, and then

a number. I will start by comparing staff perceptions of exclusion to what pupils had said in Phase One, thereafter I will expand upon the causes of exclusion. I will then develop ideas about the behaviours or conditions which either helped or hindered in a potential exclusion incident.

5.2 STAFF DEFINITIONS OF EXCLUSION

Phase One showed that for many of the pupils who were excluded, the exclusion had little impact unless it was supported in the home. Staff were also cynical about the impact of exclusion. One member of staff supported the pupils' view that it was:

A holiday, a waste of time but I don't know what else we can do (SF1).

Staff understood that for many pupils who were excluded, the main punishment was the social isolation that it brought:

They don't care about the school and the work, it's the social side they like...it's the social side they miss (SF3).

They also felt that if offered staff respite and that it was a way of making parents feel the consequences of their children's behaviour:

If they carry on this way we will exclude them and parents don't want the hassle of finding a new school (SF3).

There was a sense of powerlessness in accepting the inefficacy of the punishment:

It's the only sanction we have (SM2).

However, the Head felt that fixed term exclusion laid down the boundary of what was unacceptable and that:

We are the only consistent authority that has any effect on young people in some cases. There are some kids who do what the hell they like. Even if their parents try to ground them they climb through the window and disappear up the town and....unless they actually break the law, they can't be touched by the police (SM2).

So, exclusion itself was seen to have minimal impact on behaviour change, it merely provided a punishment and time out for both staff and students. However, the school *was* having an influence on pupils and in what follows I want to identify ways in which adults and youngsters can work, and were

working towards a healthier model of reinforcing desirable behaviours and supporting traumatised young people. I will start by confirming and elaborating upon the causes of exclusion as explained in Phase One, and then move to strategies which help minimise the need for it.

5.3 ANTECEDANTS TO EXCLUSION

5.3.1 Loss

In Phase One I argued that exclusions were caused by the acting out of unresolved emotions caused by loss or threat of loss. I wanted to triangulate this thought in Phase Two. My field notes at the end of the last session we had with the group of boys who were part of the Anger Management therapy group said:

Most of them had experienced violence against them at home. Male 40 being hit by a bar, Male 42 being scared by his dad and hit with a stick, Male 33's mum burning his toes to wake him up....[and] threatening to punch Male 4, Male 48's dad pushing his neck into the cupboard, against the door and then 'slam punching' him onto the floor before stopping himself...Male 6 was the one who said he had never been hit by his dad [but he has]..seemed angry (JL- last session)

This confirmed for me the idea that all the boys were suffering from extreme losses of safety at home and that in many cases their models of masculine behaviour were violent.

The boys who took part in the junior school project were chosen because they were seen as being on the verge of exclusion or because they had already been excluded. They again had suffered loss and in many cases the losses were either multiple:

Nan...had cancer and she went to hospital and ... she died...my little brother was in the paper who died...he was missing some things out of his body when he was born....he would be 8 this year....we go to his grave...just reminds me of all the things he used to play...and he died when it was his first birthday (J7),

or life threatening:

[J2] said how his real dad locked him in to the attic which was quite cold and dark so he wouldn't cry while he hit his mum...how he took his belt to him and how he kicked him with steel toe cap boots (JL field notes after session 4).

Staff who worked on the pastoral side of the secondary school were aware of the losses that the children suffered and the effect this has on them. One of the senior staff acknowledged that:

A vast majority of our behavioural problems come from families...break ups, family illness...if you've got a kid there worrying about their mum or their dad who has left home, or has beaten mum up or is seriously ill, or if they have only got mum and she goes out drinking every night, they are not going to concentrate on work, and if someone starts ticking off at them they are just going to explode (SF3).

The link was confirmed by the school counsellor:

She had a very difficult home life, almost nobody there to look after her...she did all the caring and she turned to drugs and she was always in trouble at school (SF6).

The SENCO had the same insight:

Behavioural kids...most of them there is some kind of trauma in their life, quite often to do with parents breaking up, nine times out of ten it is. It may be to do with a sibling who is damaged or ill.... (SM20).

Ordinary class room teachers were also aware that:

There are kids in the top set of 32 who have got issues which cause them as much grief and holding them back (SF21).

The link between exclusion and loss and the pattern that, the more life threatening the loss or the more losses experienced, the more likely a student was to get into exclusion situations was confirmed by the students in Phase Two, as will be seen. Staff also confirmed my findings; the following was said about Male 6 who we saw in Phase One to be living with multiple losses and threats:

You think of a year 10 character who is extremely confrontational and difficult...I had the most sensitive discussion with him where the softer side of him came out and you saw all the turmoil and confusion he was trying to come to grips with. Coming to school itself was a miracle, let alone staying here for any length of time, let alone learning anything or doing any work (SM10).

The secondary youth worker had reached the same conclusions through his own work:

With kids who have problems at home.....if their mum is an alcoholic and their dad beats them up and they come into school and they are told they mustn't wear an earring.....that's the final straw, they just see it as completely trivial (SM5).

5.3.2 Anger and Anger Management

The secondary therapy group and the junior school group worked explicitly with anger. One junior school student who had suffered extreme violence at home, described how he felt after a two hour session on

anger during which he stamped on boxes, banged drums, screamed into cushions and made clay shapes which he then destroyed:

Pupil It made me naggy just thinking about being in the bag again.
JL So those feelings came up but they are still there?
Pupil It's like being sick. You be sick and it's all gone but you can still taste it (J2).

Another boy linked his feelings of anger, to crying:

I liked making loads of noise and screaming into cushions...it feels like you are crying (J7),
Hence supporting the idea that anger is often the mask for more vulnerable emotions in males.

The link between anger and loss was made clear on the last session with the junior school group where the normally calm year 4 and 5s climbed on tables, broke their own rules and refused to respond to themselves or us. In the post-group interviews I asked them about how they had felt and they replied that they felt sad that it was the last session and angry with us for not carrying it on.

I felt guilty last night cos I was naughty.....it was weird cos it was the last time and I was naughty.....I felt sad (J3).

The Anger Management group confirmed that un-owned anger was projected outwards onto others. The first session was very testing for me as the boys behaved in ways which would have been completely unacceptable in school; swearing, walking round, mocking each other, not listening. As a teacher it was a real battle not to react to this behaviour and it was only with the reassured calm of the therapist that I was able to contain my reactions. In discussion at the end of the session the therapist agreed that they were:

Testing our ability to contain anger and trying to make us angry (field notes after session 1).

In the post group interviews several of the boys confirmed that this was the case, that they had wanted to see if they could get us to react. They were projecting their anger onto us and hoping that we would act it out for them and in so doing give them an opportunity to be angry in return. Often the anger was transferred from one situation to another:

What the kid is doing is not aimed at you the person, this was aimed at you, the representative of the adult world, or the female world or the male world depending on what the baggage is (SM10).

However, because we did not react and remained centred and calm (although for me it was very hard work!), they eventually 'caught' (see p172) our mood, rather than us catching theirs (Goleman, 1996, p114). This idea of 'catching a mood' was confirmed by one of the year 7 drama students:

If the teacher's tense then, if she is in a bad mood, then you become in a bad mood (DM4).

So, anger was confirmed to be projected, transferred and 'caught'. However, all the pupils showed that:

Anger does not have to be expressed at the time, in the situation, to the person with whom you are angry (MacGrath, 1998, p97).

Anger could be worked through retrospectively in the right environment. Kubler-Ross found that anger and rage diminished when person was respected, understood, given attention and time and not judged. When they were able to retain their dignity and were heard, they were able to vent their rage healthily (1970). These were conditions we tried to replicate in the groups. Harris argued that 'anger is a contact emotion' (1993, p28) by which he meant that it is an emotion which tries to engage other people, to make contact with them. MacGrath added that 'it is not anger itself which is unacceptable, but the manner and place of its expression' (1998, p94). As pupils shared their anger, new trust developed between them which, given time, would have developed into new attachments thus meeting belonging needs and allowing for movement towards self actualization and competence. 'Anger is potentially a source of great energy for personal and social healing and change' (Harris, 1993, p61).

5.3.3 Hegemonic Masculinity

My findings about the construction of masculinity were triangulated in Phase Two of the research. Ideas about the hierarchy of masculinities were confirmed in the anger group when for the first three weeks the 'harder' boys had first pick of the chairs and the smallest boy was left to sit on the floor. The boys spoke about ways in which they used the school sanctions as confirmation of masculinity:

[Male 42] got the most blue slips [written by the teacher to go on file as record of unacceptable behaviour] and Male 4 was longest on report.....it's to show they have a big dick (Male 48).

In fact, nearly anything could be used as a way of displaying masculinity including the meditation breathing we did in drama:

You can change it [breathing] and then you can make it louder and stuff so that people can hear it...to act cool and stuff....sort of like showing off in front of your friends and acting as a gang sort of thing (DM4).

Some staff were aware of the links between fathers and their sons' behaviour:

He goes in there and he kicks the counter, kicks it really hard....it could partly to do with his father, his perception of how his father is....his dad is a big factor (SM20).

This confirmed that boys were likely to introject their fathers' behaviour, especially if it fitted in with the hegemonic norm.

The avoidance of vulnerable emotions became clear in the early weeks of the anger therapy group when a couple of the boys admitted that they joked when things got too deep or serious and how 'taking the piss wasted time' (Male 48) and was an avoidance strategy. My ideas about masculinity and emotion were shared by the school counsellor who drew on her own experience;

Boys might be upset about something and they wouldn't like to show their friends they are upset because they might start crying and then they would tease them more. They would let their act down, their mask...I think that boys.....they need it [counselling] more because I think girls tend to talk to their friends about things more than boys...peer support. I think that boys, if they have a problem, they might not tell their friends in case they are called sissy (SF6).

This was also confirmed by one of the senior staff:

Boys have this terrible problem with their image and looking hard, and basically what they want is a quiet life. They are set up, these macho people, and not allowed to cry, show their emotion (SF3).

Boys in the anger group pushed and punched each other when discussions became too emotional but the conversion of vulnerable feelings into anger and violence was seen most clearly in the junior school group.

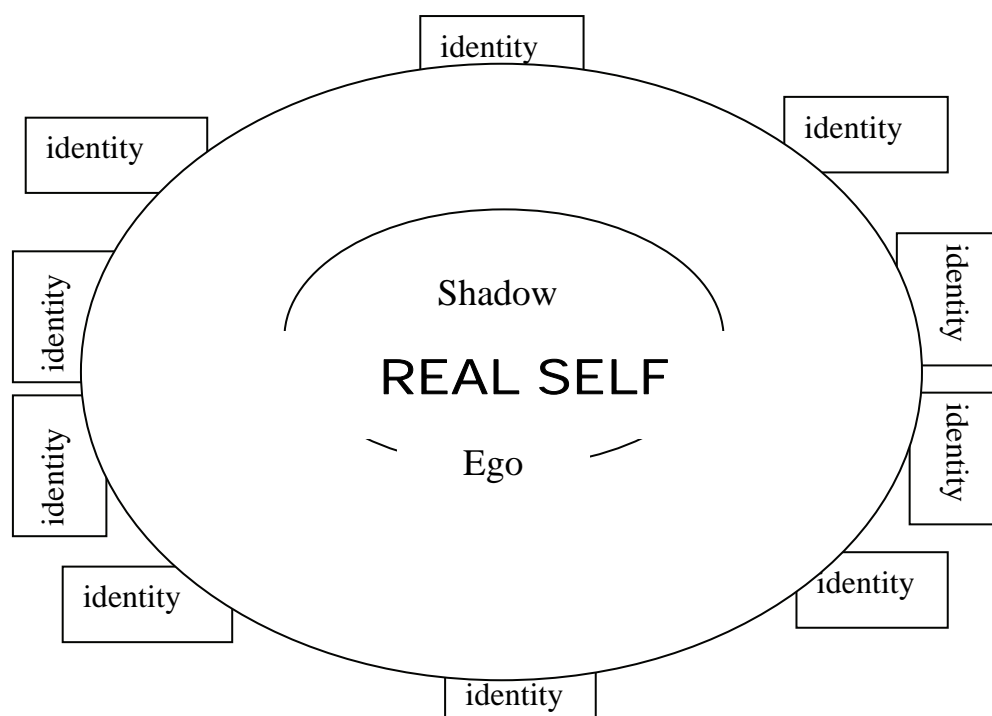
5.4 IDENTITY AND THE 'REAL' SELF

Pupils in Phase One liked staff who were 'real' (see p181). Phase Two enabled me to conceptualise this 'real self' more clearly. I turned again to Jung who used the word 'persona' to label 'what we would like to

be and how we wish to be seen by the world. It is our psychological clothing and it mediates between our true selves and our environment' (Johnson, 1991, p5). I have been using the words 'identity' and 'mask' instead of persona but I found them to be synonymous.

I would argue that 'identity' is constructed in response to internal and external influences. 'Identity' acts as multiple protective shields for the 'real self'. We put on whichever mask/ shield/ identity we see to be most useful to us at the time. The 'real self' as I saw it in the research was a combination of Jung's 'ego' or 'what we know about consciously' (Johnson, 1991,p3) and Jung's shadow which is 'that part which we fail to see or know' (Johnson, 1991, p3). I am not about to join the nature/nurture debate, and it is unnecessary to do so for this research. However, based on what I found in the research I see that 'identity' /s constructed and so changes in the moment, whereas the 'real self' changes over time and is a combination of all the influences that nature and nurture have had upon us.

Model 1 – The Relationship between the Real Self and Identity



When we first meet someone we only see their identity. At this point it is easy for us to transfer or project thoughts and feelings from our shadow onto them as they are so two dimensional (see Model 5, p269). Labelling is a clear example of when we see only one identity and project or transfer our own previous experiences onto it. When staff label pupils as 'naughty boy' or 'joker', or when pupils label staff as 'strict' or as a 'student teacher' they fail to see beyond that one aspect of the person or beyond their own responses to them.

Just as males have behaviours which support their hegemonic image of masculinity, so too do staff have a 'teacher' identity. The construction of the 'teacher' identity is worthy of a study in its own right, however, I have touched on it here. Pupils spoke about how they liked teachers who were 'real' (see p181) and when pushed explained that they liked to get to know staff beyond their role in school. During the research I talked about how I felt to give them insight into the 'real' me. It was not always easy to say how I felt, as I felt vulnerable and conflicted about my multiple roles as teacher/researcher/ facilitator. However, I tried to be honest about these and other feelings as I felt that if I was expecting the pupils to trust me, then I had to trust them. At no stage in the research did I feel that my trust was betrayed.

Teachers were most successful in influencing their [pupil] behaviour in positive ways and encouraging an engagement in learning...when they related to students as persons...taking account of students' individual circumstances and feelings, showing sympathy and empathy and being respectful of their individual rights as persons (Cooper, 2003, p139).

As relationships between either myself and the pupils (Phase One interviews) or between pupils and therapists/ facilitators (Phase Two: junior school, Anger Management or staff training groups) or between the pupils themselves (Phase Two: junior school, Anger Management and the drama groups) developed, trust was built. Once trust was established, it was possible to go beyond the identity to the ego, which allowed a fuller understanding of the person as they were in that moment, as well as who they were in the past and who they wanted to be in the future. Transference and projection were lessened as it was possible to learn more about who the person actually was, rather than who they appeared to be or were

perceived to be. With continued trust, openness and honesty it was possible for people to delve into their shadow and learn something new about themselves. To use Rogers' terminology, when we go beyond identity in search of the real self, we are increasing our Congruence. In order for attachments to be formed, it is necessary to get to know the 'real self' behind the identity, to be Congruent, so that we begin to 'relate person to person, rather than pupil to teacher' (Cooper, 2003, p139).

The major finding in Phase Two was that it was possible to get behind the mask of hegemonic masculinity given the right conditions and that when this happened the authentic and essentially OK feelings were allowed, without the need to hide. Masculinity is constructed in the public arena and school consists of class groups, year groups and peer groups. Certain conditions can be created in groups which allow for personal growth, awareness and development and I am going to argue that these conditions can be created by staff in school.

5.5 CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR EMOTIONAL AWARENESS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-ESTEEM AND ATTACHMENT.

5.5.1 Privacy

Privacy was important as it contributed to the security of the groups as they needed 'time and space for reflection' (Cooper et al, 2000, p190). To create privacy we ensured that the members knew who would be involved in the group and that no one else would be introduced without their permission. The Anger Management group took place in the therapist's group room and the room itself was a large part of why the group was able to work so well together:

Countryside, it's peaceful and so we can talk without worrying about other people coming in to disturb us...while we are here [in school] feels like someone could be listening outside, but with [therapist] you can see, cos he's in a barn at the top and you can see if anyone is coming and if you get disturbed then you can just be quiet real quick (Male 42).

In the junior school project we did not have the luxury of a private space and, as mentioned earlier (see p94), during one group session, a member of staff walked through in a bad mood, ignoring our requests

for privacy. As adults we felt angry and humiliated as we had failed to keep the students safe. All of the students commented on the interruption as something unpleasant when I interviewed them at the end of the process:

She didn't even say 'please can I come through?' In a kind of way she didn't say no polite manners at all (J4).

The adult in this situation provided a negative example of behaviour for children who had had more than enough negative models in their life. One of the adults facilitating the group commented: 'If it [the group] runs again it needs to be.....[in] an area away from school (SF15)', as she felt that this was the only way in which the students could be kept safe from interruption. I was able to understand how the students felt, as one week, due to the lack of transport, we had to have a secondary anger session in school. I too experienced concern that people could walk in on us and I felt unsafe. When I analysed my feelings, I found that they came down to my fear of being judged, in my case, of doing something which was not 'proper' teaching, even though I had the Head teacher's support. Privacy offered the space to try out new ways of being, with people we agreed to do this with. In my case, I was trying out ways of being a researcher and a therapeutic facilitator whilst also being a teacher.

5.5.2 I'm OK, You're OK

One senior member of staff said that her job as a teacher was:

To make the environment safe and secure (SF1).

She went on to explain that to her, this meant not allowing any kind of verbal or physical attacks, by creating opportunities for success and by modelling and encouraging 'I'm OK, You're OK' behaviour herself. This came from a conviction that:

Every child is born basically OK....even when they arrive here, no matter how screwed up they are, they are fundamentally, the character's OK (SF1).

The idea of being a role model was repeated by many staff:

I am a role model. I treat them as I expect them to treat me (SF3).

If we really do treat pupils from an 'I'm OK, You're OK life position' we automatically create a positive model for them to adopt and we make the environment safe, as 'I'm OK, You're OK' is a position which does not judge or belittle. One teacher explained this as:

I don't think it is about winning or losing....if you are a winner in the situation then the kid is going to walk away thinking they have lost. I think it has to be win/win...you both have to come out feeling OK (SF21).

The students used the word 'respect' (p180) when talking about how they would like to be treated and one of the adults on the junior school course confirmed the idea that, as role models, teachers have to initiate the cycle of respect by being respectful:

It's mutual respect...I initiate it, I speak to them respectfully and I say 'lets treat each other with respect and I will treat you with respect', which I do. I usually get respect back. It is our responsibility to treat them with respect (SF15).

The pupils in the anger management group confirmed this.

It is impossible to come from an I'm OK, You're OK life position if we, as adults, do not believe ourselves to be fundamentally OK; flawed, idiosyncratic, but OK. Three of the support staff spoke about how the TA101 had helped them understand their OK-ness, and to feel that they had no less value than the teaching staff or parents who they had previously seen as being above them due to the school hierarchy.

I think it [the TA101 course] has taught me...I am no worse, I am not a lower person. I think we really are all equal and you have got to put that into practice really (SF12).

'Teachers need support too, need their self-esteem boosting' (Ellin, 1994, p157). It became clear from interviews with staff that many of the staff did not feel that they are treated as OK by other staff, this was particularly true of staff who were seen as lower down in the school hierarchy such as support staff.

If they [teachers] are likely to do that [treat them with disrespect] to kids, they are likely to do that to us. Sometimes you can be ignored for the whole lesson (SF19).

Another support worker said that he felt that some teachers treated him like 'a piece of dirt on their shoe' (SM18) in front of the children. This kind of behaviour not only affected the adults, but modelled a bullying and disrespectful behaviour which the school was trying to discourage.

One teacher who did a lot of supply work and so had seen many schools said:

The atmosphere of the school is set by people in top management positions...if they've [staff] got a supportive Head they give a lot more. They give extra to the school and are generally happier as a staff and they work more co-operatively and they work as a team. When you don't have that they give what they have to give; when they get coerced, almost bullied into doing things. They do what they have to do and they usually don't give that extra or they resent having to (SF15).

When I asked if the atmosphere between the staff had an effect on the pupils, the reply was:

They are usually more stressed...the ones where they are coerced, and they are frightened of making mistakes which they learn from (SF15).

She went on to explain how stress meant that the staff had less patience with the children and how fear prevented them from trying new strategies of work. This had a negative effect on teaching and learning and also modelled a destructive use of power. The bullying tactics (see p177) used by some staff reinforced the bullying behaviour of some students. 'Teaching is a highly emotional activity. It involves emotional understanding and emotional labour, teachers' emotions are inseparable from their moral purposes; the emotional state of teachers was just as important a factor [in the creation of 'deviance'] as the emotional state of the pupils' (Cooper et al, 2000, p80/81).

Phase One showed that many teacher behaviours, such as shouting, come from an 'I'm OK and you're Not OK' life position and had the effect of bullying and belittling the person on the receiving end. Students hated being shouted at (see p176) and many staff took offence at it too:

You hear, and it makes me cringe, some teachers shouting and being terribly disrespectful of the children. I don't like that (SF14).

I hate it, I hate it. I can't abide to hear an adult shouting at a pupil, without any respect whatever given to them. I think it is absolutely disgraceful. I hate it. I think it is inhuman. I think as a parent my hackles go up, I would not want my child to be spoken to like that. I don't think it ever solves the problem. I think it causes bad feeling (SF11).

The reason that shouting did not work was that it destroyed the trust and therefore the potential for attachment between the teacher and the pupil, and battered the recipients' self-esteem. None of this was conducive to a successful group process, as under stress defensive behaviours were adopted:

Pupil She kept shouting at me so I walked off...[she] said 'don't think you've got away with it you little'...[in a naggy, evil voice]...and then she didn't say anything.

JL What do you think she was going to say?
Pupil Something like, 'rat'.
JL How does that make you feel?
Pupil Angry
JL What would you say to her if you could?
Pupil 'Don't, please don't shout at me it's depressing and it gets me mad, angry'. It wasn't me who shouted at her (J5).

Many of the staff interviewed confirmed what the pupils in Phase One had said about some staff causing exclusion incidents:

I watch them [pupils] being backed into corners by members of staff and they can't get out (SF18).

Maybe it is the member of staff who mismanaged it...some members of staff are confrontational...the problem is, they don't see themselves as confrontational (SM4).

Without an 'I'm OK, you're OK' atmosphere in a group, change and growth will not occur as people will not feel safe enough and so their defence mechanisms will remain in place.

5.5.3 Strokes and Self-Esteem

The adolescent with low self-esteem is considered most likely to develop adjustment problems in virtually every area of life (Damon and Hart, 1988, p142).

The kind of strokes we accept and give out will be affected by our script and will determine our sense of OK-ness or self-esteem. A year 7 pupil put stroke theory into her own words:

If they haven't got attention when they were little...they seem more attention seeking. When they are at school they are always trying to get attention which means that people don't give them any warm fuzzies, which means they go for cold pricklies...the people who don't get enough attention, they try to get it and catch up everyone and they get attention from people. I've also noticed people trying to get attention in different ways (DF 2).

Not only had the student understood the psychological theory, but had also observed it and applied it to her own life and found it to be true. Children from violent backgrounds would have received a diet of violent negative strokes and so went in search of them in school.

Phase One (Chapter 4.11) showed that shouting, bullying, sarcasm and humiliation come from an 'I'm OK, you're not OK' life position and are negative strokes. Negative strokes damage self-esteem thus preventing the fulfilment of one's highest potential:

Research has shown a strong link between a child's self-esteem and academic success. Children who feel good about themselves learn more easily and retain information longer (Curry et al, 1995, p37).

A member of staff articulated the effect of a constant stream of negative strokes:

Very often they blame themselves, 'me mum says I'm an idiot, me dad says I'm an idiot, Mrs X says I'm an idiot, so I must be an idiot' (SM5).

Messages of this sort threaten self-esteem and attachment, themes picked up by the school counsellor:

Trust, power and self-esteem come shining through for me...they just feel as if they are nothing (SF6).

If pupils are told often enough, by enough people that they are worthless and stupid, they will believe it:

It is quite possible that he or she does show the behaviour of an idiot, doesn't mean he can't change (SM5).

The first way to encourage change is to do what the adult above has done, which is to separate the behaviour from the person so even if the behaviour is disapproved of, the person is not (Chapter 2.8). By reinforcing desirable behaviour with positive strokes we show people a new way to behave whilst also building their self-esteem.

Homing in on the positives and not the negatives, because for some children that is all they have had is negative responses. Positive reinforcement rather than negative (SF15).

Staff and pupils found stroke theory easy to understand when taught either through the TA101 (staff) or through drama (pupils); it was one of the things which stuck most firmly in people's minds and which they found most useful and effective. During a whole staff presentation and during drama I used the more child friendly terms of 'warm fuzzies' and 'cold pricklies' (Steiner, 1977) for positive and negative strokes respectively.

These warm fluffies [sic], I think they work well. You walk into the class and you say 'good morning', 'nice smile Margaret', 'nice tie', 'what have you done at the weekend?' It's all positives and you always get positives back every time, there is no doubt about it (SM18).

All of the above strokes showed that the teacher had noticed the individual, that he was interested in them and that they, at that moment, were important to him. Printed words do not show the non-verbal communication that occurred. However, during the interview, when he was reporting this, his tone was warm and sincere and so *what* he said was congruent with *how* he said it.

Pupils were able to use the theory to make life happier for themselves. In drama we experimented with the way that if you gave out warm fuzzies you were more likely to get them back and vice versa. The pupils also found this to be true outside the classroom:

I think doing warm fuzzies and cold pricklies helped me not be horrible to people otherwise you're going to get more horrible stuff (DF9).

They were able to apply the theory to adults as well as students:

When we first did it [stroke theory] we had something like geography or something next lesson and the teacher came in and I stayed quiet cos I was thinking about what we had been doing in the lesson. He [teacher] was in a bad mood and I thought 'I'd better not say anything' cos of what we did in drama...it would help if people remembered it...it could help them not get into arguments (DF2).

Stroke theory was simple to grasp and yet the awareness it gave to pupils as well as staff brought enormous changes:

I changed....when people say 'hi' to me I would just walk past them and they thought I wasn't mates with them. But now someone says hello and I just go 'hi' back ...makes me feel more liked (DM5).

Sometimes I forget it and sometimes I do use it...the warm fuzzies...sometimes when I'm in a really bad mood I use cold pricklies [but then I think] 'oh, I shouldn't have said that, that's a bit negative' so I go and apologise and say I was in a bad mood (DM8).

Change came with practice. Drama Male 8 was open to discussing his moods, accountable for the effect they had on others when he acted his mood out. He was therefore able to take responsibility for putting things right when he thought it to be appropriate. Understanding stroke theory helped create a positive and nurturing atmosphere where change and growth occurred. Knowledge of the theory was helpful as it raised awareness of how people impacted upon each other.

5.5.4 Awareness

Adolescence is the developmental stage at which we are able to become self aware (Damon and Hart, 1988, p44). The research has already made clear that pupils were able to discuss exclusion incidents with varying degrees of self-awareness. The quotations from the section above show that knowledge of TA helped self-awareness by giving pupils a language through which to express themselves; 'having no words for feelings means not making your feelings your own' (Goleman, 1996, p52). Circle time (see p55 and p251) and meditation (see p249) both increased pupils' self awareness.

Self-awareness...can be non-reactive, non-judgemental attention to inner states (Goleman, 1996, p47).

The more fully I can become aware of who I am and what I am doing at this moment, the more freedom I can experience to change and the more I am able to choose my responses (Clarkson, 1996, p13).

Teachers who were not aware of their behaviour and how it contributed to other people's responses caused problems for themselves and others. Their lack of awareness meant that they were unable and unwilling to change and instead expected others, especially students who they perceived as being less powerful than them, to change instead:

Staff would have to accept that they are not always right and there are certain individuals that every time will think they are right. So that is something that has got to be taught and they have got to accept and want to accept that they can change and that they may be wrong (SM5).

[Teachers] need to know about themselves, to know where they are coming from...so they can relate to kids better...if the teachers were more aware then the kids would respect more...it would be a better relationships...you are better at anything if you know yourself (SF6).

'The capacity to provide for the needs of disturbing children is powerfully enhanced when the adult is able to reflect upon, and respond to what is happening' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p2).

'Self-awareness is fundamental to building helpful relationships with others' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p89). The TA101 course offered staff the opportunity to become more self-aware:

I learnt a lot about myself...where I was coming from and my point of view and the way I was brought up, how it reflects who I am now. (SM18)

This self-knowledge was then used to think about how to deal with pupils and staff:

[The course] made me look into how I deal with people and how I communicate...it made me think why they [pupils] acted in a certain way and what I could do differently to handle a situation (SM8).

Awareness and reflection helped staff take responsibility for the own behaviour which in turn allowed them the possibility of doing things differently. Just like pupils, staff needed to feel safe when they are learning and a number of staff commented on the accepting and calm manner of the course facilitator in the same way that they anger management group commented on the accepting manner of the therapist:

There's something about him that makes me want to talk to him and listen to him (Male 42).

As part of therapy training, one has to undergo one's own therapy so that personal awareness is gained. I would argue that awareness is the key to change and that in order to help others reach a state of awareness, we have to be aware ourselves. Several of the staff commented that self-development or awareness ought to be part of every teacher training course:

I think you have got to start targeting new teachers, try to persuade old teachers. I think it's a gradual introduction really as some teachers will tell you to shove it. I think it has got to be done placing it on PGCE courses....so you have new teachers coming in with that attitude. I think early on in school placements (SM8).

Teachers, in their training, do they have self-development? I think it would help (SF6).

Greenhalgh also recommended that: 'Initial Teacher Training establishments should introduce their students to basic counselling skills' (1994, p27). One teacher who had done counselling training said: 'Since I have done my counselling course I have actually changed my entire way of going into it. I go in and I negotiate the boundaries straight off...I have much quieter classes' (SF15).

The idea of negotiated boundaries and rules is not new (Rogers, 1998; MacGrath 1998), but what is, is the fact that rather than just using this as another classroom management technique, the teacher above first looked at herself, became aware and was therefore more able to model the behaviour she wanted to encourage and be consistent in the way she worked. There is little point in negotiating class rules and then shouting at the pupils when they are broken, as the initial Adult-Adult contract is then replaced by an

Parent-Child or Child-Child interaction which undermines the contractual nature of the negotiated boundaries.

As I was doing my final interviews an awareness programme was being implemented for pupils with more challenging behaviours by the Learning Support Unit:

It very subtly picks away at their psyche, it starts to make them aware of who they are, ...things which are stopping them, gets them to think about how other people perceive them...strategies for changing those ways (SM20).

These are all very laudable aims, but my experiences in Phase Two led me to believe that unless the student was feeling secure and accepted and OK, then the work was little more than another piece of school work. It was possible to fill in the work sheets provided, without gaining any insights into oneself. For the programme to work it had to be carried out within an aware, accepting, trustful and congruent relationship.

As teachers we are encouraged to be reflective practitioners, to analyse how our lessons went, whether we met our major learning objectives and how our department supports the school development plan. However, we also need to reflect on our own behaviours to consider whether they were appropriate and helpful. We cannot change how anyone other than ourselves behaves:

It is never possible to change other people...it is possible to speak in ways in which it is more likely that most pupils will calm down and less likely that they would respond aggressively...it is the manner in which the pupils are addressed which differs...the teacher remains firm yet respectful (MacGrath, 1998, p64).

Some staff were already doing this and finding that they had more positive relationships with the pupils:

I am always thinking about why someone has done or why someone has behaved in a certain way and trying to understand the reasons (SF9).

The Head was supportive of this kind of self-knowledge:

There are some adults in this school who don't really have the interpersonal skills and they don't fully understand why they don't make a success of things. They are not aware enough of where they are coming from and how they might be perceived outside themselves and I'd like to think of it is something we need to do, to train all members of staff some of those awareness (SM2).

However, just as teachers can not bully or force pupils to become more aware, nor can staff be bullied or coerced. Change has to come from within and it is through our choice, having experienced the feeling of an 'I'm OK, You're OK', Adult-Adult, aware relationship, that we can develop it ourselves.

5.5.5 Functional Ego States

Transactional Analysis is not just another technique, it requires a commitment to self-awareness and to owning (see p55) one's shortcomings and mistakes as well as successes. Without the very real work on ourselves, TA becomes just another power tool, which will not create the right environment for growth and learning. With awareness we can change our life position to 'I'm OK, You're OK' which, as we have seen, is how pupils and staff want to be treated. We can also change how we communicate, so that we avoid conflict and encourage negotiation and co-operation. One of the staff spoke about how the course changed his way of communicating:

Instead of flying off at the deep end and coming from Child, I suddenly click into Adult...you can just go in from Adult...that part of TA works (SM18).

During the exclusion incidents reported in Phase One, we saw how the pupils moved into Child behaviours. It was also apparent that some staff also adopted these behaviours when they were out of awareness:

It is often Child/Child I think...when staff really get going, they come right down to Child level (SF11).

Teachers instantly go from Child...they will give as good as they get and it escalates like a see-saw, one goes up and the other goes up and it's like that and nobody wins (SM18).

The use of the word 'win' is interesting as it was the same imagery used by many of the pupils. As soon as there was a battle for who would win, the participants had stepped out of awareness and onto the Drama Triangle. One teacher spoke about her experience of this:

You have to sort of ground yourself so you're not going to get annoyed in this situation.....they're going to the Drama Triangle and they are the Victim and you're the Persecutor and then I think

they're going to flip and go for you and you'll suddenly become the Victim and they'll Persecute you which is what some of them are doing so you have to try not to get pulled into the Game (SF15).

To avoid getting into the Drama Triangle one needs to stay in the here-and-now and communicate using Adult behaviours from the Adult ego state. This involves talking and listening to the students and inviting them to move into their Adult ego state so that problems can be solved. This problem solving approach is very different from the traditional 'you are wrong and I will punish you approach' as it does not disempower either party or attack their essential 'OK-ness':

Pupil [The therapist said] just a mistake...everyone makes mistakes, it's gonna happen and things come out when you are angry and you say things that get you into trouble.

JL What does it feel like when staff say you are wrong?

Pupil Makes you feel like you can't fix it and you can't go back and make it right (Male 4).

By focusing on the behaviour and how it could be different, whilst maintaining an feeling of genuine belief that the person themselves it OK, change is possible. If the person is seen as being 'bad' or 'wrong', then, as the student above pointed out, this removes the possibility of change and contributes to low self-esteem.

Miller commented that: 'A child can experience her feelings only when there is someone there who accepts her fully, understands and supports her' (1995, p11). The therapist who facilitated the Anger Management group came from an 'I'm OK, You're OK' life position and spoke to the boys from Adult to Adult. As a direct result of these qualities, the boys started to reveal their feelings and did not need to prove anything as they were not feeling threatened:

He was calm with us and just talking to us as normal human beings...he gets it back then doesn't he (Male 41).

Teachers spoke about how Adult-Adult transactions worked for them too:

You are actually giving them reason and feedback, it brings them into the process and that's transactional. The fact that it becomes a two way thing (SF13).

I said 'You just tell me what you feel is happening' and I actually said 'from an Adult perspective, tell me what you think' and as soon as I said that to him it was automatic calm down (SF18).

The reason for this calm down was that the child was actually feeling heard. Phase One showed how much students wanted to be listened to and this teacher offered that opportunity. Instead of the teacher laying down the law in a Parent-Child transaction, choices and consequences were discussed and made clear:

[Teacher says to student] you have a choice of modifying your behaviour or not, whichever you chose...You are not telling them what to do which is something youngsters rebel against ...sometimes you find they have something that you have never thought of anyway which is a valid point (SF13).

By sharing information both sides gained new insights about each other or the situation, which they would otherwise have missed:

They share their ideas with you, so they have a chance, not to defend themselves, just to say, well this is what happened, so that they have got an understanding of why they did it, you've got an understanding of why they did it (SF9).

Power was identified in Phase One as a major part of the construction of masculinity so as soon as a teacher set up a power based transaction from Parent to Child, there was increased risk of conflict.

Power was identified by staff as being a major issue for students:

Young people don't have any power, or feel as if they don't have any power. Like they haven't got any power at school, at home they feel like they don't have a choice as to what's going on...it's a very powerless sort of age (SF6).

Adult-Adult transactions shared the power and encouraged thinking:

Power to chose to do it or not.....it gives a more autonomous classroom really.....I think it empowers them and they think for themselves otherwise I am doing all the thinking for them...how are they going to learn if they don't think for themselves (SF15).

In the short term teachers may think they have solved the problem if they split up two students in conflict and punish them. However, all that this actually does is show that the more power you have the more you get your own way as the teacher has all the power and students have none. This reinforces the desire to have power. When dialogue, negotiation and compromise are encouraged, it is these skills which are modelled and learnt which are of long term benefit to society as well as solving the problem in the short term.

[If] they come up with a dispute with another child I say 'how are you going to sort this out?'. They don't like that, they want me to sort it out. I help them listen to one another (SF15).

One of the senior staff in the school saw his key role as negotiator and every time he used these skills he was modelling to staff and pupils alike, how to use them:

I am the peacemaker really. I find out about both sides of the argument and mediate between the two to come up with something that is acceptable to both parties...it is very rare that you can't find common ground...compromise....a key word that is, compromise (SM10).

This is what the pupils said they wanted too:

Listen to the other person's point of view and then meet half way of the problem (Male 27).

5.5.6 Caring

'To care for' means to be concerned about the well being of the whole person, to have affection for them, to look after them, to put boundaries in to make their life safe:

I would like them [friends] to care (Male V).

For girls it was easier to be seen to be caring as this was part of the hegemonic role and there was no need to hide one's vulnerability in the way that boys needed to. Boys and girls had the same emotional needs, how they went about getting them met depended on how they constructed their identity.

You are just happy with a girlfriend, just talking, having a laugh...because you know someone cares for you and loves you (Male 40).

One of the key elements of caring was not judging the young person:

It is a matter of sussing out the young person, not judging them. 'I do care about you and what goes on and if you need someone to talk to' (SM5).

This understanding and acceptance communicates an 'I'm OK, You're OK' life position and is empowering.

John argued that in order for attachment to occur trust was of 'primary importance' (1996, p171) and Greenhalgh argued that 'children need to develop a sense of emotional safety and trust in others for development and learning to proceed' (1994, p25). In order to feel safe enough to drop our defences

there has to be trust and the way that we learn to trust is through experiencing the other to be consistent, fair, non-judgemental and 'real'. When asked why he trusted the therapist one student replied:

More care....and when you talk to him he doesn't lose his temper...I can trust him (Male 42).

There are two elements to what the student said: caring and calmness and I will discuss 'calm' in the next section. Students in Phase One spoke about how they wanted the staff to care about them and this view was supported by staff as well as pupils in Phase Two. Wallace said 'All children want to be loved' (2000, p15) and Cooper et al confirmed that pupils need 'concern, connection and nurturance' (2000, p51). One Head of Department saw the ability to care as central to the work in school, and so when he recruited staff he looked for someone who:

Cared... 'Yeah I am interested in what you have to say' even if you do smell and your hair is crawling with lice...you are still sitting there because you know that if you keep pegging away at that kid, that they are going to change, they are going to improve their life....all the staff in this department care [within] a pretty strict regime...we don't let them [pupils] get away with anything really, firm boundaries...but they get loved...you can use whatever word you like 'caring', 'loving', they are loved here, we love the kids, they are special (SM20).

The above statement is an example of how it is possible to accept the human being even if we do not like their appearance or behaviour. Another part of 'caring' is a commitment to working with the pupil to better their life and a belief that this is possible. When pupils felt cared for, trust developed and attachments were built. These attachments were then able to support the students and went some way to replacing lost attachments. Vandemeulebroeke (2004, p286) confirmed that attachments to teachers minimised the impact of loss. Once social or belonging needs are met, it is possible to move forward to competence and self-actualisation. Finally, a crucial part to caring is that it is communicated through listening (Cooper et al, 2000, p77).

5.5.7 Listening and Calm

Listening not only conveyed caring but also calmness. I asked the students to try to put their finger on what the therapist did to convey a sense of calm. Gentle music and soft chairs and cushions arranged in a circle were identified, but the key to the calm atmosphere therapist himself:

I think you have to have a certain voice for it...you have to be really soft or it doesn't work, any of it....he doesn't shout and stuff, he just watches you (Male 41).

The therapist meditated regularly which contributed to his sense of calm. He also listened and allowed the students to talk without guiding them or interrupting them, which was significant to their experiencing him as calm. To really listen to another person is to put one's own needs to one side, to come alongside them into their world and to try to see things through their eyes. To listen takes time, attention, patience, an open mind and an awareness of one's own processes so that they do not interfere with the listening. In Phase One, being listened to was one of the key things that students wanted from staff (Chapters 4.8 and 4.12). In Phase Two it became clear just how powerful this was. Real listening communicated caring, respect, understanding and OK-ness. 'Moments of relative calm, when co-operative dialogue could take place, contributed to both reducing pressures on the pupils and to building their inner resources' (Cooper et al, 2000, p191):

When we were with him [therapist] we can talk about whatever we want and whatever's inside us. We can just let out all the anger and everything and talk about it (Male 42).

The cathartic and calming effect of speaking was confirmed in Phase Two:

It has done a hell of a lot for me...it has calmed me down from fighting (Male 42),
as was its curative effect through allowing the safe release of emotions. It was also a powerful agent for change:

I've gone calmer. In lessons if I am getting annoyed I just leave it and instead of having a go back I just walk out or leave it (Male 4).

The benefits for the school were obvious; calmer pupils, calmer lessons and more learning. When I asked one of the boys why he thought the school should pay for the therapy and what the school got out of it he replied: 'A calmer school' (Male 42). This wasn't only true of the secondary school boys, but also of the junior school pupils:

I'm different cos I've stopped getting into fights (J1).

Talk in school is traditionally focused on external subjects such as Maths or English, in Phase Two and in the Phase One interviews, it was the internal world that was addressed. This world was new territory for the boys:

At break you are playing footy and you talk within you but not really about school...at break its more about what we are going to do. When we are at [therapist's] it's what we have already done in the past (Male 4).

The junior school boys reinforced this:

In school you can't express you feelings, but in the group you can and it's all out (J2).

I noted in Phase One (see Chapter 4.8) how the ability to talk and cathart with friends was one of the main reasons why girls were excluded less than boys. We also saw that boys found it hard to talk to each other as they feared being seen as less masculine. Yet in the junior school project and in the Anger Management, some of the schools' 'hardest' boys were able to talk about their personal lives and feelings, not just to one other person, but to a group. For some this was a scary process as they had never talked before:

JL What was it like to talk?

Pupil It's scary in case people tell my mum cos I'm not allowed to speak about it.

JL What do you think you mum might do?

Pupil Hit me. Not hit me exactly, trying to go on at me that he [dad] didn't put me in a plastic bag...I have to go along with it...it did happen and I feel sad (J2).

The events in the past which the boy spoke about, were confirmed to be true by the school. The pupil was not scared of talking but of the repercussions having talked might bring. My own regret about this student was not that he talked, but that he did not have time to talk more. His confidentiality was not broken by the group.

When asked what they felt about listening to each other, one boy replied:

Quite good, [listening to] what is hurting them, and what is putting them down. Say they speak about it then they'll be more confident in themselves (Male 42).

It was interesting to see that, in the Anger Management group, the male who the others perceived as being top dog, was the first to disclose vulnerable personal information. Maybe he felt able to start the

process as he had so much power within the group. That being so, he still admitted to finding it scary to talk. His disclosure led to the others opening up and talking; if he could do it, so could they. I found that in all the pupil groups, once the process had started, it took on an energy of its own. 'A sense of kinship evokes the development of a sense of attachment to the group and those in it' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p195).

When asked about talking in a group the one of the secondary boys replied:

It's better cos other people have different point so view...I understand other people, the people that were there (Male 27).

He had gained insight into others and so was more able to empathise with them. As soon as this happened they were no longer other male identities to compete and perform with, but human beings who were as scared and angry as he was. This recognition allowed not only acceptance of others, but also of the self; a recognition that it was OK to be scared, sad, vulnerable and still be male. The junior school boys were more articulate in expressing this:

[I] enjoyed getting closer to other people...if you get close they can help you (J1).

They got support and caring from each other in a way that was not previously possible in school:

JL What did you get from the group?
Pupil Courage cos [boy 3] used to beat me up and I'm not scared of him.
JL Where did the courage come from?
Pupil The group...has given me courage (J2).

5.5.8 Creative Expression

For some boys, talking about how they felt was such a new experience that they just did not know how to start. Creative media seemed to offer a more physical and abstract way of externalising feelings.

'Metaphors evoke the unconscious world...and mediate between conscious and unconscious realms'

(Greenhalgh, 1994, p141). Using art freed them up to express themselves:

You could kind of express your feelings and do anything with paint ...it's easier than just saying 'I feel happy'. It's like when you do the drawing, then it's already on the paper (J2).

The creative act seemed to bypass the censoring that went with language. Things that were not acceptable to verbalise if one was trying to conform to a certain type of masculinity, could be painted or drawn:

- Pupil I put my feelings down and [J7] did and everybody put their feelings in. [Paint] expresses everything and you can do what you want with paint...sometimes you might be too nervous to say 'I love Clare' or somebody and then in paint you can do that and nobody would know what it meant.
- JL Does it matter that other people don't understand always?
- Pupil No, not really (J2).

For this student, the act of self-expression and catharsis was of value in itself; it did not need to be understood by anyone other than himself at this stage. He was able to express in paint what he was not ready to express in words, safe in the knowledge that no one else understood. Once trust was developed, words were added to creative expression, but only after the pupil had tested the water non-verbally and was sure he would not be judged.

When children have experienced emotional or physical abuse, mistrust or neglect, they will only allow themselves to be open to change if they are able to experience acceptance and trust (Greenhalgh, 1994, p86).

I started the post group junior school interviews with just a tape recorder (see also p117), but the first student I interviewed started to draw on the desk, after which I provided paper and pencils. I felt foolish for not having worked out the importance of drawing as a means of communication before, but this was really brought home to me in the interviews. By focusing on an activity, the pupil could divert his attention onto the paper and so some of the awkwardness felt by being in a one to one situation by with an adult female was avoided. This pattern of disclosure during activity was one which I retrospectively noticed. At the hospice, it was common place that after a two hour session, it was during the mini-bus drive home that young people would talk. The same was true of the journey to and from the anger group. I was driving and so could not make eye-contact or focus 100% on the boys and this seemed to make it easier for them to talk. It was during the journeys that they asked for and revealed some of the most intimate information. The youth worker and the counsellor in school were well aware of this pattern with boys. The youth worker in particular invited students up to 'play on the computer' as they would talk more freely when there was a physical activity to focus on.

Secondly, by drawing during the one-to-one interviews, pupils were able to draw what they could not say. I then had the opportunity to ask about the drawing and through the object, we were able to un-pick some of their more painful memories. I am going to quote at length from one particular interview as it confirms many aspects of what I have said:

- JL [Student is drawing] Is that you in the bag?
Pupil Yes.
JL So it's with you all the time.
Pupil It's the thing I can't get rid of.
JL Is that you?
Pupil No, dad.
JL With an arrow through his head both ways, all ways, and you trod on his head a lot with the clay....is that blood?
Pupil Yes.
JL Whose foot is that?
Pupil Mine.
JL What's that?
Pupil A grave stone.
JL What does it say?
Pupil Hope you die soon.
JL What are you going to do with the picture?
Pupil Chuck it.
JL Or do you want me to look after it for you?
Pupil It's not fair giving it to other people, cos they don't want the feeling, its not very nice (J2).

This junior school pupil at risk of exclusion had experienced life threatening abuse. He was able to talk about it, even if only in simple images, the painting expressed a murderous fantasy that was too dangerous to articulate in words. The creative medium was an enabler and gave him some little control, even if only over how he expressed himself and what he did with this later. His anger at the abuse was clear and was translated into a revenge fantasy, no wonder then that his child was regularly in fights, acting out some of this violence and hatred. During the abuse the boy was in Victim position on the Drama Triangle and so, whenever he could, sought to redress this disempowered position by becoming Persecutor himself. However, he also revealed in his reluctance to pass on the picture, his inner conflict of wanting to hurt but also wanting to protect the innocent, just as he would like to have been protected. He showed his fear that the feelings he had were so negative that they would surely hurt another person. His feelings were so frightening for him that he did not dare pass the picture on for fear of hurting others.

like he was hurt. So, this child who fought, swore and hurt others was acting out his own hurt and yet did not want to hurt people with his feelings. He was not a bad boy, but a frightened, angry and sad boy.

Art materials also acted as a container or holding (see p35) environment for powerful emotions:

The stuff we did....the clay and everything, it was real squidgy and everything, we could put all your anger into it (J3).

So instead of catharting the anger through violence against a person it was done safely through clay. For students who were more kinaesthetic, clay and paint offered an active mode of expression which they could access easily. The act of physically controlling a material was empowering at a real and a symbolic level:

Pupil When we were doing clay stuff...made me feel a lot better when I got those clay people and squish them.
JL Has that feeling stayed with you?
Pupil Yes (J3).

In squashing his clay bullies, the student became less fearful of them and regained some of his power.

The artwork triggered memories and though the loss had been painful, some of the happy memories could be reclaimed:

I liked doing patterns ...it reminds me of my nan who died (J7).

The visual quality of art materials allowed pupils to look at each other's work and to begin to experiment with sharing process, product and meaning. Through this sharing, trust slowly developed:

We used to share drawings and stuff (J3).

Artwork allowed the expression of strong emotions such as sadness and rage and there was an end product which could be kept, destroyed or given away. It helped those pupils who were more kinaesthetic by nature and allowed for a release of physical energy as well as emotional. The junior group confirmed the link between loss, anger, masculinity and exclusion but also showed that it was possible to go beyond this to a point, when permission was given to express feelings and where a safe environment was established to enable this to happen.

The year 7 drama curriculum used role play and drama games to build trust and to experiment with new ways of communicating. For some pupils, the work itself became a personal catharsis of emotion:

When we were shouting Controlling Parent messages at the chair (in the middle of the circle) one boy came out with vicious and brutal comments. During check-out he said he felt 'upset' as that was how his parents spoke to him. The other kids then supported him and confirmed his OK-ness...they did it spontaneously (Field notes).

Through drama they could act out personal experiences as if they were imagining them. As they were acting a 'character' this provided a distance between themselves and the past events they acted out.

Some pupils then chose to discuss this during circle time. Other pupils re-wrote these episodes of their lives either by playing different characters or by changing the course of events so that they were left feeling more OK than they had done in the actual situation. For some pupils, just acting it out again, was challenging enough.

5.5.9 Group Process

'In a group new behaviour can be tried out in an exploratory way' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p192). Once the boys in the junior school and the Anger Management groups had got to know each other, the need for conflict and violence was reduced as they had nothing to prove or to hide. This process was symbolised during a group painting session in the junior school when I noted:

They started drawing their own little pictures, lots of square closed-in shapes and neatness...[as time went on] their movements got bigger and freer and looser and the boundaries between their pictures blurred and merged (field notes, junior schools session 1).

To start with the boys kept their own counsel, but as trust developed, they opened up and shared more of themselves. A similar symbolic moment occurred during the penultimate session of the anger group which had to be held in school:

The boys started off standing. Then went to sit in little groups on chairs. Then [Male 6] got a chair while others were sitting on the floor...like he was higher status [he was number two in their own rank ordering]. Then the others got chairs and put them in a row...then they got desks and sat behind them in a line. Then they pushed the desks together and we ended up sitting around a big table like in a big conference, every one on a seat and all listening, without conscious thought or planning (field notes).

Again the movement of the group was from separation to sharing. The desks started off as a barrier in a line, and although they still offered some protection in the final arrangement, the feeling was one of unity and co-operation.

There was a sadness and sense of loss in both groups when they came to an end.

[Ending] is upsetting...its like we are a big group and we are leaving, splitting (J2).

We all got close and now in school we're not going to get any closer...we're never going to see them...and when we want to get close to them we don't see them which is quite sad (J1).

The members of the group had become attached to each other and, to a certain extent, to their facilitators.

This attachment was different from when the boys were in a gang, playing football or hanging around town when, as Male 4 pointed out above, the attachment was largely based around action and future action and linked to the maintenance and creation of an acceptable image. Gang type attachments were based on negative strokes, power and image maintenance and as such did not fulfil the basic human need for real, intimate human contact. The attachments that started in the therapy groups were at a 'real self' and emotional level. Masks were being dropped, pain and fear expressed and support given and sought. Positive strokes were exchanged and 'I'm OK, you're OK' life positions developed. As attachments developed so did trust and intimacy and so vulnerability could be shown. Also, a small part of their attachment needs were being met through the groups, hence reducing the angry feelings associated with grief and loss. The sadness expressed at the end of the anger and the junior school groups made clear to me that boys did want intimacy and given a chance, would talk to each other rather than fight. 'The victims of cruelty and abuse in childhood can in fact develop the ability to feel at a later stage' (Miller, 1995, p137).

5.5.10 Meditation

MacGrath wrote about the need for teachers to ground themselves (1998, p23 and p98) and I have already explained how the therapist that led the anger group meditated and how I used meditation

techniques in order to prepare myself for the Phase One interviews and the Phase Two groups (see p106). Each drama lesson was started with a few minutes of meditative breathing, sometimes accompanied by visualisations. The feedback in the end of year review interviews was overall positive with the most negative comment being that it was 'boring'. One of the positives was the calming and relaxing effect the students felt it had:

If I was angry when I was coming into the room it made me really calm down and I relaxed when I was doing it...just sitting there and thinking and everything and relaxing for a while...when we are sitting down and closing your eyes...you can relax (DF6).

It offered time to settle, to review and to just be, before leaping into the next round of learning:

You were breathing in blue and you could hear everyone breathing in blue and you could hear they were taking in really deep breaths and I think it put everyone in a better mood as they all felt relaxed...it calmed people down and got them ready for what they were doing (DF2).

The body and brain are operating more efficiently if we are breathing deeply as it increases the oxygen to the brain.

The pupils I interviewed felt they were under pressure to achieve and to meet targets and pass exams and this stress was sometimes experienced as threatening; threat of failure, disapproval, punishment. As shown in Phase One, threatening situations were more likely to lead to conflict. If stress is reduced, so is the likelihood of staff and pupils stepping onto the Drama Triangle:

In a lesson, after you have had a test, or before a test, cos you're really tense cos you want to do well...so if you do your breathing it could help you calm down so you're not stressed by the test and you're not so nervous. Cos if you're nervous then you get a worse mark cos you want to do it quick to get it over and done with. But if you are trying to stay calm it is a lot easier cos you don't rush and you want to do your best to concentrate (DM4).

Time spent relaxing was not 'wasted' time, but increased mental efficacy, reduced potential conflict and reduced stress:

I don't really like school that much...so like you feel tense so you don't want to come but then [after breathing] you feel calm so you feel OK (DM4).

Phase One and Two showed that in any class there were likely to be a number of pupils experiencing losses or threatening situations in their lives. Meditation relieved the stress of the associated feelings at these times:

If you're under loads of stress I found it helpful a lot of times cos we have it at the end of the day and if you've been through a lot of stuff and if you have the breathing and you've got loads of stress, you just get away...it really gets rid of that stress that's been happening all through the day...I just forget all the bad stuff that was making me unhappy (DM12).

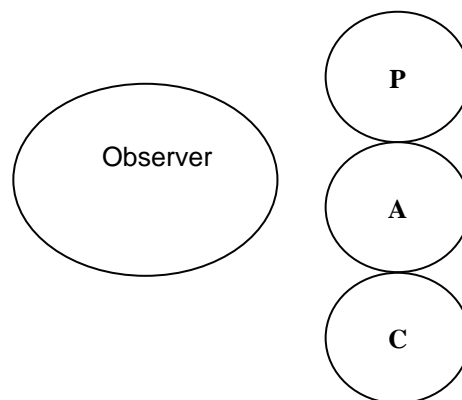
Meditation was a way of starting again each lesson by letting go of emotions which might have been carried forward from the previous lesson or break:

If you've had a really bad day or a fight or something it calms you down (DM10).

By learning to focus on the breath, the pupils were practising awareness of their internal processes and even if they noticed a thought or feeling, they were encouraged to let it pass without acting it out.

Emergent TA theory explained this as using the Observer role which is 'the capacity to witness our own experience' or 'awareness of our own awareness' (Law, 2004, p99).

Diagram 8 – The Observer Role



If Parent and Child are the historical store houses, or drawers in the archives of ourselves, and Adult is our here-and-now awareness, the Observer is the role which selects which Ego state to cathect. The Observer role is contacted through centring and breathing and is 'sustained consciously only for relatively brief periods' (Law, 2004, p102). With practice the period of contact can be lengthened. When we play Games we are out of awareness, and to stop playing we need to regain our Adult here-and-now awareness. The meditation techniques I have described are easily learnt and promote self-reflective

awareness, or, in TA terms enable people to cathect (access or move to) their Adult Ego State (see Model 3, p266).

It [is]...a chance to concentrate...it gives you a chance to see how you feel (DF14).

5.5.11 Check-in and Circle Time

Each class behaved differently and in one class the group of boys were reluctant to go beyond identity maintenance. When someone tried to speak about their feelings, there was a subtle mockery that prevented it from happening again. However, other classes did engage in emotional processing to varying degrees. When external events were so powerful that they raised strong emotions, the processing was most focused and congruent. For example, after September 11th, students shared their sadness, fears, anger and questions with each other. On a more personal level, when one boy was off school as his baby sister had been still born, the discussion was very moving. One of the girls opened the discussion by saying she did not know what to say to him when he returned. This led into a discussion, in Adult, about what they would need in the same situation, how they were going to ask him what he needed (a recognition that his needs were not the same as theirs), which led on to people disclosing their own losses, reactions and needs. I listed in my field notes:

His baby sister was still born...[another's] parent with Multiple Sclerosis, one dying of cancer, grandparents dying and one kid who was with her grandparent at the moment of death, another girl how she had seen her step-dad (no longer around) go for her mum with a knife when she was only 1...some people with relatives dying as we spoke so we asked what they wanted from others. Really warm atmosphere...felt open and non-judgmental...one had a cousin in hospital who had died, another was worried that her nan was dying... I have been with this group for 6 weeks now, their form tutor is one of those who went on the TA101 and so is supportive in that way too.

This lesson confirmed that in any one class there were a number of children who had suffered a loss or a threat of loss. It also confirmed that given the right conditions children in school can empathise, support and care for each other and that boys can leave the hegemonic image of masculinity to one side.

The students raised a number of points in the end of year review interviews. The first was that talking did indeed act as a release which was valuable to them:

It was handy cos I wanted to get it all off my chest. If I had something really bad happen...it was like getting it out...I could get it off my chest and tell somebody (DM12).

Circle Time released stress caused by school: 'We used to tell...how we feel, if we had a test or something...it just helped to get it out into the open' (DM13). Which in turn helped them focus on their school work: '[It] helps to give you a clear mind and get everything out of your system to be able to do your exams' (DM13).

A number of pupils said they found check-in supportive: 'Everyone was more helpful and understanding' (DM12). Pupils were able to empathise and listen with an 'I'm OK, you're OK' attitude:

I got to know more people and I feel, even if 'oh, I don't like them' get to like them more cos you get to know how they feel (DF7).

As soon as pupils accepted, empathised and supported each other, the risk of conflict was reduced, which enabled secure attachments to develop, thus reducing the need for destructive emotional acting out.

Pupils began to expose their 'real' selves and to see others drop their masks (see Model 6, p270):

You know what everybody is thinking so you know what they are like (DM4).

We learnt to speak freely to each other about how we feel...it helps if you know how people feel (DM13).

Pupils identified an improvement in their relationships with each other:

You know how people feel, if you've upset someone (DF7),

You let your feelings out if you're in a bad mood and your friends come over and annoy you then they know if you're in a good or bad mood so they don't mess with you (DM8),

And with staff:

It's nice to know how teachers feel (DM13).

The staff who led the lessons found it helpful too:

Circle time really did work...it did help them off-load and say: 'I'm not feeling very good at the moment' cos of whatever, so I am aware of it...at least I can be sensitive to that (SF17).

Talking in front of other people built confidence:

It means you're not embarrassed to speak out to people again and again and again, it's not that embarrassing after a while (DF6),

and was an automatic way of getting positive strokes and building self-esteem:

It was a time when the quiet people in our class...they could say something...they don't usually get a word in edgeways (DF2).

You feel like everyone is listening and not just their minds wondering off (DF7).

For some students check-in was a place to be listened to when they were not listened to at home:

Not keep it all in...just let it out...like all the feelings...at home your mum is always busy and stuff (DF9).

For others, the behaviours learnt in circle time helped relationships at home:

It helps me talk to my mum and dad when I get home from school...doing it in front of everyone gave me more confidence to tell my parents (DM13).

Gender differences were raised confirming Phase One findings:

Girls are always sharing secrets...but boys, they don't seem to tell anyone (DF2).

JL Would you normally talk to people about how you feel?
Pupil No (DM5).

Although what Drama Female 2 says is normally true, due to the way masculinity is constructed, behaviour changed in circle time. Drama Male 5 did not normally talk about his feelings, but in check-in he did.

Finally, it was suggested that breathing time and check-in should be used more widely throughout the school:

I think every class should do it...just for a few minutes before the lesson starts cos otherwise people who are being naughty in the lesson before, then they are going to be naughty in the lesson that comes after (DF9).

Meditation and circle time offered a 'fresh start' at the start of each lesson which helped the atmosphere and learning:

If check-in and breathing happened in registration it would help everybody, cos if you want to tell it and get it off your chest, people might understand and you might understand people more (DM12).

Check-in allowed chance to see people's 'real' selves, to build relationships, trust and attachments and to develop self-awareness, ownership and self-esteem (see also Cooper et al, 2000, p64).

5.6 CONCLUSION

Phase Two triangulated what was discovered in Phase One. Pupils who had been excluded had suffered loss or were under threat of loss and this gave rise to the emotions of bereavement. Anger was the presenting emotion in males as this was an acceptable part of their mask of masculinity, but the anger was also a shield for more vulnerable emotions. Power was also part of the construction of masculinity and the more threatened boys felt the more they needed to assert their power. It was confirmed that staff did contribute to creating exclusion incidents by their methods of communication and the way they used power.

Phase Two has also found that staff and pupils could change given the right information, practice and environment. Transactional Analysis provided a language which was simple enough for everyone to understand and it was possible to teach its concepts to adults and children alike. Self-awareness was necessary for growth and could be gained through talking, listening, focused breathing and training. Conflict was reduced when dialogues were established using an Adult-Adult, 'I'm OK, You're OK', problem solving, information seeking language and attitude. Staff acted as role models and so the onus was on staff to look at their own psychological and emotional processes.

Boys talked about their emotions once safety, attachment and trust had been established. Masculinity was found to be a constructed identity which defended the 'real' self. Talking allowed the 'real' self to be revealed which allowed relationships to become based on caring and empathy, rather than competition and conflict. Talking and creative expression acted as releases for emotions which reduced conflict and helped students focus in school.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSION

The research began with the aim of questioning the causes of exclusion and why it was mainly boys who were excluded. It explored definitions of 'deviance', gender' and 'exclusion' and identified behaviours which led to exclusion in the research school. The school *was* found to contribute to both the construction of gender and behaviour which led to exclusion incidents. Pupils *did* construct their gender identity in school and given the right conditions, most were able to consciously articulate their gender behaviours and their reasons for behaving in a way which led to exclusion. Some students did exclude themselves by withdrawing either physically, mentally or emotionally, and home life and life outside school was seen to have an impact on behaviour in school. I have presented evidence of behaviours which lessen the need for exclusion; these included self-awareness, emotional literacy and the use of positive transactions. Finally, the research showed that behind every exclusion incident was a loss or the threat of a loss which actually, or potentially harmed the students' sense of safety, security and/or identity, thus preventing self actualization.

6.1 CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY

The research confirmed reports that it was mainly boys who were excluded (Halpin, 1997; Raphael Reed, 1999; Blyth and Milner, 1996) and agreed with previous research that gender identity is indeed constructed with reference to the hegemonic norms (Connell 1995; Mills, 2001; Renold, 2001; Swain, 2003). The behaviours identified in Lacey's Lads (1970) and Mac an Ghail's Macho Lads (1994, p44) were confirmed as being behaviours which supported this desired image of masculinity and which were seen by the school as deviant. However, the research also offered new insights for understanding deviance, masculinity and identity.

Much of the previous work on deviance in schools had focused on pupil behaviour and although this research gave evidence of inter pupil conflicts, it was found that more exclusions were caused as a

consequence of staff/pupil conflict. Students in the research identified teacher behaviours which they liked and disliked and these confirmed previous findings by researchers such as Burke and Grosvenor (2003), Woods (1977), Blishen (1969), Davies, (1984) and Hargreaves (1975). I argued that some teachers supported the power based image of hegemonic masculinity and that others initiated and/or escalated interactions which led to exclusion. Deviance was not located within the individual but was the product of interactions with another person.

Angelides developed four causal theories of deviance (2000, p58), and the research expanded on this to include two other categories, 'transactional' and 'emotional'. 'Transactional' causes differed from 'behavioural' causes (p29) as they concerned a dynamic between self and other. Angelides argued that the behavioural causes of exclusion could be remedied by teachers modifying pupils' behaviour. This positioned the teacher as being good and pupil as bad. The concept of 'transactional' causes arose from the finding that both parties were equally responsible for the outcome of their transactions. The research showed that if each person worked on gaining awareness of their own Games, life positions and transactions then it was possible to change one's own behaviour and in so doing alter the dynamic of the transaction. In contrast to much previous work on deviance I have integrated the pupils' views of teachers as well as the teachers' views of pupils and used TA as a model for understanding how teachers as well as pupil cause deviant behaviours.

The concept of 'Transactional' causes explains how conflict was generated and perpetuated *in the present moment*. I have shown how, at the moment of the exclusion incident, the parties involved were protecting their 'real' self. I have offered a model for understanding how identity protects the 'real self' (p223 and Model 5, p269). Identity was constructed in an attempt to ensure security, belonging and acceptance. For boys this meant maintaining a 'hard' persona which ensured that their masculine identity was acceptable to their peers. Students felt that teachers were fighting to maintain their own identity as a 'good' teacher.

The discourse of Transactional Analysis was found to be useful as a research method and an analytic tool. It successfully showed that exclusion incidents were moments in time when the players were out of here-and-now awareness and into the game of the Drama Triangle (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p236). Once on the Drama Triangle, negative strokes, which communicated unhealthy life positions, were exchanged and complimentary transactions, either Controlling Parent-Rebellious Child, or Rebellious Child-Rebellious Child allowed the Game to continue until somebody 'won'. The 'winner' was defined in terms of power. In pupil-pupil conflict the student who was physically strongest 'won', and in staff-student interactions, the staff eventually 'won' by using their institutional power to have the pupil excluded. However, as all positions on the Drama Triangle entailed a discount of self or other (Stewart and Joines, 1996, p173-187) both players were left feeling bad, so at a psychological level, nobody was the winner and the relationship was harmed.

The research went beyond the moment of the exclusion incident and the *presenting* behaviours, and explored the underlying or *historical causes*. I found that nearly all of the pupils who were excluded were living with, or had lived with losses to their safety and/or security. Losses included actual loss through death, loss of a person through serious illness or divorce as well as loss of safety due to domestic violence. I used Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1954) and Reasoner's Five Steps to Self-Esteem (1982) to argue that all of the students in the research were struggling to find the safety and security they needed in order to engage meaningfully in learning. The research showed that the more serious the losses, or the more losses experienced, the more likely the student was to find it difficult to focus in school. I argued that this was partly due to the fact that students could not progress to self-actualisation (Maslow 1954) until their more fundamental needs were met. I also argued that all the losses and/or threats of loss caused the child to experience the emotions of bereavement (Worden, 1991 and 1996; Hyslop Christ, 2000; Kubler-Ross 1997; Stroebe, 1993). The research showed that these losses or threats of loss threatened the young person's attachments (Bowlby, 2000 and 2003) which in turn affected

their level three needs for belonging and their level two needs for security and predictability, which again prevented movement towards purpose, competence (Reasoner 1982) and self-actualisation (Maslow, 1954).

'Emotional' causation differs from Angelides' definition of 'psychological causation' which framed the child as somehow maladapted and immature. On the contrary, the research showed that pupils were surviving as best they could whilst living in often unsafe or insecure conditions. This research showed that, as a result of the losses or threats of loss, emotions were present in the students which were triggered before and/or during the exclusion incident and it was these emotions which led them to behave in the way that they did. This study also showed that when out of awareness, in a stressful situation, pupils projected aspects of their own shadow (Wilber, 2001, p80) onto the other person in the exclusion incident (Greenhalgh, 1994, p311).

Transference (Greenhalgh, 1994, p311) was another psychoanalytic concept which proved to have validity in school. The interviews and the junior school work showed how the emotions felt about the perpetrator(s) of the threat could be transferred onto other people or objects. Although transference can be positive, in exclusion incidents, when the situation was experienced as threatening, pupils flashed back to the more ongoing or serious threatening situation and then transferred their negative feelings. The research found that transference was more likely to occur when the other person in the exclusion conflict was a teacher. This was because the teacher, a powerful adult, was a more likely to hook feelings generated by other powerful adults in the child's life. Therefore my definition of 'emotional' causation is not to do with psychological mal-adaptation, but rather describes the outpouring of emotions that were often historical as well as in the moment. The release of emotions occurred without the subjects being aware at the time of their root and cause.

Students who had been excluded spoke about how angry they had felt in the moment of the exclusion and many acknowledged that behind the anger lay other feelings. The research highlighted the need to express these emotions in order to feel some sort of release. The research found that anger was a permissible emotion in the repertoire of hegemonic masculinity, whereas fear, sadness, pain and other emotions considered to show vulnerability were not. Therefore, in conflict situations, the vulnerable emotions were converted into anger and projected outwards. Wilber confirmed that 'Sad' when projected is converted to 'Mad', and 'fear' to 'hostility' (Wilber, 2001, p89) and Klein and Winnicott added that adolescence is a time of anger and boundary testing (Winnicott, 1981, p232 and Klein, 1988, p57). The students in the research made the link between loss and anger which is acknowledged on the literature on bereavement (Worden, 1996, p62) and the boys and some girls described how they converted tears to rage. Previously only a few writers such as MacGrath (2000) and Greenhalgh (1994) had started to bring the knowledge gained from psychoanalysis into the realm of education.

This conversion of sad into mad (angry) led me to theorise that hegemonic masculinity and its behaviours acted as a defensive persona or identity. Hegemonic masculinity included the notion of behaviours that attributed power. I argued that these power based behaviours led to the Persecutor role on the Drama Triangle. However, I argued that this role was a projection of the Victim role played by the student in other situations, when they had less power. Traditionally the hegemonic image of femininity was more allied with the Victim role but the research showed that when the abuse at home was so violent, the girls left their Victim role at home and, like the boys, projected and transferred their feelings through the Persecutor role when they could.

I have shown how students sometimes introjected the behaviour of, usually, their same sex parent and then acted this out themselves at school. However, I have also shown how, given Carl Rogers' Core Conditions, pupils could gain awareness of these behaviours and if desired, change them. This contrasted essentialist notions of masculinity (Bly, 1991): masculine *identity* is not inherent and

unchanging, but is learned and introjected and then reconstructed in every transaction. Whether the *'real'* self was constructed or innate was not discussed during the research. The litmus test of this assertion that gender *identity* is constructed, was the study of three of the excluded females. They had introjected the behaviour of the males in their homes which they then acted out, thus proving that 'hard' behaviour could be learned.

The research argued against Biddulph (1999) who wrote that boys turned to gangs and each other to replace meaningful adult male attachments. I found that the need to attach went beyond gender. Without attachments it was impossible to move beyond Maslow's third level of needs towards fulfilment and self esteem. The construction of an acceptable identity which fitted hegemonic images of masculinity ensured a sense of belonging and social acceptance. However, teachers and other adults of either sex could become attachment figures if they provided Rogers' Core Conditions (1961). I have argued that gangs and peers did not provide attachment when the relationship was negotiated through identity management, as a genuine sharing of emotion was then impossible. True attachment was only possible when formed beyond identity through connection at the level of the 'real' self. Where primary attachments with care takers were broken or threatened, the students were in greater need of other secure attachments in order to help with their bereavement process (Bowlby, 2000, 2003).

To conclude, my major contribution to theory is an integration of psychoanalytic theory, work on loss and bereavement and sociological literature on gender construction and deviance. I have combined these theories and brought them into the field of education. The research recognised that pupils who had been excluded had all suffered a loss or a threat of loss either in the moment or in the recent or distant past, which threatened their attachments, their safety and/or security. (The research did not investigate students who had suffered a loss who were *not* excluded and this should form a further study). As a consequence of these losses or threats, students were unable to progress towards competence and self-actualization. Pupils wanted to speak about the emotions which arose from these losses but the

construction of masculine identity prevented it. As a consequence, complex emotions were converted into anger which was then projected and transferred in the heat of the exclusion incident. Exclusion incidents offered the opportunity to cathart emotion through displays of anger. I have confirmed that gender *identity* is constructed and have argued that it acts as a mask for the thoughts, feelings and behaviours which are common to all humans, which pupils referred to as the 'real' self. Behaviours which led to exclusions were also constructed in the moment as a result of negative transactions. Where teachers were involved they were often equally responsible for the escalation of a confrontation situation.

6.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO PRACTICE

One of the reasons I started the research was to find practical solutions for how to deal with deviant behaviours and I found very little in the traditional sociology of education literature on deviance which helped. However, fields such as emotional literacy, self-esteem and psychotherapy were useful. Transactional Analysis not only provided an analytic framework, but also provided a language and a theory which facilitated the process of change. TA was easily taught to students as young as eleven and allowed them to become aware of, and if desired, change their behaviour. Staff too found it accessible and useful on a personal and professional level. During the research, staff and pupils found that by giving 'warm fuzzies' (Steiner, 1977), and using Adult behaviours which communicated 'I'm OK, You're OK', they were able to diffuse conflict and solve problems. I was able to demonstrate that these conditions were as helpful in the whole class situation as they were between individuals and with small groups.

I have also shown that Rogers' Core Conditions (Rogers, 1961) and the TA concepts described above helped build trust and attachment in school situations, either in the one to one interview, the small group or the class situation. Once trust and attachment (Bowlby, 2000, 2003) were established, pupils were able to let go of their need for a defensive gender identity, which in turn allowed the boys to cathart their emotions through words rather than action. They were able to get beyond their anger to the more vulnerable feelings.

I have shown the importance of teachers modelling the behaviours they desire to promote in students, and that by owning and expressing feelings in an 'I'm OK, You're OK way', trust developed and pupils were able to introject these models of behaviour. I took Mosely's idea of circle time (1996) and combined this format with a therapeutic form of check-in. Pupils found that through this they were able to release emotion, gain understanding and empathy, increase self-esteem and receive support in a class situation. I was able to confirm the idea that emotional literacy is important to academic success and personal happiness (Steiner, 1997; Stein and Books, 1991; Orbach, 1999; Goleman, 1996). I demonstrated that emotional literacy could be taught through drama, circle time and teacher behaviour.

I found that the key to behaviour change was self-awareness and that staff and pupils gained self-awareness through understanding and practising the use of TA. I found that meditation exercises (Law 2003; Wilber, 2001; Kornfield, 1994) could be used in schools and had the effect of relaxing and refocusing pupils. Meditation allowed pupils to use the Observer role (Law, 2004) to cathect their Adult Ego state and behaviours. They gained awareness of their physical, mental and emotional states and gave them an internal 'time -out' (Illsely-Clarke 1999). I showed that the mediums of drama, art and music offered a form of emotional catharsis and built trust and self-awareness.

The research showed how change occurred over time, as attachments developed and awareness grew. Lack of time meant that developing attachments were cut short and the process stopped. The research found that in the classroom, time pressures led to increases in the stress levels of staff and pupils, which then led to negative transactions and broken attachments, which then hindered teaching and learning (Model 2 below). 'To feel safe, pupils need to feel secure in their attachments to the teacher' (Greenhalgh, 1994, p36).

I also found that change grew organically from inside the individual and spread outwardly. The research process started from my own internal work, to the work I did with pupils on a one-to-one basis, to group work, to work that involved staff, others schools and a national network. My findings confirmed the ideas of Rogers and Berne who said that change could not be imposed from the outside; models can be offered,

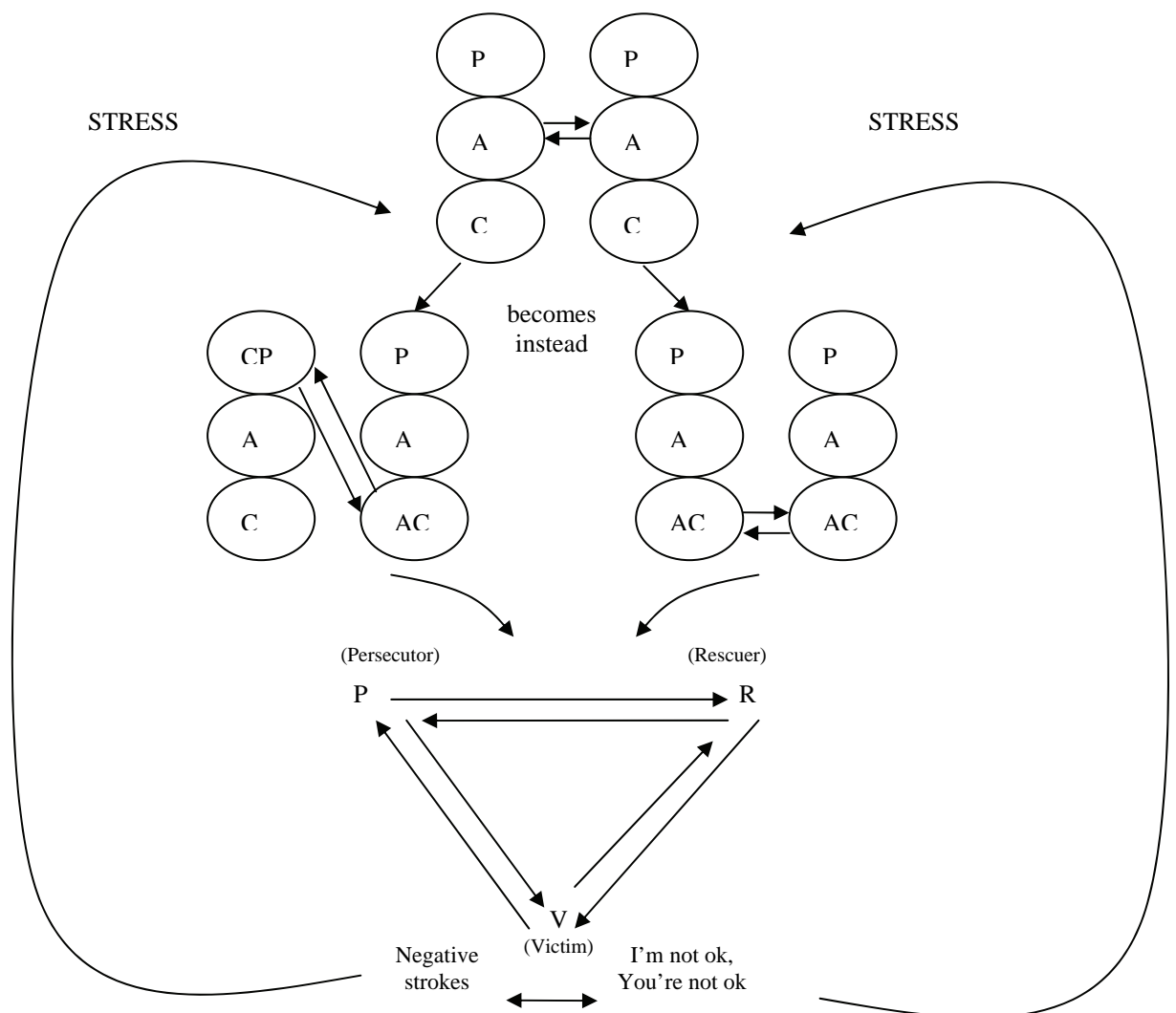
and helpful conditions provided, but the decision to change comes from the individual (Berne, 1964; Stewart and Joines, 1996; Rogers 1961).

As with theory, my major contribution to practice seems to be an integrative approach to working with deviance. All of the research methods I used drew on combinations of different pre-existing practises: my own therapy and training, meditation practices, therapeutic play techniques and drama teaching skills. Again, I broke down the barriers between these different fields and brought them into education where they worked easily and with positive effect. The methodologies and methods which I used to develop theory, themselves became part of that theory.

The following are a series of models which I hope clarify my key thoughts and theories. I put them here as they combine theory and practice.

Model 2 - Conflict Model

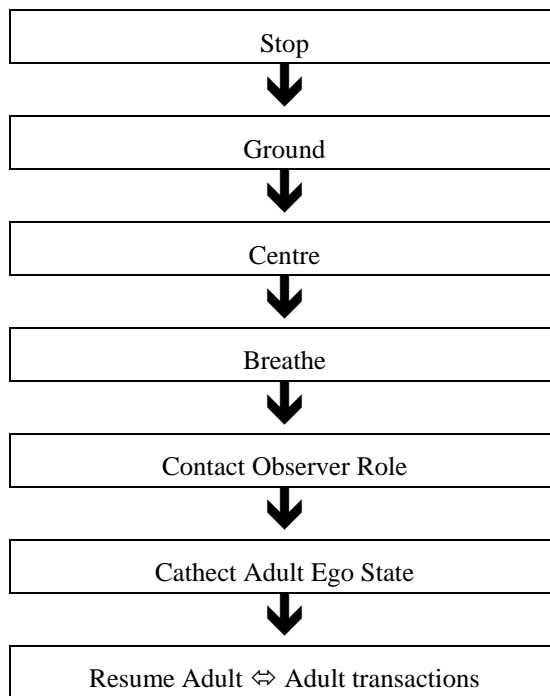
Under stress we are more likely to move out of here-and-now awareness and lose touch with our Adult Ego State and behaviours. Consequently we are likely to draw on the historical behaviours of either Controlling Parent or Adapted Child. Complementary transactions invite the other party to join us on the Drama Triangle which involves the exchange of negative strokes from an unhealthy life positions and a discount of self and others. This in turn increases the stress and continues the cycle until someone 'wins' the game. Staff can 'win' the game through their use of institutional power and students 'win' against each other through displays of power; either verbal or physical.



<p>Key: P = Parent A = Adult C = Child CP = Controlling Parent AC = Adapted Child</p>

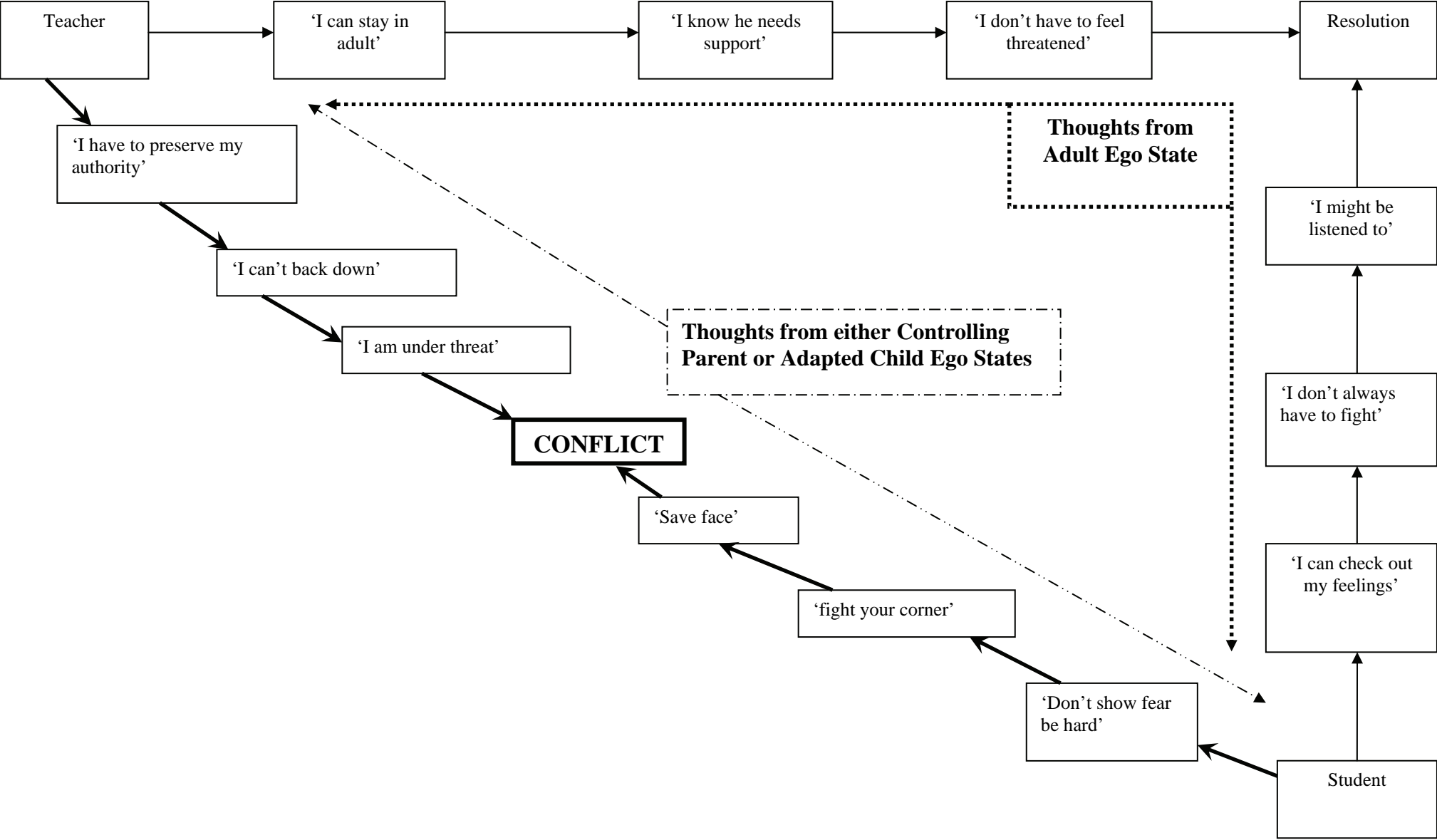
Model 3 - Cathecting the Adult Ego State

As soon as one senses a conflict starting, one can momentarily stop transacting. It is then possible to ground oneself in one's body and environment and to locate one's sense of self in the body (Law 2004). By using meditation breathing techniques it is then possible to move into the Observer Role which allows one to cathect The Adult Ego state. Once in the Adult Ego State it is possible to use Adult behaviours which will either cross the other person's transactions and end communication or will draw the other person into Adult to Adult communication. Once Adult-Adult communication is resumed, problems can be solved.



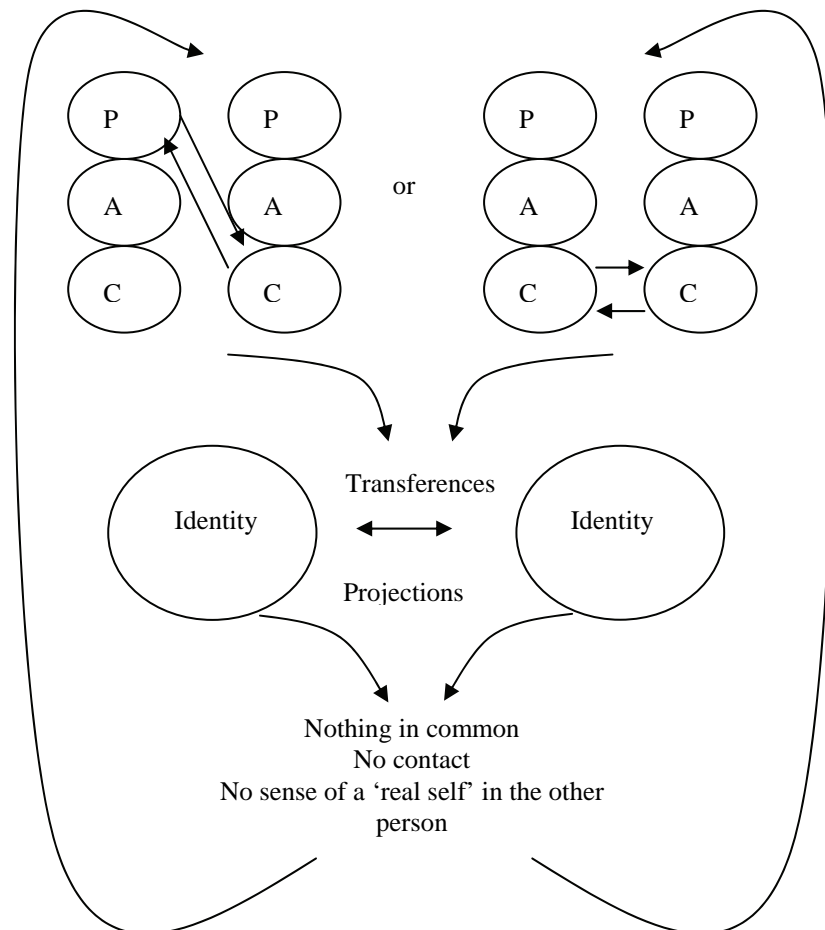
Model 4- Teacher/Student Transactions

The following model gives examples of the kind of thought processes that can lead to conflict when teacher identity comes into contact with male identity. When conflict occurs, both teachers and students are acting from a place of fear and so behave defensively. When Adult has been cathected it is possible to change one's internal dialogue to include Permissions ('statements which allow rather than restrict healthy behaviour', Stewart and Joines, 1997).



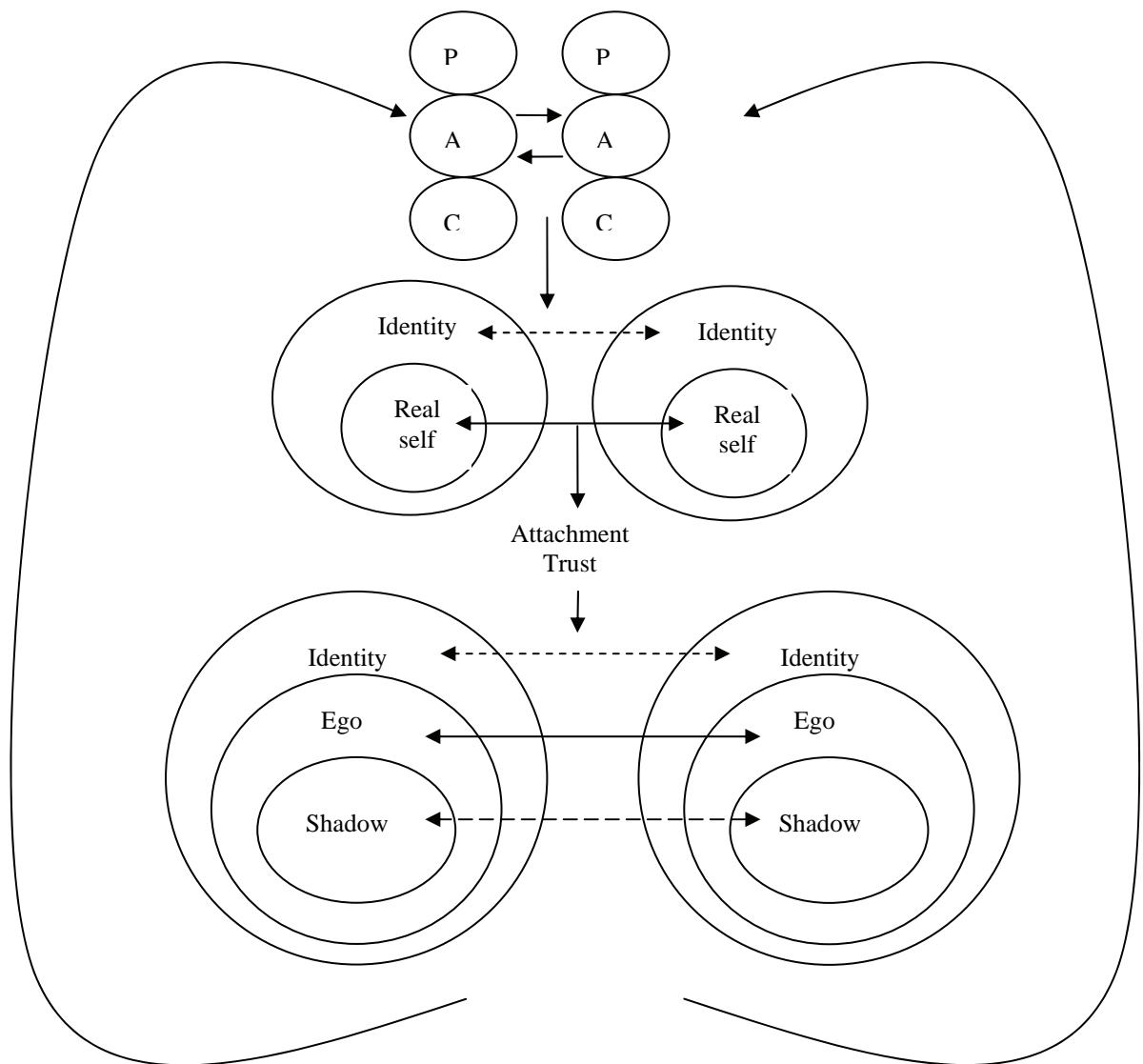
Model 5 – Parent and Child Functional and Structural Ego States and their relation to Identity.

When out of awareness, we base our interactions on historical information, whether from Parent or Child. This prevents us from seeing beyond the identity of the other person as we are projecting and transferring our own thoughts, feelings and perceptions onto them. The more entrenched the projections and transferences, the more we only focus on identity, so the less we have in common with them. This distance leads us to increase the potency of our own constructed identity as a protective strategy which then pushes us further away from Adult and so the cycle continues.



Model 6– Adult Behaviours, Ego states and the 'Real' Self.

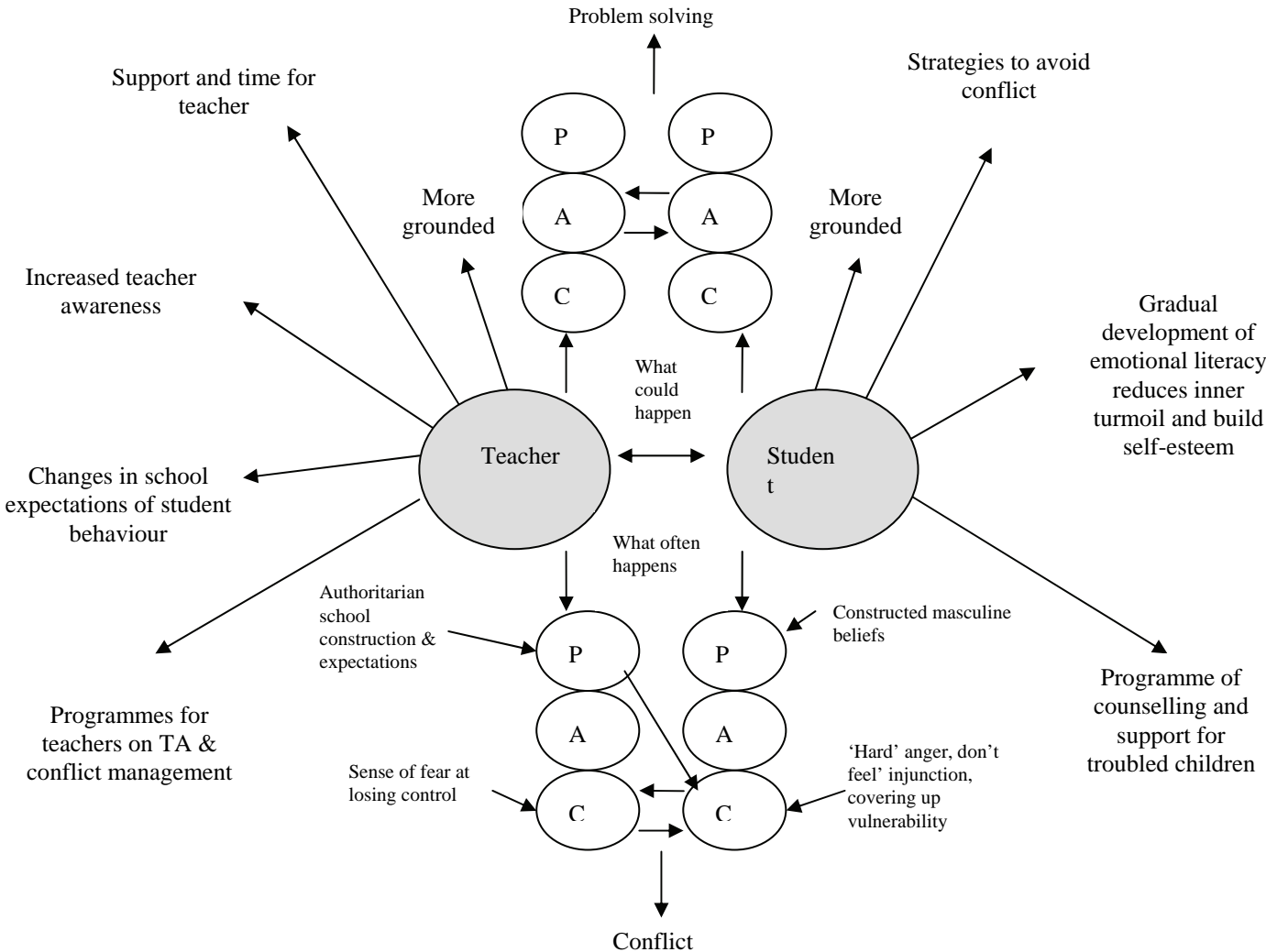
When in Adult we are in the here-and-now, gathering information about the other person. The more information we have about them, the more able we are to see beyond identity. As we see beyond identity we find out things about the person's 'real' self. The more we see the other person as 'real', the easier it is to trust them and build attachment. As attachment develops, it is possible for both parties to explore aspects of their own shadow, thus reducing the amount of projection and transference making it easier to remain in the here and now.



Model 7 – Combined Internal and External Strategies for Conflict Management

Teachers/students conflicts occur when Adapted Child and/or Controlling Parent behaviours are used. These behaviours are linked to the construction of identity and disguise 'real' feelings of vulnerability. As well as using the internal processes described in Model 3, the school can implement a number of strategies, which encourage Adult awareness and minimise stress.

Model 7 – Combined Internal and External Strategies for Conflict Management



Model 8- Levels at which Staff and Pupils can tackle 'Deviance'

This final model shows three levels at which people in schools can and should be working with deviance. Ideally, all three levels should be worked on simultaneously and continuously.

Interpersonal work to be practised moment by moment during interactions

- Transactional Analysis: -
 I'm OK, You're OK
 Positive Strokes
 Adult – Adult
- Active Listening
- Owning
- Rogers' Core Conditions

Personal work on historical influences carried out with an attachment figure

- Awareness of self
- Expression of thoughts and feelings
 through talking or creative expression
- Loss & bereavement counselling

Observer work to be practised moment by moment on one's own

- Grounding
- Centring
- Breathing

The Models above serve to act as a summary and a visual representation of the practical and theoretical contributions that the research has made to the field of Education. I hope that they can be used by staff, to inform their own practice and to change the way that they interact with pupils. I also hope that they provide a clarification of how one's internal psychological state can affect not only one's own behaviour, but that of someone else. Finally, I believe that the Models and concepts behind them could and should be shared with students so that they can begin to understand and own their behaviour.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

The theories offered above were triangulated and validated within the research through the construction of two different phases, one exploratory and one action research. The action research phase tested the emergent themes in different settings, such as the junior school, small groups and whole class situations. However, the ideas would benefit from being tested through practice in more diverse settings. The schools with which I was involved were predominantly white and the ideas would benefit from being tested in culturally diverse schools to understand the effect of race, religion and ethnicity on the findings. Similarly, it would be interesting to test the ideas with younger and older students as well as those in special schools or units. Davies (1999) has indicated that schools with a greater degree of democracy and a genuine respect for pupil voice, with, for example, functioning and active school councils, existing peer mediation schemes and where pupils have genuine power and voice, are more able to minimise the need for exclusion. Therefore, it would be of value to investigate whether such schools already use these theories and practices and if not, the effect that a democratic school ethos has on the formation of trust and attachments, the effect that this has on pupils coping with losses or threats of loss and how teacher and pupil identity are constructed.

I focused on pupils' perspectives of staff, although in Phase Two I interviewed some staff directly. However, it would be valuable to investigate the stresses and losses that staff are under in order to understand their projections and transferences. I investigated the construction of gender identity in pupils but I feel it would be useful to investigate further the construction of teachers' gender identity and the construction of 'teacher' identity. I have a sense that construction of the 'teacher' identity and the maintenance of that identity was a significant factor in the construction of exclusion incidents and other staff/pupil conflicts.

I also believe, but did not have enough time to test out the idea, that positive transactions between staff and pupils provided a model for pupil behaviour which could then be introjected and used between students. One of the adult interviewees stated that the transactions between management and teachers had an impact on staff and student transactions and this view is worthy of further investigation. I believe that in order for

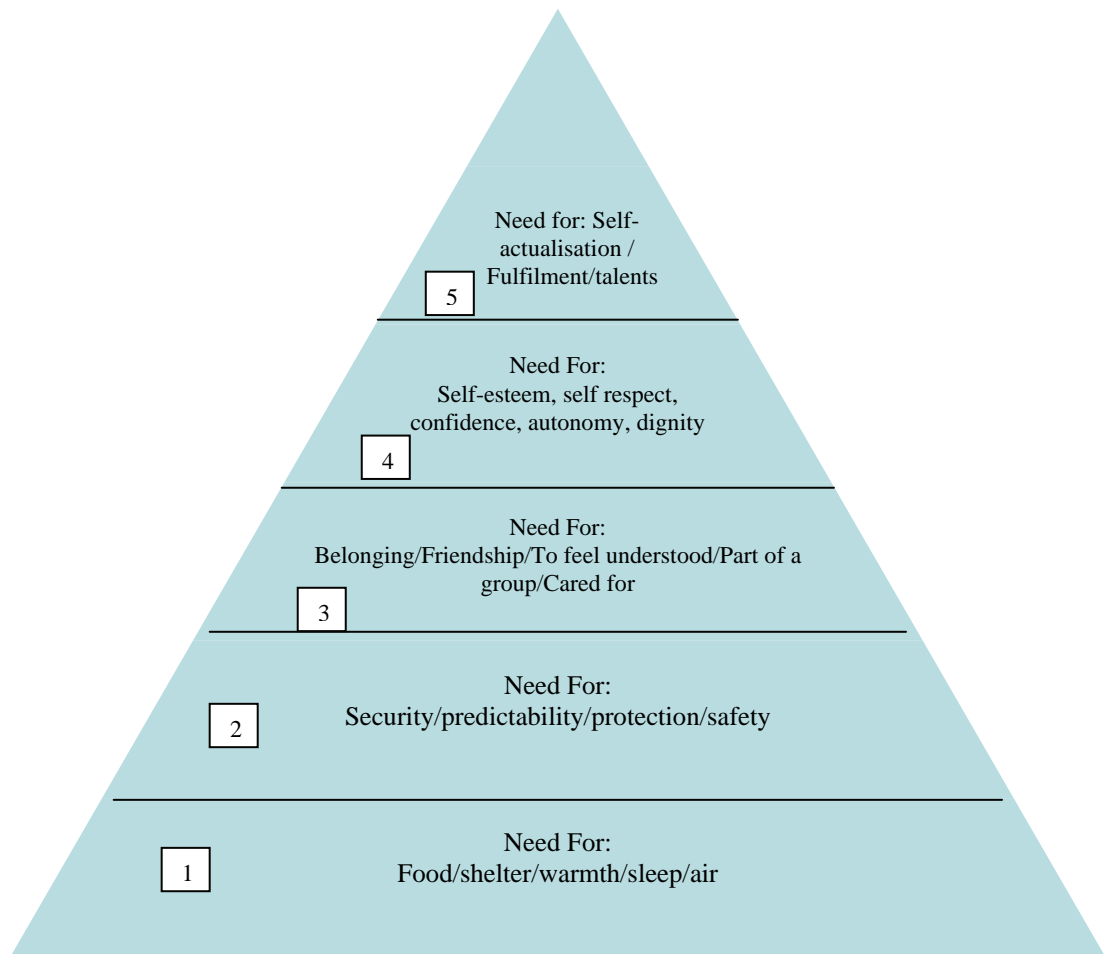
students to really internalise 'I'm OK, You're OK' life positions and transactions, the school needs to model this from the top down.

Although the contributions this research has made to theory are important, I would really like to see if the methods described and the contributions to practice *are* of use to other teachers. Could check-ins be used more widely in lessons? Could meditation techniques be used by staff and pupils in other areas of the school curriculum? Could the emotional literacy, self-awareness and conflict resolution work I did in drama be given a place in PSD and citizenship as a way of experiential learning? What would be the long term effect on results and behaviour of initiatives like these? What would happen if excluded pupils were all regularly listened to in the way I described? What would happen if instead of seeing deviant behaviours as bad, we saw them as a sign that somewhere in their lives the students were themselves victims and under threat?

I also feel that a word of caution is needed. In order to model Roger's Core Conditions, an 'I'm OK, You're OK' life position, and to be able to communicate from Adult using positive strokes, we as adults, have to be aware of our own baggage. Even if we say the right things, and listen using active listening techniques, if we are not OK with ourselves and others, and are not aware of our own thoughts, sensations and emotions, then we will project and transfer these out of awareness and the students will sense that our words and actions do not match our internal state. Two of the adults I interviewed argued that Initial Teacher Training ought to include work on self-awareness and development and I agree with this. I hope that I have shown clearly how easy it is to act out of awareness and that this is more likely to happen when under pressure. I have shown that it is when we are unaware that problems in our relating occur.

The process of change, at an individual and institutional level is one which I have only touched on but which I feel is worthy of further exploration. At a time when many teachers feel disempowered, my own experience was that I could have an impact, make a difference, make a change, but only if I started with myself first.

APPENDIX 1 – MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS



APPENDIX 2 – RULES FOR CHECK IN AND OUT

Check -in and out were used as formal ways to start and end the drama lessons and the junior school group. Although all groups negotiated and discussed their own set of rules, what follows was common to all of them:

- We will go round the circle so everyone has a chance to speak.
- We will use language which is respectful of ourselves and others.
- We will listen quietly to others and only talk when it is our turn.
- When it is my turn I can say 'pass' if I don't want to speak.
- I will talk only about myself and for myself.
- We will talk only about what we are feeling now in this moment. If I want to explain why I am feeling that way I can, but no names should be used when talking about other people, they should be unidentifiable to others
- If the group wants to continue with a discussion after we have been round the circle, we will vote on it (an example of this was after September 11th when a lot of pupils needed to process their feelings).

We focused on stating the rules in a positive way so that they were permissive rather than restrictive. Part of my role as teacher was to teach these skills by modelling, repetition, and if necessary by putting in boundaries with consequences if they were broken.

APPENDIX 3 – THE JUNIOR SCHOOL PROJECT

What follows is a more detailed description of how we conducted the junior school project. Each week we used a set of regular activities, these included:

Check-in

We passed newspaper and crayons round the circle and each of us would scribble or draw a picture. The idea of this was to settle the children and to get them used to idea of drawing without it having to be 'good' at it. We encouraged quiet during this. After the 'scribble-in' we would check in by drawing our face showing how we felt. Again, we encouraged quiet attention during this. Once the drawing was finished we said our name and how we were feeling. For both of these activities we used just one sheet of paper to encourage the notion of sharing and allowing other people's space.

Rules and boundaries.

In the first session we decided as a group on the rules. What we came up with was very like the rules for check-in (Appendix 2) but the discussion about how people felt and why they wanted the rules was necessary. As a staff, we had decided that instead of noticing bad behaviour we would look for good and so whenever we saw someone doing what they should be we gave them a thumbs up and a genuine smile. We tried to do this as often as we could, to each other as well. Staff and pupils agreed to follow the same rules and the boys took delight in picking us up if anyone of us did slip into teacher mode making value statements such as 'that's good' rather than asking if it was OK to tell people what we liked which is what we had agreed to do. Rules were restated at the start of each session and were constantly reinforced by all.

Leaving

The very last thing we did every week was to stand in a circle, holding hands, passing a hand squeeze round the circle. One of us staff would say stop and whoever had the squeeze would put it in his pocket, take it home and start 'pass the squeeze' off next week! If anyone had been particularly vulnerable we gave them the squeeze to take home as a metaphor for the warmth of the group. The other aim was to bring us together, making physical contact in a safe way, and ending quietly as we had started.

The weekly themes were as follows. At any point during the activities pupils were encouraged to talk about what their work meant to them.

WEEK 1 – 'Group Process'

Establishing a routine and the rules, introducing ourselves, explaining the work of the group. The practical work involved drama team games and making a huge group painting on a strip of wallpaper which ran the length of the floor. We thought that starting with a group picture would provide a common focus and 'drawing is usually the quickest and easiest medium to introduce' (Benson, 1987, p213).

WEEK 2 - 'Myself Now'.

The boys drew around each other's bodies on a piece of wallpaper. They then filled their own body outline with paint, pen, glue, material, bark, shells and so on, in a way that they felt said something about themselves.

WEEK 3 - 'My Memories'

Memories were represented in different layers of coloured salt in a sealed jar. The pupils coloured the salt with chalk and therefore had control over the choice and density of the colours and the way in which they were layered.

At the end of the above three sessions we would invite people to share their work – as much or as little as they wished...always trying to evoke what the drawing meant to its creator (Benson, 1987, p217). The focus was not on process or product but on the symbolic meaning it had for the individual.

WEEK 4 - 'Anger'.

'Since feelings always have a physical expression, it is valuable to give practical ways of discharging feelings...use a cushion to kick, punch, jump on..' (Benson, 1987, p182). The boys started off by throwing water filled balloons at an outside wall and shouting as they did so. Then we moved inside to a pile of empty shoe boxes that the boys had chance to kick over in turn and then they had their own box to jump on, tear up, kick. We then moved to a bigger space where there were a variety of drums to bang and cushions to shout into. Finally, to bring the energy down, we moved back into the smaller room and used clay to either splat, squeeze or to symbolise the cause of the anger. It was during this last phase that pupils talked to each other about their experiences.

WEEK 5 - 'Endings and Future'.

We had drawn roads on a long piece of paper for each pupil for them to draw images of their past, present and imagine/wished for future on. We had brought the group painting from session one to be cut up as a symbolic ending. Each child was given a portfolio to take this and all their other work home in if they wanted. We had then planned a more lengthy check out to process the ending, followed by a story. However, things did not go as planned (see p248).

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Web Sites

Antidote: The Campaign For Emotional Literacy

www.antidote.org.uk

emotionalliteracy@antidote.org.uk

National Emotional Literacy Interest Group (NELIG)

<http://www.nelig.com>

Department For Education

www.mindbodysoul.gov.uk

www.dfes.gov.uk/hsht/contents/htm

