

UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION COMMUNICATION
AND LANGUAGE SCIENCES

DOCTORATE IN EDUCATION
THESIS

THE SOCIAL EXPERIENCE FOR PUPILS WITH MODERATE
LEARNING DIFFICULTIES IN UNITS ATTACHED TO
MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

BARBARA ANN ROBERTS
STUDENT NUMBER: 855007539

22ND MAY 2005

NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

204 06359 0

Thesis V41

UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, COMMUNICATION
AND LANGUAGE SCIENCES

I certify that all materials in this submitted work which is not my own work has been identified and that no material is included which has been submitted for any other award or qualification

Signed: *B. A. Roberts*

Date: *17th August 2005.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
Abstract	1-2
Introduction	3-10
Chapter 1 A Review of the Literature	11-35
Chapter 2 Research Questions and Study Design	36-41
Chapter 3 Methods	42-84
Chapter 4 Findings 1: Pupils' Views of School Experience	85-111
Chapter 5 Findings 2: The Nature and Pattern of Peer Relationships	112-129
Chapter 6 Findings 3: The Social Context	130-155
Chapter 7 Conclusions: Social Outcomes and Interpretation	156-180
Chapter 8 Implications	181-191
References	192-222
Appendix A	223
Research Contract- Issues of Confidentiality and Consent	224
Parental Consent Form	225
Appendix B	226
Interview Schedules: Areas of Focus	227
Mainstream Head Teacher Interview Schedule	229
Interview Schedule for the Head Teacher of the Special School and Bases	230
Unit Pupils Interview Schedule	231-232
Mainstream Pupils Interview Schedule	233
Mainstream Teachers Interview Schedule	234
Unit Teachers Interview Schedule	235

LEA Participants Interview Schedule	236
Appendix C	237
Sample transcript of a one to one interview	238-239
Sample transcript: Unit 1 girls group interview	240-244
Sample transcript: mainstream pupils' group interview	245-249
Appendix D	250
Sample analyses conducted by researcher and independent judge	251-256
Tabulation of mainstream pupils' views of unit pupils' experience	257-258
Codes derived from analysis of transcripts of teachers' interviews	259-260
Coded mainstream teacher's interview transcript	261-263
Coded unit teacher's interview transcript	264-266
Tabulation of teacher responses	267-268
Appendix E	269
Completed Playground Observation schedule and analysis	270-271
Analysis of pupil contact and playtime activities	272
Completed classroom observation schedule and analysis	273-279

LIST OF TABLES and CHARTS

Table		Pages
Table 1	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to transition	87
Table 2	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to current experience	89
Table 3	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to lessons	93
Table 4	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to teachers	94
Table 5	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to playtimes	95
Table 6	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to friendships	100
Table 7	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to travelling to school	101
Table 8	Similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in relation to change	101
Table 9	Views of groups of mainstream pupils on unit pupils' experience of school	110
Table 10	Similarities and differences in outcomes for pupils in the two units when playing on the school playground	127
Table 11	Outcomes for pupils in joint lessons	128
Table 12	Features of the model as established in the two units	134
Table 13	Percentages of time pupils in Unit 1 are taught in separate and mainstream settings	138

Table 14	Percentages of time older pupils in Unit 2 are taught in separate and mainstream settings	139
Table 15	Percentages of time younger pupils in Unit 2 are taught in separate and mainstream settings	140
Table 16	Similarities and differences in organisational arrangements in the two units	141
Table 17	Attitudes to and perceptions of the unit, its staff and pupils as derived from documentation and interviews with teachers	153
Table 18	Attitudes of mainstream pupils to the unit, its staff and pupils	154

Chart		Pages
Chart 1	Activities of boys in Unit 1	113
Chart 2	Activities of boys in Unit 2	113
Chart 3	Activities of girls in Unit 1	114
Chart 4	Activities of girls in Unit 2	114
Chart 5	Numbers of social contacts of pupils in Unit 1	116
Chart 6	Observations of isolated play of pupils in Unit 1	116
Chart 7	Numbers of social contacts of pupils in Unit 1	116
Chart 8	Observations of isolated play of pupils in Unit 2	117
Chart 9	Social contact of girls in Unit 1 with fellow unit and mainstream peers	118
Chart 10	Social contact of girls in Unit 2 with fellow unit and mainstream peers	118
Chart 11	Social contact of boys in Unit 1 with fellow unit and mainstream peers	119
Chart 12	Social contact of boys in Unit 2 with fellow unit and mainstream peers	119
Chart 13	Social contact of pupils in Unit 1 with sub-groups of peers	121
Chart 14	Social contact of pupils in Unit 2 with sub-groups of peers	121
Chart 15	Social contact between unit pupils and near-age mainstream peers in contrast to all other groups	122
Chart 16	Social contact between unit pupils and mainstream peers at times other than when playing football	123

Abstract

This study is an investigation of the views of school experience of primary aged pupils 'included' within special units for children with moderate learning difficulties (MLD) in one Local Education Authority (LEA) located in the North East of England. The investigation is intended to illuminate aspects of what the author regards as a number of under-researched areas within the current policy context of inclusion. Through interviews with the pupils themselves, teachers and their mainstream peers the author seeks to paint a picture of the social experience of school of the pupils in the units and to evaluate the model of provision in terms of its effectiveness in delivering positive social outcomes for its intended beneficiaries. The author also seeks to account for the nature of social relationships between unit pupils and their mainstream peers, an issue which had been of concern to the researcher herself, a former unit teacher, and her pupils.

In case studies of two units, managed in partnership by a special school and two local primary schools, the author explores the views of a group of twelve Key Stage 2 pupils attending the two units. The unit pupils' perspectives of that experience, and in particular of their relationship with mainstream peers, are triangulated against the views of mainstream pupils, unit and mainstream staff and the researcher's observations. A second aspect of the research is the exploration of the social context in which pupils' relationships occur in each of the units. By relating comparative findings on the social contexts to the similarities and differences in outcomes for the two groups of pupils the author seeks to establish a link between the social context and pupils' friendship links with mainstream peers.

The author concludes that her findings confirm the hypothesis, supported by the earlier work of Sinclair-Taylor (1994) in her study of a unit in a mainstream secondary school, that the organisational response to the perceived needs of the pupils in the unit creates divisions between them and their mainstream peers and confers low status upon the members of the unit. This, in turn, negatively impacts upon the mainstream pupils' perceptions of unit members as potential friends and leads to their marginalisation. The author goes on to suggest that the particular model established in the two units, bases of the special school within mainstream primary schools, and the separate roles and responsibilities towards the pupils in the unit which developed for the unit and mainstream staff were a contributory factor in the lack of ownership of unit pupils by the mainstream school and their marginalisation. The author maintains that her findings have general implications for those adopting units as vehicles for the development of inclusive practice and for partnership work between special and mainstream schools.

Introduction

This study investigates the views of pupils 'included' within special units for pupils with moderate learning difficulties (MLD) in one Local Education Authority (LEA) in the North East of England. The investigation is intended to illuminate aspects of what the author regards as a number of under-researched areas within the current policy context of inclusion. Although now part of what Pijl, Meijer & Hegarty (1997) have declared to be a 'given' part of a 'global agenda', and in the midst of considerable advocacy (for example Ainscow, 1997; Barton, 1997; Booth et al., 2000; DfEE, 1997; Clark, Dyson & Millward, 1995; Dyson, 1990; Lipsky & Gartner, 1996; UNESCO 1994; Yell, 1998) for a 'more inclusive education system', relatively little research has been undertaken into the actual mechanisms through which this goal will be achieved (Dyson, Howes & Roberts, 2002). The lack of research evidence, it can be argued, reflects to some extent a lack of shared understandings between policy makers, advocates and practitioners of what 'inclusion' might mean in practice (Lunt & Norwich, 1999).

The extent of the challenge faced by those seeking to realise the goal of greater inclusion should not be underestimated, particularly when, as is currently the case, it is compounded by the need to balance this directive against other policy prerogatives, not least that of raising standards (Ballard, 1998; Black-Hawkins, 1999; Dyson & Millward, 2000; Gilborn & Youdell, 2000; Hunt et al., 2000; Kugelmass, 2001). The raising of standards for all by standardisation within 'a culture of performativity' (Lyotard, 1984), a common response in countries such as Canada, New Zealand, the USA, the UK and more recently Australia, has pushed schools towards some exclusionary practices and led to the marginalisation of children who are 'culturally, socially, physically, intellectually or emotionally different

from the 'norm' (Meadmore, 2002, p361). Such an emphasis on the academic coupled with the notion that 'one size fits all' has in the UK resulted in some highly prescriptive and narrowly focused curriculum strategies (National Literacy Task force, 1997; Numeracy Task Force, 1998). These not only ignore the diversity of population but restrict pedagogical response and in so doing are, it can be argued, barriers to the development of inclusive practices.

In this somewhat contradictory policy context, having accepted the principle of inclusion, schools are seeking to develop such practice 'within the spaces' left to them (Dyson, Gallannaugh & Millward, 2002) and to find ways wherever possible to resolve dilemmas. Such dilemmas have been a longstanding feature of attempts to amalgamate special and mainstream provision in pursuit of one integrated and non-discriminatory system that is capable of meeting the full range of pupil needs. It is within the context of such dilemmas and in the light of the absences in the empirical evidence that this study was undertaken.

In efforts to satisfy demands from various stakeholders to realise the aims and intended educational and social benefits of inclusion a number of organisational configurations have emerged. One such model of provision, that of a unit attached to a mainstream school, is considered to offer some particular advantages. The term 'unit', denoting self-containment and an element of detachment, is now somewhat dated and has generally been replaced by that of 'resourced' or 'enhanced provision'. Another term sometimes used is that of a 'base'. This usually implies an outreach facility or somewhere that pupils have access to resources. Although these forms of provision function somewhat differently, typically they take the form of a room or rooms providing a half-way house

between full inclusion and complete exclusion. They continue to be considered (DfES, 2003) able to offer a possible interim solution while mainstream schools strive to develop their capacity to include the full range of the pupil population. By continuing to provide access to specialist teaching and structured opportunities for mainstream educational and social access the learning needs of the pupil, it is argued, can be met and his or her experiences enhanced. At the same time the mainstream school, through example and experience of collaborative working, can develop its confidence and capacity to work with and support pupils with a wider range of needs.

Many local education authorities have, since the late 1970s, in their efforts to enhance provision, sought to foster relationships between the special and mainstream sectors in order to harness their respective strengths. The Green Paper (DfEE, 1997) and the recent Report on Special Schools (DfES, 2003) favour such a strategy and seek to promote a developmental role for special schools. The ‘experience and expertise’ previously concentrated in a small number of schools, it is suggested, might thus be more widely disseminated. One version of the unit model, that of a unit as a ‘base of a special school’, was believed by a number of LEAs (in Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas’ survey (1981) to offer some particular advantages and was ‘in some respects viewed as the ideal arrangement’ (p.80). It allowed for an appropriate level of mainstream experience determined to a considerable extent by individual needs.

A special centre is a flexible structure where such variation in needs can be easily handled. For example a newcomer can spend all his or her time within the centre but can easily transfer to the main school when judged appropriate.
(Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas 1981, p.80)

The ‘flexibility of exchange with the parent school’, that the on-going relationship with the special school offered, allowed for the possible assimilation with the host school and a

safeguard in case pupils met with unexpected difficulties and needed to return. Specialist support, back-up and ring-fenced resources would also be ensured under this arrangement and appeared to outweigh the acknowledged potential costs and working difficulties.

In 1994 the LEA which is the focus of this study, a small metropolitan borough in the North of England, adopted this policy as part of its strategy to achieve greater 'functional' integration of pupils with moderate learning difficulties. Such an approach was not altogether surprising as in 1986 the LEA had introduced unit provision for pupils with sensory impairments. 'Functional integration' was the level of integration specified as the aim of this initiative, denoting the intention to promote both educational and social links for pupils and differentiating it from other models where pupils were merely located on the same site or where pupils mixed only on social occasions.

Two units had been thus established, at either end of the Borough, in a local primary and first school. Well-resourced 'base' classrooms were set up in each with two teachers and a nursery nurse (NNEB). Each unit had places for up to 15 pupils who remained on the roll of the special school. A partnership was created between the special and mainstream schools. The special school, however, retained responsibility for all pupils in all areas other than health and safety. Access to mainstream classes for pupils placed in the unit was negotiated at the beginning of each academic year.

Analysis of documentation and interview data derived from discussions held with key LEA personnel concerning future developments suggested that units attached to mainstream schools was one of a number of options considered. The rationale offered by

informants for this approach resulted from a number of factors. These included their knowledge of the literature, other LEA examples and their own experience as being one which allowed for the retention of much of what was positive about special education (small groups, flexibility and specialist teaching), whilst offering 'appropriate' access to the benefits of mainstream provision. The evidence suggested there was an agreed perception that this form of provision not only satisfied a moral imperative to facilitate access to the mainstream for those previously denied this right and that it would also be effective in realising the intended benefits of integration. Such benefits included not only the eradication of negative outcomes of segregated provision such as isolation and stigma but also a number of positive outcomes which were to be accrued by both the disabled and their non-disabled peers (DES, 1978).

The evidence base for social and educational outcomes for pupils being educated in units was, at the time, mostly derived from inspections and surveys carried out by Her Majesty's Inspectorate. Hegarty Pocklington & Lucas, significantly, as far back as 1981, had noted that there was a dearth of such evidence

One is tempted to wonder why these examples of new practice were not more frequently followed in the development of special educational provision. One explanation may be found in the many other preoccupations of an education service responding to changes in society, the reorganisation of schooling, raising the school leaving age, developing new curricula and examinations.
(Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas, 1981, Foreword)

Very few additional studies have since been carried out. This research is intended to address some of the many remaining unanswered questions and hopes to contribute to the evidence base on outcomes for pupils educated within such models of provision.

The research seeks through two case studies conducted in mainstream primary schools in one local education authority to explore the experience of school for pupils with moderate learning difficulties being educated in units attached to mainstream schools. It has two main foci. Firstly, it seeks to investigate the effectiveness of the 'special unit' as a vehicle for achieving inclusion. Secondly, the study is concerned to consult the views of pupils themselves in this evaluation. Like MacMillan, Semmel and Gerber (1994), the author believes there is a need to satisfy the demand for 'empirical validation' of recommended practice. Some writers such as Kauffman and Hallahan (1995) have warned against climbing onto the 'bandwagon' of inclusion. Although the merger of special and mainstream education into one 'seamless and supple system' seems to offer an attractive platform, they suggest it is insufficiently robust to support pupils who make particularly heavy demands. Advocates of a particular form of educational provision should not, it is here argued, be concerned merely with upholding the rights of individuals to access such provision but to support their views with evidence demonstrating the particular educational and social advantages to be derived from such placement.

Some commentators (Booth et al, 2000) suggest that provision can best be evaluated in general terms in relation to the participation of its pupils in the culture, curriculum and community of the school. However, this view appears to be at odds with other commentators (Baker & Zigmond, 1990) who argue that participation in mainstream education does not automatically lead to a good match between teaching and individual learning needs. They, like Jenkins et al. (1993) note that schools do not necessarily appear to have 'effective and reliable strategies for improving and sustaining outcomes for all pupils in regular classrooms' (p.193) and that some strategies may even inadvertently produce negative outcomes. Differential treatment, it is argued (Giangreco, Broer &

Edelman, 2001), may segregate some pupils from their peers and may also reduce teachers' sense of ownership of, and responsibility for, some of their pupils. It has also been suggested, (Avramidis, Bayliss & Burden, 2002 p.144) that those strategies which do not support the 'building of solidarity between children with special needs and their peers' fail to contribute to what pupils suggest are the most significant aspect of school experience (Wade & Moore, 1993). A truly effective model, it is argued, needs to address all aspects of inclusion.

Whilst acknowledging the importance of academic outcomes this study takes as its particular concern the social outcomes for pupils. This is largely because the wider focus was beyond the limited resources of the researcher and the time constraints of the investigation. With such a narrow focus it is recognised that this research cannot claim to be anything other than a partial analysis of such a complex issue. However, the author argues that an intensive study of the social outcomes, and one which gives pre-eminence to the pupils' voice can make a valuable contribution to the evaluation of an increasingly popular model of provision for a number of reasons. Firstly, the vital importance of social relations and the role that schools, and in particular inclusive schools, can play in their promotion is widely acknowledged, i.e. by those governments and organisations which signed up to the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994),

The merit of such schools is not only that they are capable of providing quality education to all children, their establishment is a crucial step in helping to change discriminatory attitudes, in all creating welcoming communities and in developing an inclusive society" (UNESCO, 1994, p.7)

Secondly, the limited but recently growing body of literature which has consulted pupils' perspective, e.g. Frederickson et al., 2004; Wade & Moore 1993, suggests that this aspect of school experience is of the greatest significance to pupils. Thirdly, evidence suggests

that positive peer relationships are crucial to the social and emotional well-being of pupils (Cowen et al., 1973; Kelly & Cohn, 1988; Kupersmidt, Coie & Dodge, 1990; Hymel et al 1990; Morrison & Cosden, 1997; Parker & Asher 1987; Patterson, Kupersmidt & Griesler, 1989; Roffey, Majors & Tarrant, 1997).

The final reason for this particular focus derives from the researcher's personal experience as a teacher in charge of one of the units in the study. Her perception was that it was in the area of social relationships between mainstream pupils and those attending the unit that the model of provision was least successful. The lack of friendship links between pupils attending the unit and mainstream pupils had proved to be a longstanding and intractable issue of concern both to the pupils attending the unit and to unit and mainstream teachers in her school. In spite of concerted efforts pupils in the unit appeared to continue to be marginalised, if not, in some instances, rejected by mainstream pupils. Progress had been made, but if pupils' social experience of school was to be enhanced and the intended benefits of integration realised, staff felt, additional steps needed to be taken to promote positive social interaction and with it longer term and stronger friendship links between unit and mainstream pupils. It was thus a subject of personal and professional interest to the researcher to seek an understanding of, and possible solution to, this problem.

Chapter 1 - A Review of the Literature

The emerging case for inclusive provision

The principle of inclusion and its predecessor integration have dominated special education policy since the late 1960s. The stimulus for the inclusive education movement appeared to come from a number of factors, both from within the education sphere and the wider social context. In the 1960s and following closely on human rights legislation, which sought to put an end to anti-discriminatory practices in the US, attention was turned to the promotion of those rights for the disabled. The practice of educating disabled pupils in separate settings was critically evaluated in a number of efficacy studies carried out in that period. Dunn's review (1968) of such studies carried out between 1935 and 1965, and considered highly influential in the passing of PL94-142 in 1975, suggested that segregated special education had little to offer children labelled as educably mentally retarded (EMR) and that many pupils in regular educational settings fared no worse than those in specialist provision. He also argued that positive benefits in terms of the losing of labels, reduction of stigma and a decrease in racial segregation were to be gained from pupils' return to the mainstream of education.

Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas (1981) suggested that the impetus for desegregation in education in the UK was related to a growing desire for societal integration

School integration is related to societal integration and may be instrumental in achieving it....Integration in school can be viewed as an end in itself and as a means towards the achievement of societal integration.

(Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas 1981, p12)

Two key influences, they argue, were (i) the growing concern for human rights and the status of minorities, and (ii) reports of practice in other countries such as Denmark,

Sweden and the USA, where the claims for both educational and social benefits could reportedly be substantiated by example.

In the UK one of the most important developments related to the search for ending discrimination had been the replacement of the tertiary system at secondary level by the comprehensive model. However, this too masked at least two forms of discrimination, a) streaming and b) the exclusion of groups of pupils from mainstream education through the special education system. The 1976 Education Act sought to address this second issue and established the principle that handicapped children should be educated, unless impracticable, in ordinary schools. The consequent Warnock Report (DES, 1978), in its review of special education, went beyond the principle of equity to suggest that there were benefits for all children in educating the disabled alongside their non-disabled peers and that this should be the aim of integration.

the aim of integration is to enrich the education of both handicapped and non-handicapped children (DES, 1978, para 7.21)

Through the process of integration groups of previously segregated pupils were to be returned to the mainstream context to access 'appropriate levels' of mainstream experience based on judgements of the pupils' 'readiness' to benefit and the school's capacity to meet their needs.

The replacement of the concept of integration with that of inclusion represented a moving away from the 'readiness' model, i.e. where access is conditional, to one where the setting is expected to prove its readiness 'by default'. Inclusion is

based on a philosophy of acceptance and providing a framework within which all children, (regardless of the provenance of their difficulty at school) can be valued equally, treated with respect and provided with equal opportunities at school' (Thomas, 1997 p103).

Underpinning both these movements is the assumption that education in the mainstream is desirable and advantageous both to individuals and society as a whole.

A non-segregated, diverse school population of children and young people will produce schools which are more sensitive and more humane. And it will beget a younger generation which is more tolerant and accepting of difference. In inclusive schools all will thrive. (Thomas, 1997 p106)

In seeking to move towards a more inclusive system of education a number of models have been trialed. Research has sought to demonstrate the outcomes of these models, and in some cases to show their relative merits, in terms of the benefits to pupils, both academic and social.

Research evidence on the outcomes of the movement towards the development of inclusive practice.

Scope of the review

This section sets the investigation in the context of the evidence to date on the outcomes, academic and social, for pupils with special educational needs who have been placed in mainstream settings accessing educational services through a number of different models of provision. A number of reviews of research conducted since the early 1950s on the efficacy of mainstreaming are explored as is the evidence of specific studies of outcomes for pupils educated in units and special classes. A final section explores the evidence on strategies that schools have more recently adopted to promote inclusion.

The literature reviewed covers an extensive historical period during which time a number of different terms including mainstreaming, integration (locational, social and functional) and inclusion have been used in different countries to describe developments towards inclusive practice. In order to avoid the confusion which might be caused in swapping

between terms, the author has chosen to use the generic term 'developing inclusive practice' to cover the different stages and a number of different models which include:

- a) full inclusion in mainstream classes where pupils are taught either by the mainstream class teacher, a special educator/support assistant or through collaborative teaching arrangements between the two,
- b) placement in mainstream classes and withdrawal to a resource base to receive specialist input,
- c) placement within a special class, unit or base with varying levels of access to mainstream classes, and
- d) placement within a special class, unit or base with organised access to mainstream pupils for social activities.

In so doing she acknowledges that some important distinctions may be masked.

However, where different models are being compared this will be made clear in the text.

In the light of the diversity of the target population and the difficulty in reviewing provision and outcomes for all of them the author decided to focus on outcomes for one particular group of pupils; the selected group being that of pupils with moderate learning difficulties (MLD). A number of reasons prompted this choice. Firstly, they are the largest of the special needs populations and secondly, this is the group with which the author has spent most of her professional career, providing her with insights she would not have if identifying other groups.

This group of young people whose defining characteristics encompass a range of needs have been designated by a number of different labels over the course of time and in

different countries. And as Williams (1993) observes, this poses some significant challenges for research.

Interpreting the varying educational systems in terms of MLD is neither easy nor exact (Williams, 1993, p.305)

In the UK the term 'moderate learning difficulty' (MLD) has been used to describe

those who are not usually identified until they are at school, sometimes after a few years there, and who are identified because of a failure to keep pace with the demand of the ordinary school system...these are children whose learning difficulties are general rather than specific to a particular curriculum area' (Williams, op cit, p.305)

In the US literature explored young people with a similar range of difficulties to MLD are labelled as pupils with mild to moderate retardation (MMR) or educable mentally retarded learners (EMR) and more recently as learning disabled (LD). Other terms such as intellectual disability (ID), mild mental retardation (MR) and learning disabled (LD) are used in the literature of other European countries accessed to refer to pupils who fall within this range of special educational needs. Although these labels may not be entirely coterminous, the pupils to which they refer appear to present very similar challenges to the education system. Likewise, the research which focuses on these named groups of pupils offers insights which might be similarly useful to each or all of them. The author has therefore included in her review of the literature research which refers to any of these groups of pupils.

Early studies

A series of reviews in the 1960s and 70s (Cegelka & Tyler, 1970; Goldstein, 1967; Guskin & Spicker, 1968; Kirk, 1964; MacMillan, 1971; Quay, 1963) considered the evidence of what are termed the 'efficacy studies' of the 1950s and 60s in the USA. These studies

compared evidence on the overall success of children in special classes with those of similar children in mainstream or what are termed 'regular' classes. A synthesis of findings in these reviews suggested that pupils benefited academically from placement in regular education classrooms but that their social adjustment was poorer. However, these studies were strongly criticised in terms of their methodology. The major criticism concerned inappropriate or biased sampling procedures. Nearly all the studies employed some form of matching of EMR pupils with regular class pupils. However, although, as was usually the case, pupils were matched by IQ and chronological age they were rarely matched on virtually every other variable of importance e.g. academic achievement, behaviour and social adjustment, which are more closely related to the outcomes evaluated. Other criticisms levelled were a failure to specify treatments and the choice of the particular instruments and procedures used to evaluate the outcomes of achievement and adjustment. The reviewers therefore concluded that extreme caution should be taken in drawing any conclusions from this body of work.

Reviews of the 1980s and early 90s

Several reviews of the 1980s and early 1990s in the USA (Carlberg & Kavale, 1980; Gottlieb, 1981; Gresham, 1982; Madden & Slavin, 1983) found little supportive evidence for the anticipated benefits of early models of inclusive practice. Some found results varied for different special needs groups (Carlberg & Kavale, 1980) and between different sorts of outcomes i.e. social and academic (Gottlieb, 1981). Carlberg & Kavale's review suggested that outcomes were favourable for children with learning difficulties but not for those with learning disabilities or emotional and behavioural difficulties. Gottlieb's conclusion was that there was no clear advantage in either integrated or segregated placements for pupils with EMR on academic achievement and social adjustment

measures but that those who were integrated suffered greater stigma and social rejection than their non-integrated peers. Gresham's review (1982) refuted previous research findings that some models of inclusive practice led to an increase in social acceptance and social interaction for the disabled and that disabled pupils did not necessarily model their behaviour on that of their non-disabled peers.

Other reviews outside the USA by such as Beasley & Upton (1989); Danby & Cullen (1988) Lindsay (1989) and Zigler & Hodapp (1986) found similarly inconclusive or unconvincing results as to the benefits for included pupils. Danby & Cullen found little support for the claim that placement of pupils in the mainstream context would result in a reduction of labels and the associated stigma or increased educational efficacy. They were also highly critical of the quality of research reviewed in terms of methodology, citing weaknesses in defining subject groups and settings and of measures used. Zigler & Hodapp (op cit) found in their review of studies on outcomes for pupils with MLD that these pupils performed equally well in segregated and integrated settings but, although exhibiting higher social skills, they tended to be stigmatised by their non-handicapped peers in integrated settings. Chapman's review (1988) of studies conducted in New Zealand and Australia similarly found lower levels of self-esteem among pupils being educated in integrated settings. Hornby (1992), in his summary, concludes that reviews of this period have found little evidence that the goals of inclusion, other than that of lower costs, are being attained.

More recent reviews

Reviews commissioned by the OECD and reported by Hegarty (1993) consulted empirical studies, evaluation reports, critical writings and other reviews in a number of OECD

countries including America, Australia, Britain, Germany and Sweden. Most of the reviews considered the efficacy of integration in terms of academic achievement and a number of aspects of social and emotional development. The conclusions were 'at best tentative and generally inconclusive' (p.197). Williams, summarising findings on academic outcomes for pupils with MLD, suggested that 'although the balance of advantage seems to lie in favour of mainstreaming the safer conclusion is the same as that for social effects; no consistent evidence for a clear difference'. Interestingly, similarly inconclusive evidence was found by Farrell (1997) in his review of integration for pupils with severe learning difficulties.

Manset & Semmel's (1997) review of eight different models of inclusion in the USA for pupils with mild disabilities found such programmes to be effective for some but not all pupils. No one programme could be found to be superior to the more traditional service delivery models. Salend & Delaney (1999) also reviewed the literature on inclusion programmes and their impact on pupils with and without disabilities and their educators. In summary, they found that the impact of placement in inclusive settings on academic and social performance and on attitude towards placement of pupils with disabilities was varied.

Recent studies

Several recent studies have focused specifically on the social outcomes for pupils with MLD. Some have continued to compare outcomes for pupils in segregated special school settings with those in special classes and units (Heiman, 2000; Martlew & Hodson, 1990). Others have examined outcomes for pupils placed full-time in mainstream classrooms (Avramadis, Bayliss & Burden, 2002; Frederickson et al., 2004; Madge, Affleck, &

Lowenbraun, 1990; Pearl et al., 1998; Sale & Carey, 1995; Tur-Kaspa, Margalit & Most, 1999; Vaughn et al., 1998; Zic & Igric, 2001;). Of this latter group of writers Madge, Affleck & Lowenbraun (1990) and Vaughn & Klingner (1998) have compared different models of service delivery within inclusive settings.

Frederickson et al.'s study (2004) which consulted the perspectives of 107 pupils, parents and school staff involved in two inclusive initiatives in LEAs in the UK concluded that

There are costs and benefits of inclusion for all parties although these are not necessarily congruent (p.55)

All groups reported academic and social advantages as benefits of returning pupils with special educational needs from special to mainstream settings and all groups highlighted some academic and social concerns. However there were some differences in the emphasis different groups placed on the academic and social benefits and the extent to which they highlighted social concerns as an issue. Although they all saw academic progress as a primary indicator of success, parents placed greater emphasis on the academic and pupils on social progress. Similarly pupils recorded higher levels of concerns in the social sphere.

The comparative studies of Martlew & Hodson (1990) and Heiman (2000) indicate that placing pupils in mainstream settings does not necessarily lead to social gains. Martlew & Hodson's study in two schools, one with a unit for pupils with mild learning difficulties (MLD) and one a special school, observed and gathered evidence from 37 MLD and mainstream pupils. They also consulted the views of teachers through questionnaires on attitudes to integration. Heiman's study of friendship links of 310 adolescent pupils with mild mental retardation and 265 non-disabled pupils consulted the views of pupils and compared them with the reports of 50 teachers. Both studies suggest that although

inclusion in mainstream systems may enhance disabled students' opportunities for contact with mainstream peers it also increases opportunities for negative social reaction and rejection. In comparison to mainstream children they found these pupils were more often teased or bullied and had fewer friends. In Heiman's study many of these pupils were acutely aware of their rejection and 'expressed feelings of emptiness, a lack of emotional support and an absence of close and meaningful relationships with peers' (p.278).

These findings would appear to confirm Bear, Cleaver & Proctor's (1991) conclusions that 'integration is unlikely to have a positive effect on the self-perceptions of children with learning disabilities' (p.409)

Vaughn & Klingner (1998) in their study of 59 elementary students with learning disabilities, 72 low achieving students and 54 high achieving students, note that few investigations had been conducted into the social outcomes for pupils included in general education classrooms. Their summary of the research indicated that outcomes for pupils with LD were mixed. Their conclusions, like those of Sale & Carey (1995) and Vaughn, Elbaum & Schumm (1996) were that the social status of pupils with LD in inclusive classrooms is lower than, or on a par with, the status of non-LD pupils. Secondly, like Jenkins et al. (1994), the social competence of pupils with LD did not appear to be higher in inclusive settings. Thirdly, as in Vaughn, Elbaum & Schumm's earlier study (1996), pupils with LD may have more reciprocal friendships in inclusive classrooms. And finally, the academic self-perception of pupils with LD is likely to be low in inclusive settings.

Among the studies which examined the social functioning of pupils with mild disabilities contradictory results were found. Vaughn, Elbaum & Schumm's study (op cit), mentioned above, suggested positive outcomes for some groups of Learning Disability (LD) pupils.

Those by Sale & Carey (1995), Roberts & Zubrick (1992) and Bear, Cleaver & Procter (1991) suggested that pupils with mild disabilities are less often accepted, more often rejected by their classmates and have lower self-perceptions than their peers.

Recent studies which have focused on the social relationships between pupils with disabilities and their non-disabled peers in inclusive settings demonstrate few positive outcomes for disabled pupils. Zic & Igric's (2001) study of the attitudes of 20 primary aged pupils towards their peers with intellectual disability (ID) and the views of 20 pupils with intellectual disability towards their non-disabled peers supports the negative findings of previous studies carried out by Guralnick (1990), Luftig (1988), Nazor & Nikolic (1991) and Siperstein & Leffert (1997). Pearl et al's study (1998) of 59 elementary classrooms, in which pupils with mild disabilities were educated, examined three aspects of social relations: peer group membership, peer assessed behavioural characteristics and the peer assessed behavioural characteristics of their associates. Most pupils with mild disabilities were found to be members of classroom peer groups, however, they were over-represented as social isolates. They were under-represented in pro-social peer groups, and over-represented in anti-social peer groups. They were also found to associate with those of similar pro- or anti-social status. This latter discovery, Pearl et al suggest, has significant implications for such pupils' potential to modify their anti-social behaviour. Such modification had been considered a likely outcome of integration with pupils being positively influenced by the 'good models' around them.

Research undertaken in respect of other groups such as that reviewed by Nakken & Pijl (2002), who considered 14 studies of the effects of integration on social relationships of pupils with a range of sensory, motor and mental disabilities in ordinary schools, also

found mixed results. Although some studies demonstrated positive outcomes for some groups of pupils, the authors of the review conclude that research is 'inconclusive'

It is not clear, however, whether integration in regular education does result in more social interaction and friendships" (Nakken & Pijl, 2002, p.59)

The review, they suggest, revealed a lack of knowledge about the development of social relationships in integrated settings and the effects of intervention programmes designed to foster them.

Research on units and special classes

Units and special classes have been in existence since 1888 when the first of such had been established for those with hearing impairments. In the three decades between the 1960s and 1990s on- and off-site units became an increasingly popular form of provision for young people with a range of special educational needs. They were frequently seen as a 'buffer' between ordinary and special schools, providing individual pupils support whilst offering potential for full-time placement at an appropriate point in the future once growth and development had occurred. In the late 1960s and early 1970s day units were established for pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties (EBD) as well as for those with specific health related needs. By 1977 239 units were in existence in 69 LEAs which provided 4000 places for secondary aged pupils (DES, 1978). By 1980 another 100 for a further 2791 children had been established. The Elton Report (DES, 1989) suggested that by 1977 unit provision for EBD pupils had quadrupled. Warnock (DES, 1978) drew attention to the increasing number of pupils being educated in these forms of provision in her report.

There has in fact been a steady increase over time in the number of children ascertained as handicapped who have been placed in designated special classes and units in ordinary schools. It rose from 11,027 in 1973 to 21,245 in 1977, that is from 6.8% to 12%

They still form quite a small proportion of all handicapped children for whom special education is provided, but the trend is likely to continue.” (DES, 1978, para 7.2)

Current figures are more difficult to obtain as since 1997 Government statistics describe only the number of pupils with statements in special and ordinary schools and do not differentiate the form of provision this entails. Figures available in 1990 (DES, 1990) show 17,963 pupils on the register of special classes or units and in 1994 (DFE, 1995) 17,949 pupils, which would seem to indicate a somewhat reduced although steady demand and support for this form of provision since the implementation of the 1981 Act.

The advantages of units

In the course of the study of the effectiveness or otherwise of units commentators have pointed to a number of advantages associated with this particular organisational form. Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas, (1981) for example, and Sinclair-Taylor (1994) describe some of the advantages units appear to offer LEAs trying to meet the needs of SEN pupils in the mainstream context, i.e. they have ‘the potential to bring together what might be seen as the best aspects of both [mainstream and special education] systems’ (Sinclair Taylor, 1994, p. 53).

A unit or special centre allow the possibility of assimilation into the host school yet at the same time serves as a safeguard should a pupil being integrated meet with unexpected difficulties. (Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas, 1981, p. 80)

The economic advantages were also evident and very appealing

If six children were scattered across six different schools the speech therapist or teacher of the deaf could not possibly provide the extent of individual and small group attention that could be given in a single morning if the pupils were in one place. (Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas, 1981, p.80)

A ‘joint enterprise’ with a mainstream school also appeared to offer particular benefits.

Retaining the special school as 'home base' was a valuable safeguard if something should go seriously wrong. The pupil could easily be withdrawn with a minimum of administrative fuss. (Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas, 1981, p.81).

Much of the available evidence for the quality of provision within units and special classes was from inspections and surveys carried out by Her Majesty's Inspectorate. However the last one of these, which monitored units for pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties, in England and Wales was published in 1978. Two later reports were published in 1981 and 1987 in Scotland on units for the mildly mentally handicapped and hearing impaired. Other evidence has been gathered through individual research projects and case studies on integration (Garnett 1976; Cope and Anderson, 1977; Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas, 1981; Hurford and Hart 1979; Jamieson, Partlett & Pocklington, 1977; Lowden, 1985; Lewis 1995; Lloyd-Smith and Davies, 1995; Minkes, Robinson & Weston, 1994; Sinclair-Taylor, 1994; Tisdall and Dawson, 1994; Wade and Moore, 1993; Whittaker, 1994). As Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas noted, it was surprising that more interest and evaluation of such provision had not existed in the UK, and suggested the number of initiatives and amount of change that schools and LEAs have had to contend with might be a factor.

The drawbacks of units

A number of significant criticisms have, however, been identified by commentators. Hegarty, Pocklington & Lucas (op cit.), for example, warned of the 'difficulties and drawbacks' likely to be encountered in seeking to develop inclusive provision. These they cautioned should not be minimised nor should pupils' educational well-being be 'sacrificed on the altar of principle'.

A perhaps more trenchant criticism was, however, made by HMI who, in a series of reports, drew attention to the shortcomings of the curriculum that pupils in units and special classes were offered. Access to mainstream lessons for some pupils was very limited (DES, 1972) and often restricted to non-academic subjects (HMI, 1978, 1981; Jamieson, Partlett & Pocklington, 1977; Lowden, 1985). The DES survey (1972) of special classes for the handicapped and delicate children observed that over half the pupils spent less than two lessons in mainstream classes and concluded that integration could be 'anything but a satisfactory experience' (p.33) for pupils in units. Teachers' low expectations of pupils, noted by HMI (1978, 1981) in their surveys of behavioural units and those for pupils with mild mental handicaps, led them to the conclusion that such pupils were unlikely to reach their potential. Some pupils struggled to access the curriculum on offer. Many of those with hearing impairment (DES, 1968) had been integrated into classes of much younger pupils. HMI (1987) found evidence of 'gross misunderstanding of the verbal content of lessons in mainstream classes' (3.22).

Social outcomes for these pupils were particularly poor. Many studies found pupils to be socially isolated from their mainstream peers (DES, 1968; HMI, 1978, 1981, 1987; Jamieson, Partlett & Pocklington, 1977). Although HMI (1987) found that a few young hearing impaired pupils sustained friendship with hearing peers, as a group they 'tended to keep their own company outside the classroom' (p.21). This tendency to play together as a group was also noted by Hurford and Hart (1979). These pupils with language impairment also chose to sit together and generally had less contact with other children than their mainstream peers. Lowden (op cit.) drew attention to the tendency of pupils educated in units to play with younger peers rather than their own age group. Certain factors appeared to contribute to pupils' social isolation. He suggested opportunities for

social integration were restricted by a perceived need for surveillance. Organisational factors such as the transportation of pupils to schools outside their own neighbourhood restricted opportunities to make or continue friendship links outside school.

Some studies found evidence of more open rejection of pupils educated in units (Jamieson, Partlett & Pocklington, op cit.; Garnett, 1976). Although Garnett (op cit.), in her reflections on the experience of running a unit for ESN pupils, suggested that the incidence of name-calling diminished over time there was no evidence to suggest that this was ever completely eradicated. Jamieson, Partlett & Pocklington (op cit.) reported that although the units for visually impaired pupils that they studied were presented as integral parts of the school, in practice there was a tendency for them to develop 'a separate existence with effectively no contact between the partially-sighted and their sighted peers' (p.75). Issues of affiliation, identity and ownership of pupils were encountered in the secondary integration initiative described. Most of the integrated pupils expressed a 'measure of antipathy' towards their peers in the comprehensive schools, some describing incidences of negative interactions and rejection

the girls don't talk to you or else they ask nosy questions and the boys make rude comments. (Jamieson, Partlett & Pocklington, 1977, p.82)

Not all evidence concerning pupils' experience of school was negative. DES (1972) found positive aspects of practice such as the 'kindly individual care that enabled a child to regain confidence' (p.34) and experience. In some classes the 'special' pupils 'were seen to associate freely with their fellows and to work alongside for some of their lessons' p.34. HMI (1987) also found indications that pupils were pleased to be in a mainstream school, to wear the uniform and feel they were fitting in. However, as DES (1967) conclude

unless these (unit) pupils were in ordinary classes for the greater part of the day they remained apart, even at break (DES, 1967)

and in spite of efforts made by the head teacher and schools staff pupils did not become an integral part of the school.

Consumer views on models of service provision

In recent years research has increasingly acknowledged the importance of the view of the consumer in the evaluation of provision and has sought to give pupils and their parents a voice. In three studies reviewed (Avramadis, Bayliss & Burden, 2002; Frederickson et al., 2004; Madge, Affleck, & Lowenbraun, 1990) where the views of parents were sought, findings varied. In Madge Affleck & Lowenbraun's study which analysed the views of 41 parents of special education students, when evaluating the Integrated Classroom Model (ICM) and comparing it with previous service delivery models such as resource room and pull-out provision, noted that parents felt it offered their children greater social opportunities and enhanced their self-esteem. The 90% of parents of the 107 pupils who took part in Frederickson et al.'s study reported both academic and social advantage as positive benefits of returning pupils to mainstream settings. However, in contrast to their children's views, they put greatest emphasis on the importance of academic as opposed to social progress. By contrast two of the four parents consulted in Avramadis Bayliss & Burden' study (op cit) of an inclusive school in South West England felt the social outcomes for their children to be far less positive. They reported that their children lacked friends and were socially isolated. These problems were closely related to their living outside the local school area and their children being transported into school. This negative aspect of the pupils' experience was confirmed by three of the five pupils interviewed. They also reported incidences of bullying which, in spite of staff efforts,

persisted. On the other hand there were strong perceived academic benefits for the included pupils.

Pupils themselves appear to become increasingly discerning in their evaluation of different service delivery models as they grow older (Guterman, 1995; Jenkins and Heinen, 1989). Not only do their preferences change they have a greater understanding of the difficulties their teachers face in trying to meet the needs of all pupils within the mainstream classroom. While most pupils are aware of the stigma attached to being identified as having special educational needs (Guterman, 1995) they appear to be increasingly able to distinguish between the social and academic benefits and disadvantages of different models of provision. Older pupils seem to be able to weigh up these relative benefits and latterly are more likely to opt for a model of provision which meets their learning needs.

Among the 686 students consulted in Jenkins & Heinen's study (1989) most of the younger pupils preferred to receive help from their classroom teacher whilst upper elementary grade pupils showed a greater preference for pull-out service delivery. In analysing the reasons for preference of the 9 pupils in their study Jenkins & Heinen suggest that

Students appear to have grasped the essence of the major conflict in organising a system that provides help for learning problems, that is weighing the advantages of obtaining help from someone who is familiar with their problem (the classroom teacher) against the advantage of receiving help from someone who has the time to provide it (a specialist). (Jenkins & Heinen, 1989, p.522)

Padeliadu (1995) found a general preference among the 150 elementary LD pupils in her study for pull-out service delivery by special educators. In her study this preference did not appear to relate to age, sex or IQ. Pupils in her study cited very similar reasons to those of pupils in Jenkins & Heinen's study. Special education classrooms provided quiet

conditions which facilitated concentration and also avoided the embarrassment of being singled out to receive help in front of mainstream peers. The pupils in Guterman's study were critical of the education they received in resource room settings.

However, they stated that they felt these placements had been 'wise'. Although they would have preferred to receive their education in mainstream classes they acknowledged both the burden this placed on mainstream teachers and the greater embarrassment they would feel in receiving support within this setting.

Vaughn & Klingner's review (op cit) of eight studies which consulted the views of pupils with LD about their educational settings also found the majority of pupils preferred to receive specialised teaching outside the mainstream setting for part of the school day. Their review confirmed that whilst most pupils liked the inclusive classroom because of the social opportunities it offered, pull-out and resource room provision, although stigmatising, was recognised as beneficial to their learning. Pupils cited 'fun activities', 'extra help', 'easier work' and 'a quiet place' as advantageous features associated with this model of service delivery.

There has been limited research (Martlew & Hodson, 1990; Sinclair-Taylor, 1994; Tisdall & Dawson, 1994; Wade & Moore, 1993) done in the UK which has consulted pupils' views about the experience of school in units and special classes in recent years and certainly none published since the mid 1990s on pupils with MLD. Much of their evidence confirms previous findings that the social outcomes for pupils are less than optimal.

Tisdall & Dawson's study (op cit.) of 21 pupils with physical handicaps and hearing impairment attending a support unit in a mainstream school found some positive aspects

of the developing inclusive practice reported by pupils themselves. Pupils felt themselves to be full members of the mainstream schools. Most, however, suggested that they would not have 'survived' without the support of the unit. One rather dramatically put it this way:

Without the unit I'd probably be dead by now !
(Tisdall & Dawson, 1994, p.180)

Most hearing impaired pupils felt themselves to be something of an 'outsider' in a variety of contexts. Others were more equivocal about their feelings. Although most had friends in school more than half reported problems in maintaining friendships out of school. There was also some evidence of negative attitudes and rejection by mainstream peers. Pupils showed an awareness of 'some ignorance and lack of understanding on the part of others' (p.180) and demonstrated a 'tolerance' of what they saw as the shortcomings of others in this respect.

Sinclair-Taylor (1994) painted a very negative picture of schooling as experienced by pupils attending a support unit in a comprehensive school in 'Greyshire' LEA. Her hypothesis was that the unit system, built, as she described it, 'around the old labels attached to pupils' 'perpetuates and rigidifies the thinking and therefore the opportunities for pupils'(p.53). Her research confirmed the LEA's findings that the units in their survey were usually perceived as low status by their own and mainstream school's staff. The HMI survey in 1981 was 'wholly and consistently negative'(p.73). Unit pupils were 'not integrating with other pupils in mainstream groups and that they tended to sit in isolation' (p.74). This was confirmed by Sinclair-Taylor's research. Playground experiences attested to by pupils and observed by the author 'reinforced a separate identity which connoted inferiority and resulted in marginalisation' (p. 148). Pupils themselves were fully aware of

their 'inferior credentials' and 'lower status'. Sinclair-Taylor went on to identify negative attitudes of mainstream staff to the unit who saw teaching unit pupils as 'an extra burden'. By default, she concluded, 'the school sanctioned the isolation and hostility which unit pupils experienced' (p.147).

A focus on peer relationships

A considerable body of research (Cowen et al., 1973; Hymel et al 1990; Kelly & Cohn, 1988; Kuperschmidt, Coie & Dodge, 1990; Morrison & Cosden, 1997; Parker & Asher 1987; Patterson et al, 1989; Roffey, Majors & Tarrant, 1997) confirms the importance of positive peer relationships for young children both in terms of how they feel about school and their social and emotional development.

Far from being an 'add-on', creating a positive social climate in school, in which children have the skills and opportunities to develop friendships is critical not only to their long-term well-being but also to promote effective learning"
(Roffey, Majors & Tarrant, 1997 p.51)

Although there is significant variation between individuals (Malik & Furman 1993) and gender groups (Parker & Asher, 1993) in the number and nature of relationships deemed sufficient, their importance to all pupils and the negative outcomes of perceived loneliness, rejection, disconfirmation and bullying has been clearly demonstrated.

Friendship with same age peers plays an important role in the social development and adjustment of all pupils (Heiman, 2000), providing them with opportunities to 'acquire additional social ability and refine existing skills' (p.266). These social connections enrich their private worlds by providing emotional support and offering means of relaxation. In addition to emotional support other positive outcomes including growth in social cognition and self-concept and the development of personal principles have been identified

(Staub, 1995). Conversely, pupils without close friendships are more prone to experience emotional loneliness than those who have at least one strong affective bond (Parker & Asher, 1993; Weiss, 1974). Children who are not accepted report lower positive perceptions of self-worth (Demetriou, Goalen & Ruddick, 2000) than those with positive peer relationships (Pratt, 2000; Weitzel & Caldwell, 1997). Pupils who experience problems in relationships with peers have also been shown to be at risk in later life (Morrison & Cosden, 1997; Tur-Kaspa, 1999). Long term consequences can include poor academic performance, school dropout, juvenile delinquency, criminal behaviour and mental health problems (see reviews by Kupersmidt, Coie & Dodge, 1990; Parker & Asher 1987).

Other studies have provided evidence on the impact of more extreme forms of negative peer interaction such as rejection, disconfirmation and bullying. Reciprocal rejection has been shown to minimise the protective effects of reciprocal friendship (Tur-Kaspa, Margalit & Most, *op cit.*). Other authors such as Attili (1990) refer to the potentially damaging effects of being 'disconfirmed' ie 'being treated as though one does not exist by significant others' (p.244), to the associations between bullying and depression (Neary & Joseph, 1994; Roland 1989) or perceptions of lower global self-worth (Neary & Joseph *op cit.*). Aggressive behaviour has been shown to be a frequent concomitant of rejection (Kupersmidt & Coie, 1990), and in some instances to result in an increase in commitment to deviant groups and continued rejection (Roffey, Majors & Tarrant, 1997).

For some groups of pupils such as those with disabilities, positive social relationships in school are particularly significant (Heiman, *op cit.*). Unlike their non-disabled peers these pupils see schools as a 'social venue'. School provides the main opportunity for social

interaction. Being educated elsewhere than their neighbourhood, Heiman postulates, greatly limits the opportunities for social interaction with neighbourhood peers.

Pupils in this study were very concerned with having friends and many of them 'expressed feelings of emptiness, a lack of emotional support and an absence of close and meaningful relationships with peers' (p. 278).

Evidence on effective strategies that promote pupil participation

This final section of the review explores evidence on the effectiveness of strategies devised and adopted by 'inclusive schools' to promote the participation of their student population. The first Evidence for Policy and Practice (EPPi) review of the Inclusive Education Review Group (Dyson, Howes & Roberts, 2002) explored the existing evidence for actions that schools can take to promote the participation of all students in the cultures, curricula and communities of their schools. Their conclusions, based on the findings of six key studies (Deering, 1997; Dyson & Millward, 2000; Hunt et al., 2000; Kratzer, 1997; Kugelmass, 2001; Pickett, 1994; (out of 27 included in the review), suggested a number of common themes/responses in inclusive schools which were linked with the enhanced participation of students.

The first and most pervasive theme which ran strongly in all key studies was that of the importance placed upon the promotion of an inclusive culture within the school. One aspect of that culture appeared to be the values and attitudes held by school staff. In an inclusive school this culture was exemplified by an 'acceptance and celebration of difference and commitment to offering educational opportunities to all students' (p.46) and was shared across all staff. These findings (Kratzer, 1997; Hunt et al., 2000) were

also supported by 'negative' studies i.e. those which attempt to explain why schools develop exclusive practices (Dyson & Millward, 2000; Gillborn & Youdell, 2000).

A second aspect of culture which appeared to be linked to enhanced participation was collaboration (Kugelmass, 2001). The willingness of staff to work together was shown to be essential to blending services in the mainstream classroom and enhanced staff's ability to respond to difference. The problem-solving approach or collaborative learning of staff was also characteristic of schools with an inclusive culture (Pickett, 1994; Dyson & Millward, 2000; Kugelmass, 2001, Hunt et al., 2000). Some schools also reported the positive impact of collaborative learning among students (Hunt et al., 2000) or the shared sense of community that students felt (Deering, 1996; Kugelmass, 2001; Kratzner, 1997). These appeared to lead to an underlying sense of mutual acceptance as well as being a means of managing the diversity of classrooms.

How such inclusive cultures were linked to enhanced student participation was not entirely clear. However, certain organisational features such as specialist provision being delivered in the classroom rather than through withdrawal were common.

Constructivist approaches to teaching and learning were similarly prevalent in inclusive schools and seen to be effective. Such schools were also characterised by the presence of leaders who were committed to inclusive values and who encouraged the participation of a range of individuals in leadership functions. These schools were also considered likely to have good links with parents and the wider school community.

Conclusion

In the light of the research evidence consulted it is clear that this investigation could have taken a number of directions. However, the constraints of time and resources necessitated a narrower and hopefully sharper focus than might otherwise have been adopted.

The author therefore chose to focus on social outcomes and in particular those of peer relationships for primary aged pupils being educated in units. The following reasons are the basis for this decision. Firstly, research evidence, including notably that of Wade and Moore (op cit.) and Frederickson et al. (2004), suggests that social outcomes are of particular significance to pupils themselves and especially, it would appear, from the researcher's own perspective based on her experience as a teacher in charge of a unit, those aspects relating to peer relationships. Secondly, positive peer relationships appear to be crucial to the emotional and social well-being of young people. Thirdly, there is limited research on units and special classes and that which exists paints a disappointing picture of the social outcomes for many groups of pupils being educated in units attached to mainstream schools. Finally, given the lack of evidence to demonstrate the superiority of any one model of provision in terms of both academic and social outcomes, and the continuing support for units as a vehicle for inclusive practice, the author suggests that a study of primary-aged pupils in units could contribute to the necessary body of evidence which could aid policy makers and practitioners in their evaluation of current practice and support informed decision-making.

Chapter 2 - Research Questions and Study Design

Research evidence as to the outcomes for pupils educated in units is, as the previous chapter makes clear, limited. This study seeks to address some of the gaps in research on social outcomes for such pupils. From the author's perspective, one of the most relevant pieces of research in the field, that undertaken by Sinclair-Taylor (1994) of a unit for pupils with MLD in a mainstream secondary school, was of particular interest and its findings reverberated with the author's own views based on her professional experience in a similar form of provision. Sinclair-Taylor had taken a case-study approach, allowing her to explore outcomes for pupils in some depth. She had also elected to consult the views of pupils, as well as those of unit and mainstream staff, in her attempt to understand needs and perceptions and thereby the effects of integrative policies and in particular the implications of the use of a unit as a vehicle for delivering those policies. This research, is an attempt to build upon the work of Sinclair-Taylor and to establish whether the social structure of unit provision does, as she suggested, confer a separate and negative status upon the pupils who attend it and negatively impact upon social outcomes and in particular their relationships with mainstream peers. By looking at the experience of pupils in a unit attached to a primary school the author hoped to discover whether the age of pupils was a significant factor in outcomes for pupils.

Also informing the initial conception of the research question were the findings of Wade and Moore (1993) who, in their exploration of the views of pupils with SEN, suggested that social outcomes were of prime importance to pupils themselves in their evaluation of school experience. An exploration of those key areas of pupil experience, and especially that of social relationships, was thus considered fundamental to the research. From these

two principal influences the author then began to refine her thinking and to identify three foci for the research process.

The first question the author sought to answer was

What is the experience of pupils being educated in the units?

This broad question was broken down into a series of other questions that were devised to cover some of the issues that (Wade and Moore, op cit.) suggested are considered important by pupils with special educational needs, namely

- experience of transition
- lessons
- playtimes
- feeling different
- relationships with teachers and
- friendships with peers

In investigating this first question the researcher was concerned to acknowledge an ethical and epistemological imperative to consult users in the evaluation of services designed to benefit them. To begin with, by consulting users researchers are more likely to focus on the issues that are of genuine importance to them. Moreover, there is growing support for participatory research based on the principle of empowerment. As Freire (1972) suggests, there is something de-humanising about providing solutions ‘for’ people rather than ‘with’ them. It is only since the 1980’s that children have been seen as anything other than ‘passive recipients’ of decision making about their lives (Sinclair-Taylor, 2000). Children’s rights to consultation about issues that affect them was recognised in the adoption of the

United Nations 1989 Convention and represented 'a significant ideological shift' (Lloyd-Smith and Davies, 1995).

This study acknowledges the role that consultation can and should play in research that informs policy, particularly policy which suggests how the best interest of children is served. Not only is it pragmatic to engage pupils but

Giving children a voice in decision making makes them visible and gives them a stake in that process, thereby reducing the chance of their wanting to sabotage it. (Lloyd-Smith and Tarr, 2000 p.32)

and it is therefore also more likely that the right decision will be made if all perspectives are consulted.

without listening seriously to the recipients of schooling, the ostensible improvers may simply get it wrong. (Lloyd-Smith and Tarr, op cit., p.61)

Lloyd-Smith and Tarr (op cit.) argue that it is not possible to second guess pupil experience. It is necessary to ask them directly.

The reality experienced by children and young people in educational settings cannot be fully comprehended by inference and assumption. The meanings that they attach to their experiences are not necessarily the meanings that their teachers or parents would ascribe; the subcultures that children inhabit in classrooms and schools are not always visible or accessible to adults (Lloyd-Smith and Tarr, op cit. p.61)

By ensuring that the voices of these pupils were surfaced the author hoped that her work would also contribute to a growing body of research that sees the issue of student voice as central to the agenda and quality of special needs educational research.

The research design therefore incorporated interviews with all pupils in the units who met the criteria for age, categorisation and length of experience in the unit. The sample comprised twelve pupils, six in each of the two units. These two groups were made up of

equal numbers of boys and girls. All were in the upper primary age range and were categorised as having moderate learning difficulties. All had had a minimum of twelve months experience in the unit. Two other pupils who met the minimum age requirement but who had only recently been transferred into one of the units from its host school were included in some aspects of the study. This data was intended to shed light on recent transfer experience and its impact.

Whilst acknowledging that the perspectives of the pupils in the unit should be valued in their own right, the author sought to enhance the robustness of the evidence on pupil experience by building into the research design two points of triangulation. The views of groups of mainstream pupils who worked closely with unit pupils were used to interrogate unit pupils' perspectives as were the observations by the researcher of pupil interactions in joint lessons and on the school playground.

The second question arose from a focus on the particular issue that was of concern to the researcher, as a former teacher in charge of a unit, in her own evaluation of pupil experience, the relationships between unit pupils and their mainstream peers:

What is the nature and pattern of social relationships of unit pupils?

This issue was investigated through observation using both formal and informal methods of information gathering (Robson, 1993). An exploratory phase allowed the author to gather necessary information on the setting in which interactions occurred (Spradley, 1980) and to identify aspects on which her observations would be focused. Observations were conducted in the relatively 'free' context of playtime, when pupils potentially could exercise choice over their associations, and in the more restricted setting of the classroom. Aspects of the interviews conducted with unit and mainstream pupils and their teachers,

which explored the social experiences of unit pupils, were used to interrogate the observational data on pupil relationships.

The relationship hypothesised between the social context and the nature of peer relationships necessitated the third area of investigation and the research question

What is the nature of the social context in which pupil relationships occur?

A number of dimensions of the social context were explored. These were

- (i) the particular organisational arrangements through which pupils accessed mainstream experience and contact with their peers
- (ii) the underlying rationale for decisions as to an 'appropriate level' of mainstream experience
- (iii) the attitudes of mainstream staff and pupils to the unit and its members.

Documentary evidence, the researchers' observations and interviews with pupils and teachers were used to build a picture of the social context along these dimensions in each of the two units. In exploring the rationale of 'an appropriate level of mainstream experience' the author sought to describe the changes that had occurred since the units' establishment and as they had adapted to their host schools. Interviews were conducted with members of staff who had been in post at the time of the units' establishment and with key members of the LEA who had had a part in the decision-making process on the model of provision to be adopted.

For this piece of research two units for pupils with MLD in mainstream primary schools were studied, and outcomes for pupils and the social contexts of each compared. The research took place over a period of two years between 1999 and 2001 and the field work was carried out between September 1999 to July 2000.

The findings from the three investigations were subjected to an analytical framework. The aim of the analysis was (a) to understand the social outcomes for pupils, the nature of the social context surrounding unit pupils and the pattern of their relationships in each of the two units and (b) to compare the results across cases. The purpose of the comparison was to draw attention to similarities and differences in the two contexts and to illuminate some of the factors that might be associated with outcomes. In so doing the author sought to interrogate the hypothesis that the social context created by the particular model of provision played a critical role in the nature of unit pupils' social experience of school.

Chapter 3 - Methods

In this chapter the author seeks to demonstrate her awareness of and engagement with the issues that impact upon the reliability and validity of the research and describes the rationale behind the methods chosen for data collection and analysis.

This research comprises case studies of two groups of pupils' experience in units attached to mainstream schools. The extent to which the findings can be generalised to 'pupil experience in units' is limited by a number of factors. The two units are examples of a particular model of provision, that of 'bases' of a special school in two accommodating 'host' schools, one first and one primary school in a local education authority in the north of England. These units provide services to pupils designated as having moderate learning difficulties (MLD). This designation covers a range of educational and social difficulties experienced by the pupils which impact upon their learning. The validity of this research will be measured by the degree to which it provides sufficient reliable evidence of pupil experience and the social context in which that experience occurs. The reader should then be able to judge the extent to which the findings confirm or challenge what is 'known' from previous research and relate it to their own understanding or experience.

The decision to investigate and attempt to evaluate a model of provision in which one has a professional and personal interest presented the researcher with a number of problems. Not least of the challenges in this particular instance was to provide an accurate and unbiased description of outcomes of a model of provision in which the researcher had been closely involved and for which she was in part responsible.

The issue of objectivity is one commonly encountered by teachers investigating their own schools. However, as well as acknowledging these challenges writers such as Pollard (1985) offer some comfort to fellow researchers in this area and even suggest there are advantages in such proximity to the subject of study. He suggests that teachers have a 'flying start' in studying the school context. Given that, as Hammersley & Atkinson (1983) acknowledge, there is a 'need to learn the culture' of those we study, being part of that social world is an advantage and indeed unavoidable.

We are part of the social world we study and there is no escape from reliance on common sense knowledge and common sense methods of investigation. (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, p.25)

However, they also alert the researcher to the challenges that exist in studying a social situation that is 'known'. Given that the social world of school is so much 'taken for granted' by a teacher it is difficult to discern what is of significance. In order to draw a full and accurate picture of the social context Stephenson & Greer (1981) suggest the researcher take steps to make what is familiar strange,

familiar topics should be given 'stranger value' and seen through the eyes of a stranger. (Stephenson & Greer, 1981, p.24)

The study design evolved from conscious efforts to resolve some of the dilemmas of the researcher's role and from opportunistic solutions which presented themselves. Since the social world and the rules which governed the behaviour of its members were well known to the researcher, there was a strong case, already argued, for building into the research design strategies which would facilitate a fresh and sharpened perspective of what might well be otherwise taken for granted, deemed insignificant or even go unnoticed. Similarly, issues of access which might present problems to those not already a part of the school would present no obstacle to the researcher. There were, in addition, some significant challenges in terms of relationships with staff and pupils which might facilitate access to

their confidences but which would present ethical concerns in terms of reporting findings which might be other than positive and/or which might jeopardise the respondent's position within the school. In terms of challenges to the validity of evidence gathered, there was also a significant risk that the relationship that the researcher had with informants could bias the evidence collected.

Enhancing objectivity

Whilst the in-depth knowledge that the researcher had of the structure, organisational arrangements and rationale of the unit, if clearly documented, could provide a very detailed picture the researcher recognised that the unbiased nature of that description would be difficult to substantiate. She thus looked for ways in which some distance from the object of study could be attained. Circumstances contrived to facilitate this in two ways. Firstly, the unit was one of two units which had been simultaneously established under the same initiative and were managed by the same special school. The two units had many similarities and some important differences. By investigating both units it was thus possible to add a comparative element to the study and increase the size of the sample.

A second factor that assisted the researcher in distancing herself from the subject of study was her change of professional circumstance. The term before the field work was due to commence brought a change of post within the special school to one of deputy head teacher which included a supervisory role for both units. Visits to the two schools, which were part of the monitoring role of the post of deputy head teacher, as well as providing an opportunity to get to know the children in the second unit before the research commenced, allowed time for the development of a more detached view of the first unit. It also meant the researcher was able to get to know mainstream staff at the second unit

and to talk over with them the focus and nature of the proposed research on an informal basis before making an official approach to the head teachers of the three schools to carry out the project. Subsequently the researcher took up a part-time research post at the University which facilitated the conduct of a year long study in the field of the two units. This allowed the researcher to have, and to be perceived by informants as having, a more objective perspective on the two units.

The opportunity to have a second unit to study offered considerable advantages. The study would thus include a larger number of pupils whose perspectives on unit placement could be consulted and crucially the second unit could serve to heighten the researcher's awareness of what in the first unit was distinctive or taken for granted and necessitated closer study, for, as Eisner suggests

what one learns about one school can raise one's consciousness to features that might be found in another (Eisner, 1981, p.103).

In seeking to shed light on possible contributory factors in pupils' experience the investigation of two units could also crucially provide a comparative dimension to the study. The second unit would provide a testing ground for hypotheses generated from the study of the first. Differences in terms of organisation for example might serve to highlight features which were the outcomes of decision-making rather than given and thus would be amenable to change. Differences in pupil behaviour where organisational arrangements were similar could direct the search for underlying factors to other areas of investigation.

Consulting the perspective of colleagues

The researcher was aware of certain ethical considerations when interviewing colleagues.

There was a danger that one might use one's relationship with colleagues to extract information which they might not otherwise wish to make public. The presence of the tape recorder and the limitations described to them about the researcher's ability to completely anonymise evidence were, it was considered, sufficient guards against the accusation of ethical misconduct in this respect. A second concern was to ensure that 'common knowledge' would be drawn out rather than presumed. This evidence needed to be made available to the reader and moreover it was important to challenge the researcher's understanding. This was done through specific requests to informants to presume no prior knowledge and by keeping the interviews on a formal footing through the use of a shared interview schedule. The use of a tape recorder, although potentially inhibiting, encouraged the interviewee to be aware of the wider audience to which they were speaking and to provide more detail than might have been the case.

Consulting the perspective of pupils

The second major challenge arose from the researcher's concern to consult pupils directly about the nature of school experience. In so doing she acknowledges both an ethical and epistemological imperative to consult users in the evaluation of services designed to benefit them. It also presented a number of challenges both ethical and methodological that the research design sought to address.

In 1993, when Wade and Moore published their study on what pupils with special educational needs could tell us about school, they noted a dearth of other such research which had consulted pupil perspective on this subject. There had been some promising beginnings in the field of self-assessment (Barnes 1976; DES and WO 1988) and learning (Holt 1969; Barnes and Schemilt 1974; Wade 1978a, 1978b) and what they described as

'a rich vein of insights' in that of autobiography (Battye, 1966; Edwards, 1962; Dean, 1957; Brown, 1990). However, Wade and Moore's study (1993) indicated that most teachers at that time did not value pupils' views and some research (Meighan, 1977) showed that they even considered their views potentially dangerous.

In recent years this body of knowledge has shown significant growth with a number of studies consulting the perspectives of pupils (Ruddock, Chaplain & Wallace, 1996; Ainscow, Booth & Dyson, 1999; Frederickson et al., 2004), including those of various special needs groups such as the deaf (Lynas 1986), the physically disabled (Madge and Fasson, 1982), the learning disabled and those with learning difficulties (Jenkins and Heinen, 1989; Guterman, 1995; Vaughn and Klingner, 1998) and accounts of individual pupils' personal experiences of school (Allan, 1999; Bailey and Barton, 1999; Ballard and Mac Donald, 1999; Nes, 1999; Stromstad, 1999; Crozier and Tracey, 2001).

Some research suggests that consultation can play a key role in the design of effective services for young people. Watts' (1997) study showed that children are more likely to use services they feel they can trust and that listening to young people's views has been a key feature of the more successful community initiatives. Other evidence (e.g. Rutter et al 1979; Mortimer et al. 1988; DES 1989; Davie and Galloway, 1996) indicates that where children are given a voice and responsibility in their own schooling there are positive impacts upon both learning and behaviour.

The fact that the pupils in this study had moderate learning difficulties presented additional difficulties but in no way undermines the ethical imperative to consult them. As Brendan & Dumbleton (1989) argue

people with learning difficulties...have potential for personal development, for making choices about their lives rather than simply responding to an environment manipulated by others on their behalf' (Brendan & Dumbleton, 1989, p.164),

nor does it undermine the significance of their evidence.

children with special needs can offer reliable and valid insights that might be otherwise unobtainable" (Somogyvary 1986 in Wade and Moore 1993 p.2).

Ethical concerns addressed

The ethical case for consulting pupils has been made. However, as Swain, Heyman and Gillman (1998) warn, there is a danger such research may itself be exploitative, if not abusive. They suggest it is the researcher's responsibility through a continuous process of decision making to

identify intended and unintended ways of exploiting interviewees and to redesign the study and refocus the researcher-interviewee relationship to prevent such abuses (Swain, Heyman and Gillman, 1998, p.31.)

The researcher demonstrates here her engagement with such a process.

As Mittler (1991) points out, people with learning difficulties 'are in greater danger of being victims of the good intentions of others than most other marginalised groups' (p.22). The imbalance of power that exists within such relationships between the researcher and the researched (Finch, 1984) was compounded by the additional inequalities of teacher-pupil relationships which existed in this particular study. This, the researcher recognised, was likely to manifest itself in terms of pressures felt by pupils to take part in the research or an inability to excuse themselves from the research situation should a particular line of questioning become uncomfortable. The issue of consent needed to be carefully negotiated in the first instance with full information as to the purpose and likely benefits, if any, to pupils clearly described. It was also necessary that it be part of a 'continuous process to be reaffirmed' (Swain, Heyman & Gillman, op cit.,

p.28) as the research progressed The researcher was also concerned to ensure that the research experience itself was as positive as possible and that due respect was paid to informants in terms of confidentiality. Every effort was made to check the researcher's understandings against that of informants.

whereas the researcher may escape relatively unscathed, and indeed may emerge with accolades from fellow researchers, those being researched may be the victims of misinterpretation and stereotyping , sudden and unwelcome public interest and, above all, policies which are consequently and inappropriately developed (Bines, 1995, p.48)

The author thus sought to obtain 'informed consent' (Lindsay 2000) from schools, parents of pupils and the pupils themselves (see P. 224 in Appendix A for principles of the research contract). The study was explained as a piece of research in which the researcher had both a professional and personal interest, as an ex-manager of one of the units, and was being undertaken in an attempt to evaluate how successful current integration arrangement had been in realising intended benefits to pupils. It was made clear that the actual pupils interviewed were unlikely to be immediate beneficiaries of the research but that information gained would be fed back to the schools and unit staff to inform their planning and future integration/inclusion arrangements. Before interviews of pupils, both individual and group, the researcher once again explained the purpose of the research and checked that all pupils were still willing to take part and reminded them that should they wish to discontinue with the interview, or did not wish to answer any particular question the researcher would respect that wish. Pupils were also assured that their individual views would be kept anonymous but if any serious concerns were raised in the course of the interview teachers would be informed so that they could resolve problems which were occurring in school. Interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format and pupils were told beforehand the subjects that would be raised. Checks were made as to whether pupils had any worries about talking about these sorts of issues. The interviews were tape-

recorded but the researcher also kept summary notes checking back with pupils as these were recorded as to whether her understanding of what pupils had said was correct. In some instances the researcher had indeed misunderstood and pupils were more than willing to correct these misunderstandings and provide further explanation or examples.

Although the researcher herself was the prime beneficiary of this piece of research, it being a doctoral thesis, she remains convinced that pupils enjoyed participating in the research and that there was a clear interest from teaching staff and a willingness to take on board the findings of the research. Thus there is a very good chance that future pupils of the two units may indeed benefit from this study.

Consulting pupils with learning difficulties: methodological issues

The inherent methodological difficulties which need to be addressed when interviewing young people have been described by educational researchers such as Davies (1982), Pollard (1987), Butler & Williamson (1994), and Hazel (1996), who have sought to consult their perspective, and include issues pertaining to effective communication and the reliability of evidence obtained by this method. Such difficulties are compounded when informants are both young and have special needs. Writers like Lewis (1992), Minkes, Robinson & Weston (1994), Tisdall and Dawson (1994), Lloyd-Smith & Davies (1995) and Costley (2000) have drawn attention to some particular problems encountered in their research with specific groups of pupils and stressed the need for vigilance and self-reflection on the part of the researcher. The author here seeks to demonstrate an awareness of the particular challenges of researching the perspective of young pupils with moderate learning difficulties and describes measures taken to minimise their impact on the data and its reliability.

Powney and Watts (1987) emphasise the importance of the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee and sees the detailing of that relationship as crucial to any judgement about the quality of the research evidence. A rapport, they suggest, needs to be established that will effectively elicit information without putting undue pressure on the interviewee to provide answers where none exist and to minimise the influence of the interviewer on the nature of those answers. The basic sources of interviewer bias, which they describe, include background characteristics of the interviewer such as age, sex and status; psychological factors such as the perceptions, attitudes, expectations and motives of the interviewer; and behavioural factors related to inadequacies in the conduct of the interview. They draw particular attention to the vulnerability of the interviewee in the 'asymmetrical relationship' which exists within the social situation of the interview and describe how concerns to maintain self esteem or convey a desired impression may influence and bias responses. This, they suggest, is particularly problematic when the interviewer is a teacher. The authority relationship that exists presents particular problems since children have spent 'all their schools lives working out what teachers want and how to please them' (p.48).

In discussing the issue of rapport Pollard (1987) maintains there is a need to 'bridge the gap' between the two cultures to which adults and children distinctly and separately belong. This as Calvert (1975) and Davies (1982) suggest is 'inherently problematic' since

very important elements of child cultures are derived and maintained by the structurally-based tensions of adult-child relationships (Pollard op. cit. p.101)

Pollard (op. cit.) maintains it is necessary to think carefully about the identity the researcher presents and how it is perceived by participants. Information, he maintains, is more easily accessed by someone who is perceived to be trustworthy or 'fun to be

around'. Butler & Williamson's (op.cit) view of an 'acceptable identity' is one that is comprised of certain aspects including a 'naïve curiosity' which is open and empathic, free from judgmental beliefs and nurtures the pupil's natural curiosity and willingness to express opinions.

Powney and Watts suggest that in interviewing children 'all the general rules of good interviewing apply' but that particular attention should be paid to those areas which 'may be additionally sensitive' (p48). Interviews with children should follow the courtesies of adult interviews but with 'careful attention to explanation and listening' and to the interpretation of responses. The younger the child the more questionable is their ability to understand and answer questions put to them and the greater the demand upon the researcher to put those questions in a clear and unthreatening manner (Dockrell, Lewis & Lindsay, 2000). They draw attention to the 'cognitive and social factors that can hamper children's abilities or willingness to express their views' (p.47) and the need to take account of these when devising studies. In particular they stress the need for sensitivity when devising questions 'so as not to lead the child's responses' (p.52).

Difficulties particular to interviewing young children (3 to 6 years old) include a tendency to agree with the interviewer or to feel compelled to provide an answer even to 'nonsense' questions. (Dockrell, Lewis & Lindsay, 2000, p.54)

There is also a tendency for young children to interpret questions very literally (Lewis, 1995) or to invent detail to satisfy the apparent demands of the researcher (Ceci, 1991). Pollard suggests that, as with adults, children are prone to exaggeration and that they can also engage in 'creative fantasy'. Such evidence obtained from interviews with children should, however, he stresses, not be dismissed out of hand merely because of its source.

One thing that simply cannot be done, though, is to devalue subjective data in itself merely because it comes from children. (Pollard, op cit., p.100)

He maintains that there is a basic assumption that needs to be made about children's 'rationality and interpretative competence' (p.97). Provided that the researcher can demonstrate 'the necessary reflexivity', and support that evidence from other sources 'there is no reason to doubt the inherent validity of the data gathered any more than that collected in work with adults' (p.100).

The particular challenges of consulting the perspectives of pupils with moderate learning difficulties are described by Costley (2000) in her study of the impact of the National Curriculum in special schools. From lessons learned from her own work she makes some recommendations which she suggests increase the likelihood of obtaining reliable evidence. Although any definition of this group is contentious, young people who are labelled as having moderate learning difficulties are generally perceived as belonging to a diffuse group with a variety of needs. Some characteristics that writers such as Costley (op cit.) suggest they share are low self esteem and self-confidence; difficulties with basic skills such as literacy and numeracy and poorly developed personal and social skills. It is perhaps, she suggests, because of these difficulties, and those of definition, that research evidence about this group is so scarce. She points out the significance of this omission in the field of special educational research when she draws attention to the proportion of the pupil population this concerns,

Considering the numbers of children and teachers involved in special education, focusing on moderate learning difficulties, there is very little literature describing their experiences. (Costley, op cit. p. 164)

Interviewing pupils with moderate learning difficulties requires careful planning and preparation with time built in to build relationships with pupils and to trial question and interview formats.

Careful consideration was given by the author to the question of whether to interview pupils individually or in groups. Group interviews as a research tool offer some considerable benefits (Lewis, 1992). Although there are few reports of their use with primary aged children Lewis suggests they are 'a viable and useful technique with this age group' (p.413). She maintains they are helpful in revealing consensus views, particularly relevant when the research is interested in behaviours which take place in groups and are often influenced by group norms. They may also generate 'richer responses' encouraging the more reticent, within the supportive atmosphere of their peer group, to contribute.

Children may be less intimidated by talking in a group than when talking individually. (Costley, op cit., p.416)

The dynamics of a group may also stimulate new ideas, encourage informants to discuss at length and challenge one another's responses thus aiding clarification (Hedges, 1995; Powney and Watts, 1987; Watts and Ebbutt, 1987; Breakwell, 1990). Where children experience difficulties in receptive and expressive language the additional thinking time that the group situation allows may aid responsiveness. It may also encourage children to elicit clarification of questions or even to challenge the interviewer's interpretation of responses.

The group interview itself, however, presents specific methodological issues. Careful consideration needs to be given to the composition and size of groups.

The wide range of research into children's behaviour in groups suggests that sex, personality, age, perceived ability by self, others and the teacher, attainment, attractiveness, popularity, friendship patterns, sibling relationship and group size will all have a bearing on the types of responses generated in group interviews. (Costley, 2000, p.418)

Research evidence seems to suggest that friendship groupings may be the most productive in that pupils have been found to give fuller responses in such situations (Spencer and Flin, 1990), and to feel free to express differences of opinion (Thacker, 1990).

Work in the field of social psychology seems to suggest that the optimum size of such groups should be around four. Small groups encourage the participation of all children (Breakwell, 1990; Waterhouse, 1983; Barnes & Todd, 1977). Larger numbers strain the social organisation of the group and divert attention away from the task in hand (Barnes & Todd, 1977). Although they may require more careful chairing in order to keep the focus of the interview and prevent discussion being dominated by one member of the group the advantages of group interviews seem to outweigh the management problems they present.

Methodological issues addressed

Given the challenges described in accessing pupils' perspectives the author sought to trial a number of recommended methods for communicating effectively with pupils and increasing the reliability of the evidence derived from interviews. Having carefully considered the advice of those with previous experience of conducting interviews with children of various ages and abilities the author decided to combine the described advantages of individual and group interviews by conducting both. The individual interviews, it was felt would allow the researcher to obtain individual perceptions which might be obscured by the group interview process and allow children time to tell their individual stories. This combined with the subsequent group interview at a later date would allow the opportunity for individual perceptions to alter and to be challenged or

supported by the group thus providing pictures of individual and group perception of pupil experience and enhancing claims to the reliability of evidence.

Before commencing on the research the author piloted sets of questions and experimented with different interview techniques, processes and groupings of pupils with a previous year group of pupils. Some modifications were made to the wording of questions to make sure pupils understood what was being asked and to encourage them to elaborate. A summary of responses and the interviewer's understanding was fed back to pupils at the end of each question allowing for corrections to be made to interviewer interpretation.

Trials with group interviewing suggested that single sex groupings of between three and four pupils, all of whom knew each other very well, provided the most productive combination. Some simple rules about allowing each other sufficient time to answer and assurances about each having the opportunity to speak made the interviews a lot easier to transcribe from the tape and ensured that the interview was not dominated by one or two individuals. Similarly some trialing with the tape, listening to each others voices, made the process of being recorded more 'fun' and also aided the identification of individual voices in transcription. After these initial trials the focus on the tape recorder was reduced by setting it to one side of the group rather than having it in the centre of the table. A statement about the importance of expressing one's own opinion, which may well be different to friends', was made. Asking each child if they agreed with earlier statements certainly seemed to elicit both agreement, disagreement and modifications of group perspective. The small number of pupils appeared to keep pupils interested in each others answers. It was clear, however, that there was a limit to the amount of time pupils were able and willing to participate in the interview process and questions had to be kept to a

minimum. Certain questions such as asking for suggestions for improvements to current arrangements were more challenging for pupils and highlighted pupils' expressive and cognitive weaknesses. They certainly seemed much more comfortable talking about personal experiences than imagining alternative scenarios. Where alternatives were suggested pupils tended to focus on more concrete perceptions of 'the school' such as the material surroundings rather than organisational arrangements. Where feedback on organisational arrangements was wanted this needed to be sought through more direct and specific questioning.

Summarising pupils' responses at the end of each question in the form of notes provided the opportunity to check back with informants on interpretation of responses and supported the transcription of tapes. This transcription needed to be done as soon as possible after the event, particularly in the case of group interviews so as to recall and match individual voices.

Pupils were also asked to comment on the interview process. They reported that they were equally happy to participate in individual interviews and group interviews. Although a little hesitant at first in the individual situation, provided some ice breaking conversation such as explanation about the purpose of the research and how necessary it was to find out what different children felt about their schooling experience, they quickly warmed to the task and seemed to enjoy the opportunity to confide in privacy about personal experiences. Certainly the established relationship that the researcher had with these pupils appeared to facilitate the exercise and supported Costley's (op cit.) suggestion that the relationship she had built up with the children and 'previous experience as a teacher in a

special school were very important to the breadth of information gathered from students'(p.171).

Lessons learned from these trials were incorporated into the interview format and schedule. It also became clear that extra measures would need to be taken to get to know pupils in the second unit where the researcher was not a familiar figure.

In seeking to establish rapport with pupils in the second unit the researcher visited their classrooms on a regular basis throughout one term prior to the start of the study. She spent time getting to know pupils and working in their classes helping them with their school work and chatting to them about their work and school experiences. This notion of asking pupils about their experience provided a sound basis for the forthcoming interviews and also provided some detail about teachers, lessons' content and organisation and classmates to allow the interviewer to engage in something more akin to a conversation with pupils about their experience, thus encouraging greater elaboration than would have been likely in a more formal question and answer session.

In gathering evidence the role of 'ex-unit teacher' was advantageous in that it provided an identity which could communicate empathy but supported the notion of confidentiality. The somewhat detached interest that this role implied gave some credibility to the notion of objectivity and interest in the pupils' perspective. Although it was necessary from an ethical standpoint to make it clear that the information gathered would be reported to teachers, particularly if there were any genuine concerns about individual pupils, the level of individual anonymity which could be assured appeared to be sufficient to encourage

pupils to express their opinions about positive and negative aspects of their school experience.

Exploring the social context

In seeking to paint a full and accurate picture of the social context in which pupil relationships occur the researcher sought to gather data from a number of sources. Also, given the particular circumstances of the establishment of the two units, its management system and the likelihood of each unit having evolved in somewhat different ways as unit staff sought to develop collaborative working practices in the two mainstream schools, the researcher sought to provide a historical perspective on the model of provision currently in operation in each of the two units. Documentary evidence describing the consultation and planning phase was examined and interviews were conducted with key informants who had been involved in the establishment of the units. Although there are obvious limitations to the reliability of evidence which relies heavily on memory and is informed with the benefit of hindsight, it was interrogated by that provided from documentation and derived from a number of different perspectives.

The current context was explored through an examination of evidence relating to current organisational arrangements, the rationale underpinning those arrangements and the interrogation of a range of perspectives on the unit, its staff and pupils. The attitude to the unit, its staff and pupils was investigated through an examination of documentation describing the units and their role. Interviews were conducted with the three head teachers, samples of mainstream staff and pupils who had worked closely with the units and all but one member of unit staff, with the same purpose in mind. Data on current organisational arrangements was collected through an examination of timetables and

through interviews with unit and mainstream staff and the researcher's observations during an extensive period of field work. This data was to be analysed in an attempt to track the ways in which attitudes to the pupils in the unit might be conveyed through different levels of the social structure and influence those of mainstream peers.

Sampling issues

In educational research, especially within complex organisations such as schools, there are inevitably limitations to the amount of time and opportunity to carry out full and comprehensive data collection. In such circumstances, writers such as Ball (1993) suggest, sampling is both 'inevitable and necessary'. In that what the researcher presents are at best 'snapshots' of the whole experience it is important to 'alert readers to the limits within which the portrayal and analysis should be read' (p.38). These limitations apply to persons, settings and times. Social actors 'present' themselves differently in different settings and their behaviours may demonstrate different patterns at particular times of the school year. For instance the early weeks of the school year may well occasion social encounters which will eventually establish patterns of social relationships for the rest of the year. New pupils, depending on their level of confidence and assertiveness, may well find themselves socially isolated for varying lengths of time while they seek to establish friendship links. Similarly certain periods of the year occasion breaks in orderly routine and varying levels of excitement which give rise to outbursts of high spirited and sometimes aggressive behaviour. Pupils' behaviour may vary according to the degree of supervision/surveillance by adults and the behaviour of some individuals within class may also vary according to the teacher in charge.

There is a case for arguing that individual pupils' experience of school may relate directly to individual pupils' characteristics. All pupils differ to the extent to which they are able readily to form friendship links according to the level of social skills they possess. In conducting a study of peer relationships it was thus crucial to provide some background information on individual pupils' social skills to indicate how representative individual interviewees were of their group. The researcher gathered evidence on pupils' background and special educational needs and admission patterns to each of the units. This was done through an analysis of available documentary evidence and interviews with the teachers in charge of the two units. It was also important to be able to suggest how typical the opinions expressed by pupils and observations of them were of that individual. For instance a particular set of circumstances or even an individual incident on one particular day may well dramatically colour a pupil's perceptions of school in general. It was thus considered necessary to check back on individuals' perceptions at different times of the year.

Bearing these many considerations in mind the author sought to provide background detail and to collect evidence over a sufficiently lengthy period that would reflect natural and commonly occurring events thus providing sufficient detail of the sampling process to enable accurate interpretation by the reader. These considerations were taken into account in both the conduct of playground and classroom observations and the collection of interview data. In the latter circumstance the author allowed a period of three weeks to elapse between the conduct of individual and group interviews. This was considered sufficient time for temporary problems to be resolved but for pupils to be able to recall their earlier and individual responses to questions.

Sample selection

The number of potential participants in the study was severely limited by the size of the unit, the age of pupils and the amount of time each had spent in the unit. The maximum number of pupils that attended the units was 15 and the age range in each varied between 6 and 11 years. A minimum of one year's previous experience of being in the unit, a period of time considered sufficient to have established relationships with fellow pupils and teachers and to be able to reflect and comment on experiences was decided upon. Two pupils, however, who had transferred into the unit very recently from the mainstream classroom in Unit 2 were also interviewed. The researcher was interested to see, in this instance, whether or how a short period of time spent in the unit affected their perception of being part of the mainstream school or unit and their relationships with peers. This data was not included in the overall analysis of unit pupils' perceptions of experience but was used to indicate impact of transfer. Given the additional problems previously mentioned of interviewing very young children only pupils in Year 4 and upwards were selected. This meant that six pupils in each unit fulfilled the criteria and composed the sample. Both groups were made up of equal numbers of boys and girls.

These two groups of pupils were in many ways typical of the pupils who attended the unit in that they varied in the range of learning and social difficulties that they presented. To the extent that pupils had been selected to attend the units from the special school because of their perceived academic and social strengths, in relation to the general population of the special school, they represented a group of children at the upper end of the special school ability range. General background information was provided by teachers about individual pupils. This aided the researcher in her preparation for interviews, to anticipate

questions where prompts and probes would be necessary, and in interpreting aspects of pupils' responses.

Data Collection

In the term prior to the start of the research the researcher spent time in School 2 working with both unit and mainstream pupils in order to establish a comfortable relationship with potential informants. Pupils knew of the researcher's previous experience as a teacher in a similar unit and her interest in finding out what pupils thought about school.

During the first term of the academic year in which the research was conducted the researcher spent one half day per week at different times of the week in each of the two schools. She spent the time in mainstream and unit classrooms observing general classroom organisation, behaviour and pupil interactions and talking to pupils both mainstream and unit about their school experience and, in particular, social relationships. She also carried out some playground observations. These were continued and completed during the second term.

The individual interviews with unit pupils were conducted towards the beginning of the second term and the group interviews towards the middle of the second term. Background information was gathered from teachers about the current social circumstances of individual interviewees to gauge if there had been any atypical events in home or school circumstances which might colour their perceptions of schools and friends at that time.

Additional information on unit pupils' social experience of school was gathered through interviews with groups of mainstream pupils with whom they had regular organised

contact. Three groups of mainstream pupils were interviewed in each of the schools. One group represented 'friends' of the unit pupils and were randomly selected from a group nominated by unit pupils. This group it was felt would be most likely to have insights into, and possibly to have shared confidences with the unit pupils about, school experiences. Two other groups were randomly selected from groups of pupils identified by mainstream teachers as 'most able' and 'others in the class not identified as friends of unit pupils' who had worked in integrated settings with them. By ensuring a range of ability and social links among these groups it was hoped that it might be possible to ascertain 'common' perceptions and assess the degree to which pupils echoed in their views and attitudes the principles that schools were promoting.

All pupils were asked if they were willing to take part in the research. Letters were then sent to parents to gain their consent, (see p.225 in Appendix A). These interviews were conducted during the latter part of the second term under the same conditions and in the same way as those with unit pupils.

Interview process

Pupils were interviewed at different times in the school day individually and in groups of three to four children of the same sex. These groups constituted friendship groups as unit children tended to play within these groups on the playground. Children sat in a circle with the researcher with the tape recorder on the table, but to one side of the group. The researcher took notes of what the children said and checked back with them about her understanding. This also allowed some time for pupils to mull over their responses, reconsider or provide additional information.

In the individual interviews pupils were asked a series of questions as outlined in the interview schedule on Pages 231-32 in Appendix B. They were asked specific questions about transition from previous educational settings into the unit and their understanding of why they had made this move. They were also asked about their first impressions and experiences and then about their current feelings about being in the unit. They were asked to provide any understanding they had about other people's perceptions of the unit, what their parents thought about their attendance and experience, and about how they thought mainstream children saw the unit and those that attended it. Some questions focused in on the issue of social relationships and pupils' experiences in mainstream lessons and at break times.

The subsequent group interviews revisited key areas asking children to recall and discuss some of their previous contributions. Few children changed their opinions from previous statements, but the group situation provided opportunities for pupils to provide examples and elaborate on issues that were of interest or concern. There were some examples of children modifying and clarifying statements as a result of the comments of other group members.

Transcription

Notes were transcribed as soon as possible after the event. This was particularly critical with group interviews so as to continue to be able to identify individual respondents.

Pupil responses

As described, the researcher used a combination of individual and group interviews, each having its respective strengths and weaknesses, with pupils who attended the unit. The

individual interviews (see sample transcript on pp.238-39 in Appendix C) allowed pupils to give their own views of unit experience without being influenced by those of their peers. However, as anticipated, it proved difficult to obtain extended responses from pupils, particularly those who were naturally quite reticent and with whom the interviewer had only had a short-term relationship. In one instance, where the pupil was unable or unwilling to answer the more open-ended questions, they were rephrased and re-asked, e.g.

Res: Why did you leave your last school?

A: (No reply)

Res: Was it because you moved house?

A: Yes

Res: What did you think about Heathcliff School when you first came?

A: (No reply)

Res: Can you remember?

A: No

Res: Were you worried?

A: Yes

Res: Scared?

A: Yes

Res: What's it like now?

A: (No reply)

Res: Do you like it?

A: Yes

Res: Are you still worried?

A: No

Res: Are there any things about school that you don't like?

A: No

Res: Do you enjoy playtimes?

A: Yes

Res: What do you like to do?

A: Play games.

Res: What sort of games

A: Hide and seek

Res: Anything else?

A: Yes

Res: What

A: (No reply)

Res: Football

A: No

The background knowledge gained from Unit teachers proved useful in allowing a closed question to be formulated to which a yes/no response could be given.

By contrast the group interviews encouraged more lengthy discussion and provided examples and details of pupils' experience not readily accessible through individual interview (see example transcript on pp.240-44 in Appendix C). They also allowed opportunities for pupils to challenge one another's view of reality and to present a combined or modified answer with which the group agreed, e.g.

Res: What do you think the unit is for?

N: For people who don't know anything

B: Er...For people who need help

M: I think it's for people who like....don't know much and need....right....proper help and have three teachers

B: Have some disability.

To some extent the group interviews with unit pupils could be considered similar to focus group interviews in that the interviewer was interested to explore an issue that was of interest to those being interviewed, the experience of school, and in particular that of peer relationships. Something of a 'situational analysis' (Robson, 1993, p. 241) had been conducted and the interview guide drawn up to cover the major areas of enquiry of classroom, playground and after-school experience. Once the subject had been introduced the interviewer used probes to further explore experiences. The interviews with groups of mainstream pupils were similarly structured (Interview schedule p.233 Appendix B) and covered key areas of interest, i.e. mainstream pupils' perceptions of the unit, the pupils who attended the unit, their teachers and their views of the experience of the pupils who attended the unit.

Group interviews were found to be very productive. Pupils were enthusiastic in their response to questioning and appeared to enjoy the experience. There was evidence that the pupils were keen to give an accurate picture rather than dominate the views of others. Rarely were the responses given by individual pupils contradicted in the group interview situation and where this did occur it was over a matter of degree or frequency. The issue of name-calling was certainly described more forcefully in the group situation with many instances cited. This latter view was substantiated by the evidence provided by mainstream pupils. The number of friends pupils who attended the unit had out of school was obscured by what became something of a competitive element in two discussions (see example below). It also became difficult to ascertain whether the individuals cited would have been more normally described as 'associates' or 'children they knew', in this circumstance.

J: I don't have many friends in my street. I just stay in when it's the holiday.

Res: I was going to ask you that question. Do you have a lot of friends out of school?

J: I have none.

M: I have ..I play with S and walk the dog

Res: How about you D?

D: Normally, but sometimes I just stay in and play with my play station

Res: So who do you play with?

D: P and L who goes to SB. I have loads. I have AC and CW.

Res: How do you know them?

D: When I first moved into the street the only person who made me feel welcome was MJ who lives next door. We all played in a group.

Res: How about you L? Who do you play with after school?

L: Actually sometimes I play with my friend C

Res: And does he live near you?

L: Yes. He just lives down the road.

Res: I was gonna ask you about playtimes. You all seem to play football.....

J: Slide on ice

L: I play with L and A. I play chasey outside

M: I play football I think

Res: You play football a lot don't you M?

J: So do I

Res: And who do you play football with?

D: Sometimes I play with me dad

L: My friends

Res: And which friends are they?

L: At football? Actually....

M: J

Res: What class are they in?

J: 4

M: and Y5

J: S and all that

Res: And how do you know them?

J: Cos my dad knows J's mam and dad

D: Cos he used to be in Y4 before

J: I used to be in nursery with them

M: I knew them before. When I came I got introduced to them

J: And I knew J because I used to be in nursery with him

Res: I was wondering...Do you think you've got lots of friends?

J: No

M: Yes

D: Maybe

Res: And what do you think L?

L: Yes

Res: Would you like to have more friends? Is that what you mean J? At home or at school or both?

J: At home

Res: And how about you D?, cos you weren't sure.

D: I'd like to have more friends in school and no bullying.

L: I don't bully him

Res: Is that why you like playing with L?

L: Yes. He's too big to bully

D: I don't bully anyone

M: I've got loads of friends 'cos I've got some at me caravan.

L: I've got friends from France

D: I've got friends what I don't see but I went on holiday with them in the summer.

In interpreting this data it became important, in one or two instances, as here, to interrogate the evidence with information provided by mainstream pupils and, in particular, teachers who, from their conversations with parents, had a view of the degree of social isolation pupils experienced at home as well as at school. This was only done when it was not possible to get a clear picture from the interview data itself. The data provided through observation of pupils' behaviour on the school playground also shed light on the level of isolation some pupils experienced.

Observational data

The researcher chose to investigate the issue of peer relationships and to interrogate the data gathered through interviews by conducting observations of pupils' interactions/contact in the playground (see p.270-71 Appendix E) and, to a more limited extent, in the classroom (p.273). As a former teacher in one of the units under study there had been a lengthy exploratory phase during which some inductive analysis had already taken place. However, a period of informal observation was built into the study. The role of researcher allowed for a much more objective view of playground and classroom observation of the behaviour of pupils, and provided an opportunity to do so in the unfamiliar setting of the second unit facilitating a sharpening of focus. In this phase the author was able to gather information on all recommended dimensions (Spradley, 1980) of the research context including space, actors, activities, objects, acts, events, time, goals and feelings. Reflections on this evidence suggested key aspects which should be built into the second more systematic phase of observation.

a) Playground observations

Reflections on the evidence gathered in the exploratory phase of the research and the literature reviewed on peer relationships suggested two important areas of focus for playground observations. In that research shows that pupils often choose friends with whom they share common interests, their choice of playground activities was considered likely to be a significant factor in the pattern of contact observed. Therefore the researcher sought to record the activities in which pupils participated.

Analysis of earlier observations suggested 5 categories of activity. These were:

- (i) physical activity e.g games of chase and tag, skipping, dancing and clapping games and ball games .
- (ii) activities that revolved chiefly around communicating e.g. walking or sitting together chatting
- (iii) football
- (iv) isolated play
- (v) Physical contact games

Clear definitions, which were mutually exclusive, were formulated. Physical activities and those involving physical contact were differentiated according to the degree and nature of that contact. Games which involved physically holding, 'tagging' and 'toy fighting' were categorised differently from those in which contact was incidental e.g. skipping and dance or clapping routines. Teachers often associated this former sort of behaviour with immaturity or neediness and it regularly resulted in the need for teacher intervention leading as it sometimes did to confrontation between and complaints by pupils. Solitary or isolated play was defined as playing or being by oneself without interest of or in others. A coding system for these activities and contacts was devised to facilitate note-taking.

The second area of focus was the pattern and frequency of interaction of pupils in the unit with their peers. For this purpose pupils were categorised into groupings; fellow unit pupils and mainstream peers. This second group was sub-divided into three groups: near-age mainstream peers, younger mainstream pupils and mainstream pupils with special educational needs. Observations were made and recorded of associations and physical and verbal interaction of pupils in the unit with these groups of their peers.

Through playground observation the researcher sought to both record and interpret the interaction of pupils. The role of observer of children's games provided a legitimate and non-threatening reason for the researcher's presence and recording activity. It also allowed the researcher to question other children as to more detailed or unknown background information on mainstream pupils. Given the researcher's previous position as a teacher in School 1 her role here might most accurately be described as 'participant as observer' (Whyte, 1981), whereas her role as a former teacher who was interested in studying children's games was made explicit in School 2 to those who asked, and could be described as 'observer as participant' (Gold, 1958).

In recording her observations the researcher chose to combine a structured/coded schedule with space in which to record additional narrative information (see completed observation schedule on p.270 in Appendix E). This allowed for the recording of the age and categorisation of pupils, some detail of the sort of game being played and the nature of the interaction. Because of the necessity to understand the nature of contact a fairly lengthy period of time for each observation (1 minute) was trialed and considered appropriate. Verbal interactions and body language might be easily misinterpreted unless sufficient time was allowed to study the reactions and consequences of what might be brief interchanges. A small group of pupils was chosen to be observed in each session and these observations occurred in sequence and repeated three or four times during the period of play. These observations of pupils at play on the school playground were conducted over the course of two terms in each of the units. This was done in a deliberate attempt to reflect changes and developments likely to occur in pupils' relationships. The observations, which were of between fifteen and twenty minute duration, covered morning, afternoon (in one school) and lunchtime breaks. An attempt was made to

observe all pupils an equal number of times. However, due to absences and disciplinary measures, which meant some pupils were kept off the school playground, it was not possible to stick rigidly to the study design in this respect.

b) Classroom observations

The researcher was interested to discover whether the pattern of interaction and instances of behaviour both positive and negative, described by pupils as occurring in the classrooms and seen in the school playground would be reflected in classroom observations. Although the classroom was a social context in which there was a far higher level of control and direction over pupil interaction and therefore less likely to reflect what was deemed 'unacceptable behaviour', it was felt that a limited number of observations would be useful in interrogating the other data.

An exploratory phase suggested that different foci and observational techniques should be used for different parts of joint lessons observed (see example of a completed classroom observation schedule on p.273-9 in Appendix E). The entry to lessons where pupils joined their peers in either unit or mainstream classrooms and sometimes chose with whom they sat was considered an important time to make observations. This was one part of the lesson where pupil interaction freely occurred and attitude of pupils towards one another might be evident. The independent work time was also a part of lessons where pupils were sometimes encouraged to collaborate or interact. For each of these parts of the lesson a small number of unit pupils were observed in turn for a period of 1 to one and a half minutes and their behaviour and that of those with whom they interacted was noted. General observations were made during the teacher directed part of the lesson to establish the general classroom atmosphere, organisation and the roles of mainstream and unit staff,

expectations of teachers and level of engagement of unit pupils in lesson content. With only one observer of classroom behaviour it is important to make clear how the researcher made judgements against these criteria. The classroom atmosphere was considered to be influenced by the level of teacher control and direction. Where this was considered high the researcher expected to see little off-task behaviour, a quiet working atmosphere and the promotion of respectful attitudes of pupils one towards another. Classroom seating would be under the direction of the teacher, who would have pre-established seating arrangements or would move children to where they considered they would work best. Joint lessons were either co-taught or supported by the unit or mainstream teacher and/or the unit NNEB. This added to the level of surveillance and or teacher support that pupils experienced during lessons. Teachers who had high expectations of all pupils would challenge them to contribute to lessons, demonstrate high levels of on-task behaviour and show positive and supportive attitudes one to another.

The researcher's observations also focused on pupils' engagement with lessons. This was demonstrated by the pupils' attention to task, teacher talk and response to questions. She also noted the teacher's concern or otherwise to engage unit pupils in the content of lessons and the completion of tasks set. Pupils' interactions were recorded to indicate with whom they interacted and their categorisation as mainstream or fellow unit pupil and the nature of the interaction, positive, supportive, information exchange, polite, tolerant or negative.

Formal classroom observations took place over a period of one term in the summer of 2000. Observations in each school were made of two PE/Games lessons where pupils had a lot of freedom of movement and association, and four joint lessons where pupils from

the unit in School 2 joined their mainstream peers in their classroom. These lessons were taught by the mainstream teacher and supported by the unit teacher. Two lessons were observed in School 1 in the mainstream classroom and two in the unit classroom, each taught by the respective teacher and supported by the NNEB. In all lessons observed there was a high level of teacher control and few incidents of negative behaviour observed. This was not unexpected where pupils had a clear understanding of what was acceptable behaviour and where classroom discipline was rigorously enforced, as in both schools.

Data analysis

This research necessitated a range of different data collection methods. The analytical tools used for each were appropriately matched and are described under separate headings.

The aim of this research was not only to describe the particular social context and experience of pupils who attended the two units accurately but also to understand and account for the social processes in operation. As previously described, the researcher was concerned not to allow her experience as a teacher to unduly influence her interpretation, although, as Ashworth (1997) suggests 'analysis will always be filtered through one's tradition and cultural position'. She had therefore taken steps to distance herself from the context of her observations.

Learning not to know is crucial to maintaining sensitivity to data.
(Glaser, 1978)

In selecting analytical tools she also sought to ensure that methods chosen allowed the data to speak for itself.

(i) Interview data

The methods used in analysing the interview data varied in accordance with the degree of structure of the interview schedules. Individual pupil interviews had been tightly structured and responses to questions were analysed to establish whether attitudes to key aspects of pupils' experience of school were positive, negative or non-committal. A calculation was made of numbers of pupils who demonstrated positive, negative or non-committal attitudes. A subsequent analysis presented in table format in ensuing chapters sought to indicate common features and differences in experience and attitude of pupils in each of the units.

The follow-up interviews with groups of pupils from the units, which sought to explore in greater depth the social experiences of school (and in particular friendship links both within and outside school), were less structured. In the analysis of this data, as with other data derived from more loosely structured interviews, it was important to maintain a tight focus on the data itself. Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) suggests the use of constant comparative method centred on data with on-going reflection and analysis. In seeking to challenge her own view of pupils' experience it was crucial that all data be included, carefully interpreted, and those interpretations checked wherever possible. This would allow for new and unlooked for information to be fully acknowledged and new understanding to emerge.

The analysis of group interview transcripts focused on the following key areas around which discussions had revolved, largely intentionally but sometimes incidentally, following pupils' leads. The analysis sought to identify the views of pupils in the units:

- to mainstream lessons and their experience

- to mainstream pupils' behaviour in mainstream lessons
- to mainstream pupils' attitudes to unit pupils
- to teachers (unit and mainstream)
- their perceptions about 'friends' (in class, on the playground and outside school)
- of other unit pupils' experience of school

Pupils' views of their experience in and attitudes to these areas were categorised as positive, negative, ok or unclear. Once again pupils' views were tabulated (see example on p.251) and combined to identify common responses and differences of views within and between the two units. As has been previously mentioned, this data was used to interrogate that derived from individual pupil interviews.

The interviews conducted with three groups of mainstream pupils in each of the schools were loosely structured to allow free-flowing discussion but were focussed around a number of key questions. Close examination of transcripts suggested categories of responses which indicated:

- their views of the purpose of the unit
- their attitudes to pupils who attended the units
- their attitude to being in the unit themselves
- the attitudes of mainstream staff to pupils in the units
- attitudes of other mainstream pupils to pupils in the units
- views of unit pupils' experience with regard to
 - being in the unit
 - friends
 - playtimes

- mainstream lessons
- feeling included and belonging to the school

All pupils' responses in each of these areas were included in the subsequent analysis (see examples on pp.257-8). The views of the three groups of pupils in each of the units were tabulated to indicate congruence of response within and between schools. This data was used as a further point of triangulation to establish a picture of unit pupils' experience of school. It also contributed to the data on the social context in which unit pupils' experience occurred.

In analysing the more loosely structured interviews with head teachers and staff of the three schools transcripts were carefully scrutinised and responses categorised according to suggested techniques for analysing semi-structured data in small scale research (Atkins 1984). A set of codes was compiled from each transcript in turn (see examples on p.259 in Appendix D) new ones being added where they did not previously exist.

From this coding a number of themes emerged, both suggested by the data itself and found in related literature (Wade and Moore, 1993). These focused on views of the unit, its pupils and staff and the roles and responsibilities of unit and mainstream staff around issues of 'differentness' of unit pupils, their group identity, their ownership by the mainstream school and what was considered 'appropriate treatment or organisational response'. The views of headteachers of the three schools and their staff who worked with pupils in the unit and those of unit staff were tabulated to identify the degree of congruence in their perspectives on these issues (see example on p.267 in Appendix D). This data was used to inform an analysis across the two schools of common features and differences in the social context which is presented in table form in Chapter 6.

Reliability of interpretation

As previously mentioned, the author considered it important that, wherever possible, her interpretation of the data be cross-checked by an independent judge. To this end the coding of mainstream and unit teachers' responses (see pp.261-63) was checked by an independent judge on a sample of transcripts.

The rate of agreement was found to be 96%.

Samples of transcripts (see examples on p.238 and 239 in Appendix D) of unit pupils' individual interviews were analysed by an independent judge and compared with those of the researcher. This comparison was also made across samples of unit pupils' and mainstream pupils' group interviews (p. 253-6) with similar results. Although it is not possible to suggest a rate of agreement, there was a high level of congruence in interpretation. Differences in judgements related to the combination of information provided by pupils, sometimes both negative and positive, which was interpreted by the judge as OK or 'unclear', or by ticking a combination of categories of response. Where these differences occurred the information provided in the 'issues' section allows the reader to see the more general agreement in interpretation. The issue of friendship links, both inside and outside of school, proved the most challenging in obtaining a clear interpretation. Here the combination of data sources and their triangulation proved essential in achieving an accurate interpretation of the issue.

(ii) Playground observational data

Playground observational data was analysed to establish the sorts of activities pupils in the units engaged in at playtimes and the frequency of participation by individuals in particular sorts of activities. (This information is presented in the Charts in Chapter 5).

The analysis sought to draw attention to patterns of play, suggested by the literature, associated with gender or age, which might be at variance with that of near-age mainstream peers. The playground data was also analysed to establish the incidence of contact of pupils in the unit with other pupils and the percentage of that contact that occurred with different designated sub-groups of unit and mainstream pupils (see example on p.271-2 in Appendix E). This information is presented in Charts in Chapter 5.

The phenomenon of football featured large in boys' play in this age group and presented some challenges for the analysis, involving, as it does, multiple 'contacts' but little social interchange outside that which related to the game itself. Large numbers of the older boys in the two schools played this game and in both cases almost all the boys in the unit's mainstream peer group. Boys who could not access these games seemed to be those who were also in other ways socially marginalised. These pupils were observed on several occasions to be isolated in their play. Teacher evidence also supported this view. Because of its central role in peer interaction among this group and so integral to social acceptance exclusion of this data from the analysis was rejected. However, the number of social interactions resulting from this particular activity was highlighted within the charts and the impact on percentage of social contact with mainstream peers described in the text.

Without a second observer it is difficult to assure the reader of the reliability of the accuracy of the recording of the data and its interpretation. However, the data gathered was scrutinised by mainstream and unit staff who felt it accurately reflected the general pattern of play and inter-pupil activity on the school playground. Teachers commented on the incidence of chatting among the older girls. This, they suggested, was associated with a greater level of maturity and closer relationships between individuals. Similarly, they

noted that boys, unit and mainstream, who were not included in peers' games of football, were those pupils who struggled to bond well with peers in other situations. Teachers in both schools pointed out that the presence of staff on the playground with a specific remit to encourage co-operative play (a particular LEA initiative) had at one point in the recent past resulted in more interaction between unit and mainstream pupils. This had, however, been a temporary situation and the pattern of play observed by the researcher was the more general pattern of interaction to which pupils reverted once the initiative ceased.

As with the findings drawn from interviews with unit pupils a comparison was made across the two schools between the patterns of play and contact with near-age peers of pupils in the unit to suggest similarities and differences in pupils' playtime behaviour and experience. This information is presented in the tables in Chapter 5.

(iii) Classroom observational data

The data on

- the bringing together of unit and mainstream pupils at the start of lessons
- level of teacher control in classrooms
- opportunities for choosing learning partners
- mode of teaching adopted
- mode of learning promoted
- interactions between unit and mainstream pupils

which was derived from observations conducted in integrated lessons in both schools was analysed (p.273-9) to identify similarities and differences in practice and outcomes for

pupils in each of the two units.

The data was interrogated to ascertain to what extent the pupils in the units were being included in mainstream lessons. Aspects of their participation that were considered were:

(i) the extent to which pupils

- a) appeared to participate (gauged by time on task and task completion) and/or
- b) were encouraged to participate in learning activities (gauged by interactions with teaching and support staff)

(ii) the extent to which they participated in the community of the classroom. This was indicated by

- a) evidence of pupils' appearing comfortable in and being welcomed into mainstream classrooms
- b) evidence of pupils being accepted by their mainstream peers as fellow learners/classmates (nature of interactions -positive and negative)

Each classroom observation was analysed to elicit individual pupils' experience and then a summation was made of the experience of the observed pupils as a whole using the above measures.

(iv) Analysis of data on the social context

Data was gathered on the social context in order to describe

1. the organisational responses made to the perceived needs of pupils in the unit
2. the rationale underpinning those arrangements and the consequent roles and responsibilities of unit and mainstream teachers
3. the outcomes for pupils in terms of how they were perceived and treated as potential friends and members of the school community.

This data was derived from a number of different sources including documentary evidence, observations and interviews with current staff and mainstream pupils and some members of LEA and school staff who had taken an active role in the establishment of the two units. The latter was included in order to shed light on the model of provision originally established. Although it was considered likely that in the intervening period the model had evolved and changed to reflect the current emphasis on inclusion rather than the original remit of functional integration, there were strong indications, drawn from the researcher's own experience, that the current model was influenced by the original rationale and the partnership as established between the special and mainstream school.

Calculations were made as to the percentage of time pupils had access to mainstream peers either in class or at playtimes. Other opportunities for access to, and evidence of exclusion from mainstream experience were included in the analysis.

All data was scrutinised for evidence on

- a) the role of the unit and its relationship to the mainstream school
- b) the attitude to the unit, its pupils and staff
- c) perceptions of unit pupils and their needs
- d) the roles and responsibilities of unit and mainstream staff with regard to the pupils in the unit
- e) outcomes for pupils in the unit particularly in relation to their links with mainstream peers

Four main themes were inductively derived from the analysis of data. These related to

- (i) the separate, special and different treatment of the pupils in the unit justified by perceptions of unit pupils' needs

- (ii) the partnership between the special and mainstream school which established the unit as a base, belonging to the special school but accommodated by the mainstream school
- (iii) the resulting lack of ownership of unit pupils by the mainstream school
- (iv) the perception of unit pupils as needy, warranting help and support but not necessarily friendship

These findings data were incorporated into the comparative analysis of the two units which is presented in table format in Chapter 6.

Comparative analysis across the two schools

Data from these various sources was fed into an analytical framework. This framework was the means through which the author sought to identify similarities and differences in outcomes for pupils in the two units. A similar framework was used to map the similarities and differences in the social contexts of the two units and their populations and to explore the link between the social context and pupil outcomes. The author sought to establish a link between the social context in the unit (attitude and organisational response) and outcomes for unit pupils in terms of their experience of school and in particular the issue of friendship links between unit and mainstream peers.

Chapter 4 - Findings 1: Pupils' Views of School Experience

In this chapter the author reports her findings of the first investigation which sought to answer the question

What is the experience of pupils being educated in the units?

These findings were derived from the analysis of individual and group interview data carried out according to the methods described in Chapter 3. The analysis sought to identify common experiences of pupils in the two units and similarities and differences in their perceptions of those experiences.

Unit pupils' perspective

The responses of the twelve pupils are reported under the general themes of transition, current experience and suggestions for change and relate to the seven key elements of pupils' school experience. Data was gathered from two other pupils in one unit who had recently transferred from the mainstream host school. This data was analysed for indications of the impact of transfer and reported later in the text. In presenting the findings attention is drawn to the degree of congruence in pupil responses and similarities and differences between the two units. These similarities and difference in outcomes are presented in tables at the end of each section.

1. Transition

The data gathered from the individual interviews provided limited but important information on pupil history in transferring from mainstream to special education and in some instances from special back into a mainstream context i.e. the unit. There appeared to be a significant difference in the origins of pupils between the two units. Four of the six pupils interviewed in Unit 1 as opposed to one in Unit 2 transferred from the special

school. The vast majority of pupils in Unit 2 transferred from other mainstream schools directly into the unit. From discussions with the staff of the units it was established that this was the typical pattern of admissions in each.

1.1 Suggested reasons for transfer

Pupils were asked about the reasons for their transfer, the concerns they had had when considering the move to the units and their first impressions. For some pupils transfer had occurred just over 12 months ago and had been made directly into the units, but for others their move from mainstream had occurred several years previously and consequently recall was not always possible or reliable. Where pupils could recall reasons for transfer they were most often associated with difficulties they had experienced in mainstream. In Unit 1 three pupils mentioned difficulties in relationships with other pupils as a reason for leaving mainstream schools. In Unit 2 three pupils mentioned difficulties with school work as a reason for transfer. This difference between the two units was explored in discussions over admissions criteria with unit teachers and the head teacher of the special school. They suggested that more pupils were admitted directly from mainstream school into Unit 2 than Unit 1 and such pupils, directly admitted, rarely had histories of challenging behaviour. Pupils who had experienced previous difficulties in social relationships with peers usually spent an initial period in the special school, where these difficulties were addressed and self-esteem raised before a move to a unit would be considered. The main reason given by pupils transferring from special school to the units was that of 'promotion'. They believed they had made good educational progress at their special school and were considered ready for a more challenging environment.

1.2 Feelings about transfer and first impressions

An analysis of pupil responses suggested that pupils had had more concerns about the transfer from mainstream to units than from the special school. The efforts made by the special school to prepare pupils for transfer and to provide them with peer support in this move would seem to have had positive results. One pupil had transferred within the mainstream school to the unit which was attached to it. This had occurred within one year of her admittance to the mainstream school. She reported no problems that she could remember. All pupils claimed to have settled in very quickly and found their new classmates and teachers welcoming.

Table 1: similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to transition

Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All pupils had previously attended a mainstream school • All pupils suggested they had had previous difficulties in mainstream schools and was the reason for their moving into special education • All pupils reported they had settled in well and quickly and found their new teachers and fellow unit pupils friendly and welcoming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most pupils had transferred from the special school to the unit (the most common reason given was difficulties experienced in social relationships such as being bullied or presenting challenging behaviour) • The commonest reason given for transfer to the unit was pupils' success in the special school and a move to a more challenging environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The commonest reason given for transfer to the unit was difficulties pupils had experienced in school work in mainstream • Most pupils had transferred directly from another mainstream school into the unit

2. Current experience

Pupils were asked individually and as a group about their current experience in terms of 'being in the unit', lessons in the unit and in mainstream classes, teachers, playtimes and friendships. Group interviews provided a lot of detail about aspects of school life in the units that pupils enjoyed. There was evidence of positive, friendly and fun relationships between pupils and their teachers.

L: They're funny in that class

R: You mean the teachers are funny?

S: Yea, they're good fun

L: When we're with Miss D she reads a book and we have to do easy writing
(Girls, Unit 2)

Some pupils spoke warmly of the friendships they had with fellow pupils from the Unit.

K: We work together, don't we?

R: Do you two know why you like working together?

D: 'Cos we're best friends. So is S (another pupil in the unit) our best friend.
(Girls, Unit 1)

Pupils from Unit 1, who had come from the special school, proudly said the work they now did was harder. The one pupil who had come directly from another mainstream school said that he now got into less trouble.

M: When I used to be in my old school I used to like get into trouble all the time. When I came here it's different.
(Girl, Unit 1)

When questioned about any aspects that they didn't like about being in the unit some pupils in each of the units mentioned name-calling. This was most common in Unit 1 where all three of the boys from Unit 1 mentioned this occurring at playtimes. Some of the names they disliked were puns on their surnames,

R: Is there anything about being in the unit that you don't like?

B: In the playground...at dinner time people call N 'Daily Bread' and everything. People call me 'Budweiser' and they call him 'Cookie'.

(Boys, Unit 1)

but others pertained to their membership of the unit and the special school they had come from.

N: Yea when we started this school they were calling us ‘Manse Disease’

B: Sometimes when we go outside right, like one of Year 6 go....’err, there’s a spakker. I don’t want diseases by them’.

(Boys, Unit 1)

They suggested they usually dealt with this problem by telling a teacher.

Table 2: similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to current experience

Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most pupils were content to be in the unit • All pupils mentioned positive aspects of unit experience • Common positive aspects quoted were friendly and fun relationships with their teachers and fellow unit pupils • One negative aspect mentioned was name calling by mainstream peers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some pupils mentioned their pride in being able to cope with more challenging work • Name calling was a negative aspect mentioned by all pupils in Unit 1. 	

2.1 Lessons

All pupils had lessons both in the mainstream classes and separately in the unit classroom for certain, usually ‘core’, subjects. Pupils were asked individually about what they thought of these arrangements, their preferences for integrated or separate teaching, what they thought the reason for these arrangements might be and whether there was any difference in these lessons.

Pupils’ understanding of the rationale for these arrangements was either very limited or difficult for them to explain. Only two pupils suggested that the work in the mainstream classes was or might be more difficult. The pupils in Unit 1 offered reasons such as teachers associated with different subjects, which referred to the general practice of

teaching particular specialisms. Apart from one pupil, those in Unit 2 offered no explanation of why they were taught separately. When asked individually whether they liked lessons in the units all children responded positively.

Experiences in mainstream lessons were explored in greater depth through group interviews where pupils mentioned aspects of such lessons they particularly enjoyed or disliked. The girls in Unit 1 talked about the subjects they enjoyed and who they liked to work with. They said they usually worked together or with a designated partner with whom they were regularly seated. When asked about the other children in the class they described some, what they thought of as, 'naughty' behaviour and suggested that some of the mainstream pupils didn't like them. Evidence for this that they cited was name calling, usually done in a quiet voice so the teacher wouldn't hear.

R: How do other children behave towards you when you go into their class?

K: People be naughty sometimes

D: And talk and don't listen

K: And some people don't like wur in that class

R: What makes you think that?

S: They call us 'Mansers

K: They say things like 'spakker'

S: They don't like us because we're from M School

(Girls, Unit 1)

They also mentioned five girl friends they had in the mainstream class, with whom they got on well.

R: What about the other children in your class do they have friends in Miss R's class?

D: Yea, Robert

K: So do we

R: Oh, you have friends in Miss R's class?

K: S and MH

D: I like G, S, D and E

(Girls, Unit 1)

They saw the mainstream class as 'not our real class' and the reason for going into it as accessing certain subject lessons, i.e. Miss R taught Art so you went into her class for that lesson.

The boys in Unit 1 described mainstream lessons as noisy and distracting. The things they liked about these lessons concerned some of the subject activities that they involved.

R: What do you like about going into the lessons?

B: I like it when we're doing art, drawing pictures and that 'cos people are dead quiet and just get on with their work.

(Boys, Unit 1)

One pupil stressed the variety that this provided.

B: We keep swapping over, 'cos if you're in the same class it gets boring. You can have a change over like, see what it's like

(Boy, Unit 1)

When asked about the children in the mainstream class they said they were sometimes helpful and mentioned specific individuals.

R: Do they ever help you?

B: CB does. I'll tell you what he does. When I got stuck on a sum like 16, and 76 + 20 he helps us, like when he's finished he comes over.

(Boy, Unit 1)

Some of the boys were described as 'whispering nasty names'. One pupil tried to paint a broader picture of these lessons, suggesting that there was a great variation in experience which he perhaps thought was not being captured by the overall tone of the discussion.

M: I think it's good sometimes. We don't have to go in their class, sometimes they come in ours. And sometimes them just get on but sometimes they don't. Sometimes when we swap classes it's just different.

(Boy, Unit 1)

The girls in Unit 2 had very little to say that was positive about mainstream lessons, preferring lessons in the unit because they were 'easier', 'better' and the teachers fun.

They were particularly negative about the children in the mainstream class, especially the

boys whom they saw as 'horrible', 'nasty to us' and 'picked on' them. When asked if any of the children were friendly they said that mostly all the girls were except for one who was described as 'tricky' on account of the way she manipulated the spelling cards.

L: You gotta copy off them and then she gets one of them and puts it behind the other one and puts them upside down.

(Girl, Unit 2)

The three older boys in Unit 2, who went into the same class as the three girls interviewed, confirmed this somewhat negative picture. They only liked going into mainstream lessons for literacy and that was specifically when they were doing handwriting. They thought the other children were 'okay' but qualified this by saying that 'some of them were sometimes'. They too mentioned incidents of name calling. Mainstream pupils were also, however, sometimes considered 'helpful'. The Y4 boy who went into a younger mainstream class made a much more positive report of his experiences. He suggested the mainstream children were 'friendly' and that he enjoyed the experience.

There appeared to be no major differences between the two units in pupils' perceptions of lessons. None of the pupils seemed to have an understanding of the rationale for separate or integrated lessons. In general they seemed to be quite happy with arrangements seeing positive aspects in both.

Pupils made a clear distinction between the evaluation of lessons which were assessed in terms of content and interest and that of the negative behaviour and attitudes of mainstream pupils towards them at times. Similarly in all group interviews pupils referred to negative social experiences with mainstream peers during these times. It is difficult to

Table 3: similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to lessons

Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pupils' understanding of the rationale for separate lessons was very limited • All pupils liked lessons in the unit • They saw the mainstream class as 'not their real class' • A common negative aspect of mainstream lessons was the attitude of some mainstream pupils to the pupils from the unit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some suggested that mainstream lessons might be more difficult • Lessons in mainstream classes had both positive and negative aspects. Negative aspects cited included name calling • All mentioned mainstream pupils with whom they got on well • Although some suggested that mainstream lessons were noisy they also liked their content and variety 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only one pupil offered an explanation for separate lessons • Some pupils expressed a preference for lessons in the unit • Only one pupil cited positive aspects of mainstream lessons

gauge the frequency of such incidents but the fact that this was mentioned in all group interviews suggests that it was a significant experience.

2.2 Teachers

Pupils were asked to name their teachers but not to comment on them. However, from the general tone of their comments, both individually and in group interviews, it was clear that in both units the pupils very much liked the unit staff. All the pupils in Unit 1 enjoyed the content and activities of mainstream lessons and by implication the teacher. Some of the pupils in Unit 2 had reservations about mainstream lessons but none made negative comments about their mainstream class teacher. Most interestingly, in naming their teachers there was a clear indication from the pupils in both units that they saw the unit teachers first and foremost, and in some cases, i.e. several children in Unit 2, exclusively, as their teachers.

2.3 Playtimes

When asked whether they enjoyed playtimes the majority of pupils replied positively. One

Table 4: similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to teachers

Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All pupils liked the unit teachers and commented on their sense of humour • No pupil made any negative comment about mainstream teachers • They saw the unit teachers first and foremost as their teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some pupils saw unit teachers exclusively as their teachers

pupil from each unit said they didn't like playtimes very much and cited as reasons sometimes being left out by a group of friends or it being an occasion for possibly getting hurt physically. The sorts of activities pupils described were 'getting fresh air', playing football, 'tuggy', hopscotch, hide and seek, rounders, dancing, 'silver river', 'chasy' and games.

In group discussions Unit 1 boys mentioned the playground as an occasion for some negative interactions with mainstream and unit pupils of name calling and teasing. One pupil felt that he lacked enough friends at these times.

R: Does that mean you don't have any friends out on the yard?

B: No

N: Yea

B: I don't

N: I do

B: All I have is, um...K. D. and all the friends in my class (the unit)

(Boys, Unit 1)

The girls in Unit 1 said they played together and were able to 'ignore' negative behaviours towards them. These girls felt they had 'enough friends' to play with.

The girls in Unit 2 indicated that in general they played together and with the ‘little ones’, who were the younger pupils in the unit and the very young mainstream children from the Reception class or Y1. They said they also played with the nursery children. These children they could talk to through the fencing surrounding their play area. The boys from Unit 2 indicated that they spent most of their playtimes playing football or ‘chasey’ or, at the time of the interviews, ‘sliding on ice’. Football was not mentioned by the boys in Unit 1 as a playtime activity. Football appeared to be the predominant activity of the mainstream boys of this age group at playtimes. The ability to access mainstream games of football seemed to be a significant factor in unit boys’ perceptions of their social acceptance and enjoyment of playtimes.

All pupils stated that they enjoyed playtimes and yet seemed preoccupied with the negative incidents that occurred at these times. This was undoubtedly prompted by the question asking them to suggest things they liked and disliked about these occasions. It was perhaps unfortunate that they tended to focus on the negative. This was probably in some part due to the fact that, in speaking to a teacher, or ex-teacher, they could not resist the opportunity to attempt to remedy perceived injustices.

Table 5: showing similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to playtimes

Common features experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most pupils enjoyed playtimes • One pupil did not like playtimes very much • The girls said they played together 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The boys cited playtimes as occasions for negative interactions with mainstream pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The girls said they played with ‘the little ones’. • The boys said they spent most of their playtimes playing football

2.4 Friendships

Naming friends

In answering questions about friendship at school all pupils were able to name a group of children that they saw as friends. However, for the majority of pupils, these friends were from within the unit. Only 3 of the 12 pupils named any mainstream pupils as their friends. Two pupils from Unit 2, even when pressed to name children from mainstream classes who they were 'friendly with', were unable to name any. Those naming mainstream pupils among their group of friends were the girls in Unit 1. A reason suggested by one pupil for certain mainstream pupils being friendly towards unit pupils was that these children were the ones who came into their class at times for 'support lessons',

K: Yea, I know how, when they're in our class sometimes and that's how we're friends with them

(Boy, Unit 1)

Others named were, interestingly, new to the school, having recently transferred or moved into the area.

R: Oh, you have other friends in Miss R's class?

K: S and M.H.

D: I like G, S, D and E

R: Anybody else?

S: Yea, but I've forgotten her name.

K: S?.....G?

R: Which one's G?

K: She wears her hair up.

R: Oh, the new girl?

All: Yea

(Girls, Unit 1)

Friends outside school

Of the twelve pupils interviewed five said they had no friends they could play with after school. One pupil named siblings as children she 'played with' after school. One named friends of her older brother and one felt she had 'only one'. Four pupils named local

children, either neighbours, friends of the family, or friends retained from their previous school that they still lived near.

The group interviews provided some detail about how pupils perceived their friendship networks at home. Most pupils' responses seemed to indicate that they lacked close friends they could play with outside school, relying on members of their families for social activities outside school.

Res: What do you do after school, M? You live near school. Do you play with any of the children from school?

M: Sometimes like. I was gonna play with RM and sometimes I played with him.

B: I play with the people when they are at school, but I go in the taxi and I live near B Metro station and I canna play with the people around here

Res: And what do you do after school, N?

N: Sometimes I come down with me dad 'cos he's got an allotment round here
(Boys, Unit 1)

L: Sometimes I go up to her house and play (fellow unit pupil)

Res: Do you live near each other?

L: No. I walk down with my sister

Res: Is there anyone else at home you play with?

L: My little sister

Res: How about you, S?

S: No one

Res: What happens when you go home?

S: Nothing really.

(Girls, Unit 2)

Some children's social lives were clearly enhanced by their attendance at local clubs to which their parents usually took them.

D: I go to Irish dancing

K: I go to Kids Club and we play games there and I go to church on Sunday

D: After Irish dancing I go to Kids Club and we go on trips

S: Do you know that church down there? Well, I go to that club.

(Girls, Unit 1)

Apart from the boy who was taken to football training by his father, the other four children who attended clubs were able thus to see themselves as having a social circle out of school. Although they rarely named any of these social contacts as 'friends' it appeared

to help these pupils to see themselves as having friends. This was a view of themselves that they were keen to communicate, particularly in the competitive climate of the group situation that this question seemed to create.

Res: I was going to ask you that question. Do you have a lot of friends outside school?

J: I have none

M: I have. I play with K and walk the dog

Res: How about you D?

D: Normally, but sometimes I just stay in and play with my play station

Res: So, who do you play with?

D: Paul and Lee who goes to SB. I have loads. I have Anthony C and Carl W.

M: I've got loads of friends 'cos I've got some at me caravan.

L: I've got loads from France.

D: I've got friends what I don't see but I went on holiday with them in the summer.

(Boys Unit 2)

It is worth noting that those children who claimed to have friends outside school in the group situation, had also claimed some friendship links outside school in individual interviews. The lack of detail about these friends did, however, suggest that they might not be close friends.

Perceptions of 'enough friends'

Both the boys and the girls in Unit 2 felt they had plenty of friends in school but the majority also said they would like more.

Res: do you think that all in all you have a lot of friends?

H: (nods)

L: (nods)

S: Aha

Res: Would you like to have more friends, or are you happy with what you have got?

All: More friends.

(Girls, Unit 2)

Res: Would you like to have more friends, J? Is that what you mean? At home or at school or both?

J: At home

Res: And what about you M and D?

D: I'd like to have more friends in school and no bullying.

(Boys, Unit 2)

Two of the boys in Unit 1 appeared to struggle with peer relationships in general. They felt themselves rejected by their mainstream peers in particular but, unlike the other pupils in Units 1 and 2, also lacked close friendship links with fellow unit pupils. This was confirmed by the unit girls who noted the difficulties that they had on the playground.

Res: How do you think N, B and M get on?

DMP: When we talk together N comes over and

K: He says 'stop talking about me' and we weren't talking about him.

Res: Does he have any friends of his own?

D and K: I don't know

Res: Is there anybody else in your class who you think doesn't have a nice playtime?

K: I think B doesn't because everyone picks on him.

(Girls, Unit 1)

In contrast to the boys, the girls in Unit 1 saw themselves as having a small close knit circle of friends, albeit mainly fellow unit girls. However, they also saw themselves as having a group of mainstream girl friends. These were mainstream pupils with SEN who received support in the unit and a group of girls from the mainstream class with whom they worked and who were recent admissions to the mainstream school. They were also, however, aware of a level of rejection by some mainstream pupils. Put quite simply by one pupil:

Some people don't like wur in that class

(Girl, Unit 1)

In conclusion, peer relationships were not generally perceived as an issue for the pupils in the two units, apart from the two boys in Unit 1. These two boys were described by both the girls in the unit and some mainstream pupils as having social difficulties. They were also observed on occasion to be isolated on the playground. Relationships with mainstream peers was, however, an issue of concern to all pupils in Unit 1 and to some in Unit 2. The pupils in Unit 2 made fewer complaints about mainstream pupils. However, as observational evidence confirmed, they were heavily reliant on their links with fellow unit pupils, naming them first and foremost and sometimes exclusively as their friends. This

was particularly noticeable among the girls in Unit 2, who, unlike their male counterparts, did not access mainstream pupils' games on the playground. The friendship links of pupils outside school was a much more difficult issue to get a clear picture of. It was evidently important for the children to be able to claim such links and where these were perceived to be lacking the pupils clearly felt the loss.

Table 6: similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to friendships

Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All pupils named groups of pupils they saw as friends • For the majority these friends were fellow unit pupils • Some pupils said they had no friends to play with outside school • Very few who had friendships outside school had them with school friends • All felt they would benefit from having more friends in school and with whom they could play after school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The girls named other mainstream girls as friends. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 pupils, even when pressed named no mainstream pupils as pupils they were 'friendly with'.

2.5 Travelling to school

Eleven of the twelve pupils were transported to school by bus or taxi. One pupil walked to school. All expressed themselves happy with such arrangements. The one pupil who walked to school did so alone rather than walk in with friends. Once they arrived in school they came straight into the unit classrooms rather than wait on the playground, which was the practice of the other mainstream pupils.

3. Suggestions for change

Pupils were asked for suggestions concerning any changes that might be made to the

Table 7: similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to travelling to school

Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most pupils were transported to school • All were happy with these arrangements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of the pupils travelled together in a minibus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pupils travelled together in groups of 2 or 3 in taxis

current arrangements that would enhance their experience of school. This question was couched in terms of changes from which future pupils attending the unit might benefit rather than immediate changes that would take place as an outcome of the interviews. This seemed a particularly difficult question for pupils to answer. Most of their suggestions concerned changes to the physical environment and facilities rather than any organisational arrangements, although these were specifically mentioned by the researcher. There are a number of possible explanations for this suggested by the author. One, that these issues had been touched on earlier and pupils felt they had already suggested shortcomings if they saw any. Two, that pupils did not really see those aspects as anything other than given. Three, that pupils were actually quite happy with arrangements or four, that they were not able to envisage other more idealistic scenarios.

Table 8: similarities and differences in the experiences of pupils in the two units in relation to suggestions for change

Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All found this a difficult question to answer • Suggestions usually referred to changes in the physical environment and better facilities 		

Additional perspectives

Two pupils who had recently transferred from the unit mainstream school into Unit 2 were also interviewed. Although their responses were not included in the earlier analysis the researcher was interested to explore how such a transfer had impacted upon their self-perceptions and how they had acclimatised to membership of the unit. The two children, one boy and one girl, differed quite dramatically in their assimilation into the group. The girl now appeared to identify herself almost exclusively with fellow unit pupils and named them as her friends. She suggested that mainstream pupils thought she was 'thick' because she had transferred into the unit. She also named unit teachers exclusively as her teachers. In contrast, the boy, although making no negative comments about the unit, its teachers or fellow pupils, clearly did not identify himself with the unit. He named only mainstream pupils as his friends and mainstream teachers as his teachers. He also described his playtime activities as playing football with his old classmates with whom he still associated in integrated lessons. In discussing their transition neither suggested an educational reason for the move into the unit. The girl suggested that it was her parent's wish that she transfer. The boy stated that he had been 'upset' initially at the move. The girl had been a little nervous but suggested that the fact that she knew and liked the unit teachers had helped her to settle in quickly. Both children lived near school and walked in each day, not however with friends. They both stated on several occasions that they felt they lacked friends out of school.

Conclusions

In evaluating school experience from the perspective of unit pupils it would appear that pupils in both units who had spent a minimum of 12 months in the unit were generally positive. The one area that appeared to give them cause for concern, and this was

expressed most strongly in Unit 1, was the negative behaviour of some mainstream pupils towards them. Such incidents most frequently occurred at playtimes but occasionally in lessons. The largely exclusive friendship patterns for unit pupils had been an issue of some concern for the researcher. However, this pattern of peer relationships was not usually viewed negatively by the unit pupils. Nevertheless, the common view expressed that pupils would like 'more friends' was considered by the researcher to be indicative of a less than optimal situation and might even suggest that the pool from which unit pupils were able to draw friends was restricted.

Mainstream pupils' perspective

In this section the author reports the findings regarding the perceptions of three groups of mainstream pupils identified as 'friends' by unit pupils, as 'more able' by teachers and of 'other' pupils, on aspects of unit pupils' experience. A separate analysis is provided on each group to draw attention to any differences related to group membership or ability. Similarities and differences between the views of pupils in the two schools are presented in the final table.

Mainstream 'friends' perceptions

a) School 1

The responses of 'friends' in School 1 to questions posed (see interview schedule in Appendix B) indicated an awareness of differences among individual unit pupils in terms of their experiences. Although they suggested that some pupils liked being in the unit they noted that others had negative experiences such as 'being picked on'. Apart from missing out on some after-school activities such as clubs they suggested that unit pupils were able to participate in most mainstream experiences and felt they were 'part of the school'. In

terms of friendships they again noted individual differences in pupils' popularity and cited incidences of negative behaviours from some mainstream peers. In reporting on the perceived perspectives of others they thought that some pupils might perceive the unit pupils less positively than they as friends did but that this perception was not shared by mainstream teachers who they suggested treated them 'the same as everyone else'.

b) School 2

These pupils in School 2 thought that the pupils in the unit liked being in the unit and that apart from after-school clubs and activities they didn't really 'miss out' on anything. They cited the resources and amenities that pupils could access as evidence of positive experience and unprompted said that they would like to be in the unit themselves. They suggested that they had lots of friends including fellow unit pupils and themselves. However, when asked to elaborate on the ways this friendship exhibited itself spoke only of playing football with one of the unit pupils or 'catch'. When asked about this latter game they acknowledged that the unit pupils only joined in sometimes. When asked about the attitudes of other mainstream pupils they noted that these were in some instances different from their own and on occasion others rejected individual unit pupils and called them names. The relationships of this group of pupils with unit teachers appeared to be very positive and they maintained that the mainstream teachers treated unit pupils fairly.

Mainstream 'more able pupils' perceptions

a) School 1

The responses of this group of pupils was in many ways similar to that of 'friends'. They voiced a sympathetic understanding of unit pupils and, evidently prompted by their class teacher, saw their role as helping them in joint situations. They reported variation in

individual pupils' experiences. Although in general they felt pupils' experience was positive they suggested that some pupils were picked on, made to feel unwelcome and rejected in some instances by some of their mainstream peers. When asked to account for this they mentioned negative perceptions of them as 'thick or something'. Other unit pupils were described as having lots of friends.

This group gave examples of their enjoyment of working with the unit pupils and said that they felt welcomed into the unit classroom. They also cited examples of individual pupils' specific and, to judge by the tone of voice, somewhat unexpected abilities.

M: Like when we're doing pictures with pastels and S did a lovely picture and we helped her.

D: S. is a good drawer!

C: When we were doing pictures and B didn't know what to do, cos we had just started, he had loads of ideas and he didn't know which one to do. So I said why don't you draw a line down the middle and cut it into eight and do lots of different ones, but he said 'no'.

Although they did not think they would like to be in the unit themselves, in spite of, as they stressed, really liking the teachers, they thought that some other mainstream pupils, particularly the 'orange group' (less able pupils) might like to be in the unit and that they would benefit from placement.

C: Like D. said, if you were in the orange group and you needed a bit more help, and some people might not like to say 'oh, I don't know how to do this', and they're getting really stuck it might be a bit easier for them and they might be able to do it and they might be more comfortable in it.

In terms of lessons unit pupils were not seen as 'missing out'. However they noted that they were not able to attend after-school clubs or participate in school teams and that sometimes they were not allowed to join in with certain games on the yard.

This group's responses to questions about other mainstream pupils' perspectives reflected a concern to give an accurate report. They stated that they 'didn't really know' what others thought as they hadn't asked them but suggested that the opinions of younger pupils would reflect a lack of knowledge or experience of working or playing with unit pupils which was therefore likely to differ from their own and older pupils who had been involved in the initiative first hand.

C: I've never really talked to them about it.

D: Some people know about it more than others.

M: Mrs P's class will know about it because when they were in Miss R's class last year they worked with them.

They saw their class teacher as being sympathetic to unit pupils and directed her class towards a sympathetic and helpful attitude.

b) School 2

This group of pupils seemed to have much less insight into the role of the unit, its routines and pupils' experiences outside integrated lessons. They were therefore understandably unsure about how unit pupils might feel about their placement. They thought pupils 'probably felt alright about it'. In answer to questions about whether they would like to be in the unit themselves they were equally circumspect and cited positive and negative outcomes they felt might result from placement such as moving schools, losing old friends and getting 'picked on'. The isolation from mainstream peers, and the continuous moving from mainstream class to Base classroom were negative features that they had direct experience of and mentioned,

S: I just wouldn't want to stay in there all the time.

J: Like walking around all the time and you don't get to stay in one place like the normal classes.

They indicated that unit pupils, and in particular the girls, were not particularly successful in making friends with mainstream peers from the class with which they integrated. Apart from fellow unit pupils who were cited as their friends they mentioned only one mainstream pupil that they associated with. Only one of the unit boys, the pupil who had most recently transferred into the unit from the host school, was mentioned as having friends in the mainstream class and with whom he played football. They nominated themselves as friends but this friendship did not extend to playing with unit pupils but seemed to describe a friendly role that they played in class.

Other mainstream pupils' attitudes to unit pupils were described as mixed. They seemed to think that unit pupils were likely to miss out on the sorts of things they did in class,

S: I think they might miss out doing some maths cos I think they don't do as much as us. Cos last time they came up to do handwriting they only come up sometimes. They only come up in the mornings, don't they, and in the afternoons sometimes.

In describing their class and other mainstream teachers' attitude to the unit pupils they indicated that pupils were judged according to individual behaviour,

C: Well, I think they might like some of them but when they are naughty..... They are all right on them.

Other pupils' perspectives

a) School 1

This group of pupils thought unit pupils generally liked being in the unit, however, they themselves did not want to be in the unit mainly because of the negative behaviours and attitudes that they believed were associated with membership.

D: Cos sometimes people call them, don't they?

L: I wouldn't like to be in their class but I like helping them

In describing some of these negative behaviours one of this group suggested that 'it's usually people who need help who call them'. Interestingly, this comment reflected a strongly held feeling of one of the mainstream teachers in her account of peer

relationships. The supportive friendships that most unit pupils seemed to have with their fellow unit pupils and some mainstream peers was seen by this group as underlying positive experiences and perception of school. Two pupils were named as somewhat isolated as a result of their own negative and sometimes aggressive behaviour and one pupil was mentioned as not having as many friends as he would like because he was 'so quiet'. They also suggested that relationships with teachers were a key factor in the pupils' positive school experiences. Unit teachers were seen as 'funny' and 'kind' and they thought that their own teacher and other mainstream teachers really liked the unit pupils.

D: I think Miss R. really likes them ..I think she enjoys working with them.

In considering what pupils might miss out on they mentioned after-school clubs and activities and suggested that both the unit and mainstream class had different experiences that the other missed out on. They particularly noted that the unit pupils went on trips in the minibus from which they were excluded but that unit pupils were included in their class trips. Although total inclusion was rejected this group of pupils thought that the amount of integration should be increased,

R: I'd like it if all of us went together because they help us and we help them.

D: Not like all of the time, but most of the time.

R: Yea, like Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays and go back Thursday and Fridays.

b) School 2

The responses of the four pupils in this group differed in terms of their perceptions of unit pupils' feelings about being in the unit. One pupil was very positive. She focused on all the toys and equipment that pupils had access to. One wasn't sure. One suggested that this varied among unit pupils and the other thought they probably wouldn't mind as it was 'just like an ordinary class but with just a few pupils'. They thought unit pupils 'probably'

had lots of friends but suggested that these were fellow unit pupils. When asked they did say that unit pupils had some friends in the mainstream class including themselves. This, however, seemed to refer to a 'friendliness' and supportive role in class rather than time spent in playing with them on the yard. Their view about the perceptions of other mainstream pupils about the unit was that 'some people like them and some don't'. They specified some negative behaviour to two unit pupils in particular who were the subject of name-calling by some of the boys in the class. They didn't feel pupils missed out on any aspects of school life mentioning that unit pupils had been back to after-school events such as discos and that their treatment by mainstream staff was 'just the same' as that of mainstream pupils.

Conclusion

The following Table (9) summarises the similarities and differences in views of the three groups of mainstream pupils in each of the two schools. The author concludes that the evidence of mainstream pupils supports the views of the pupils in the two units as to their experience of school. Although individual pupils' experiences were seen to vary, in general the pupils in Unit 1 were considered to enjoy being in the unit. The most positive aspects of school experience appeared to be their social relationships with unit and mainstream teachers and their fellow unit members. The most negative aspect of unit experience appeared to be the social relationships between pupils in the unit and some of their mainstream peers. However, positive relationships between unit pupils and other mainstream peers were once again cited. Perhaps the most worrying aspect was the common use of the term 'Mansers' (see interview transcript on p.240). This label identified unit pupils as a specific group with strong and negative associations with their former special school.

The mainstream pupils interviewed in School 2 were much more tentative in their opinions about unit pupils' experience. Responses such as 'not sure', 'think so' and 'not really' were common. Although pupils were perceived to have friends the preponderance of friendship links with fellow unit members was a noted feature of these relationships. As in the responses of unit pupils there were far fewer examples quoted of incidents of negative behaviour, in fact only one mainstream pupil mentioned this problem and this was related to one particular individual.

Table 9: views of groups of mainstream pupils on unit pupils' experience of school

Groups of mainstream pupils	Common features of experience in Units 1 and 2	Features of experience in Unit 1 only	Features of experience in Unit 2 only
Nominated friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit pupils like being in the unit • Cited instances of negative behaviour of mainstream pupils towards unit pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See both positive and negative aspects of unit experience • Aware of individual differences in experience • Unit pupils are seen as missing out on some aspects of school life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit pupils have lots of friends • Don't really miss out on anything
More able pupils		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show a sympathetic understanding of unit pupils and their experience • Note some exclusions from mainstream experience • See their role as helpers • Enjoy working with unit pupils • See variations in individual pupils experience • Cite examples of unit pupils' positive and negative experiences • Cite unexpected skills of individual unit pupils See mainstream teachers as sympathetic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are unsure of unit pupils' experiences but see potential positive and negative aspects of it • Note unit girls' lack of mainstream friendships • See mainstream teachers as treating unit pupils fairly
Other pupils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See at least some pupils as liking being in the unit • Note instances of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not want to be in the unit themselves because of associated stigma and negative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are generally unsure about unit pupils experience.

	<p>negative behaviours of some mainstream pupils towards unit pupils</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • See mainstream teachers as treating unit pupils fairly or well 	<p>behaviour of mainstream peers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Note differences between individuals as to their experience • See relationship with teachers and fellow unit pupils as a positive aspect 	<p>Some think some unit pupils might not like being in the unit</p>
--	---	--	---

Chapter 5 - Findings 2: The nature and pattern of peer relationships

In this chapter the author presents the findings relating to the second investigation which posed the research question:

What is the nature and pattern of peer relationships?

These findings are based on an analysis of playground and classroom observation data which was carried out in accordance with the methods described in Chapter 3. Findings relating to playground observations are reported in Section 1 and those relating to in-class observations in Section 2. A summary of the similarities and differences between outcomes in the two schools are presented in tables at the end of each section.

Section 1: Playtime arrangements

The age-range of mainstream pupils with whom the pupils in the unit could interact at playtimes was different in the two schools. The 14 pupils in Unit 1 spent their playtimes in the senior yard. This was a large play area consisting of two separate hard surface areas and a substantial grass covered area known as 'the field'. The field could be accessed only on non muddy days. Football, a very popular choice of this age group of boys, was confined to one of the hard surface play areas or the field. The pupils in Unit 2, which consisted of 15 pupils from Years 2 to 6, spent morning and lunchtime break-times on the common school yard which served all age groups except the Nursery Class. This class had a separate fenced in play area. The playground was partially divided into two parts although the children could play in either part and access each through an open gateway. Unit pupils might also, in exceptional circumstances, remain indoors in the unit classroom to play on the computers.

Analysis

An analysis of the playground observation data, as described in chapter 3, was carried out to identify the types of activities pupils engaged in at these times and the frequency of their participation in particular activities, including isolated play. The number of social contacts unit pupils had was calculated as was the percentage of that contact that occurred with different sub-groups of pupils.

Social interactions of the pupils in the Units

The following four charts indicate the sorts of activities groups of unit pupils engaged in during play times.

Chart 1: activities of boys in Unit 1

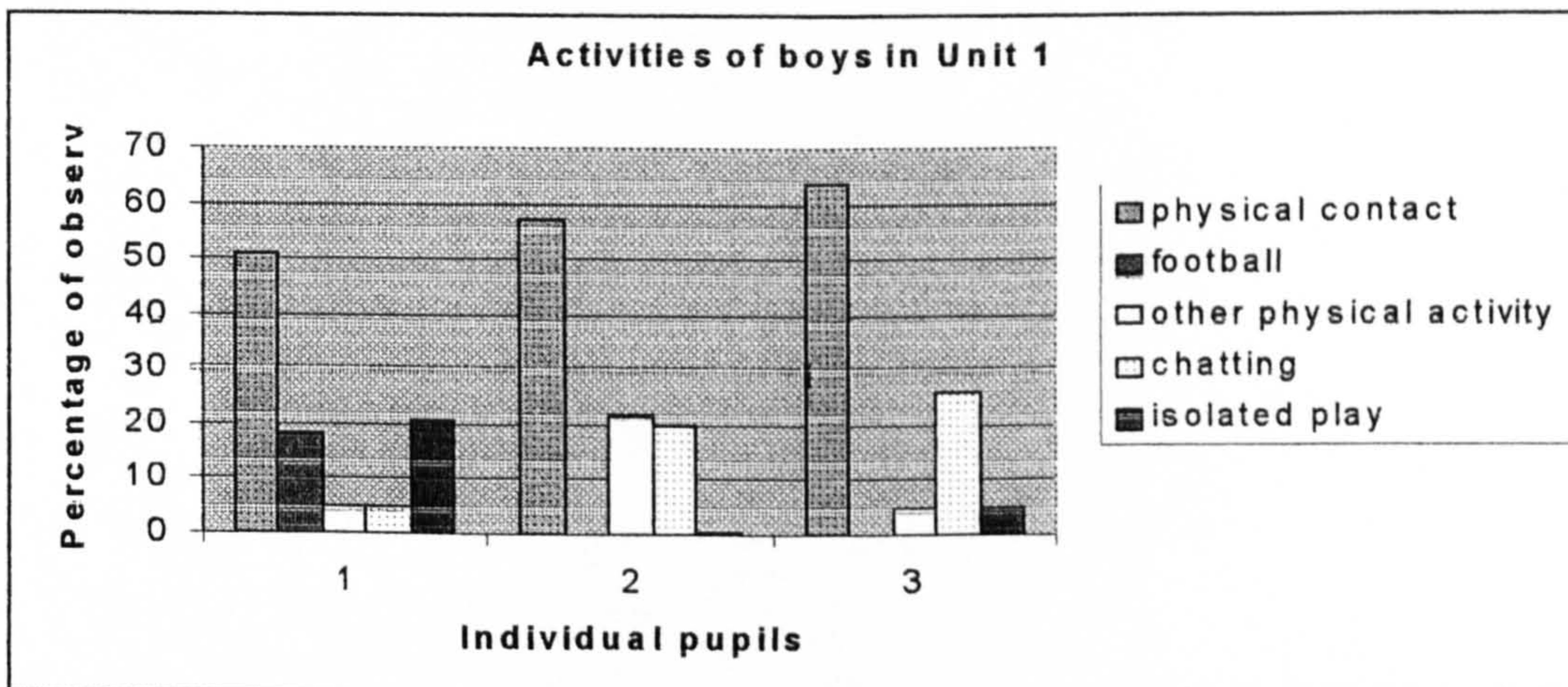
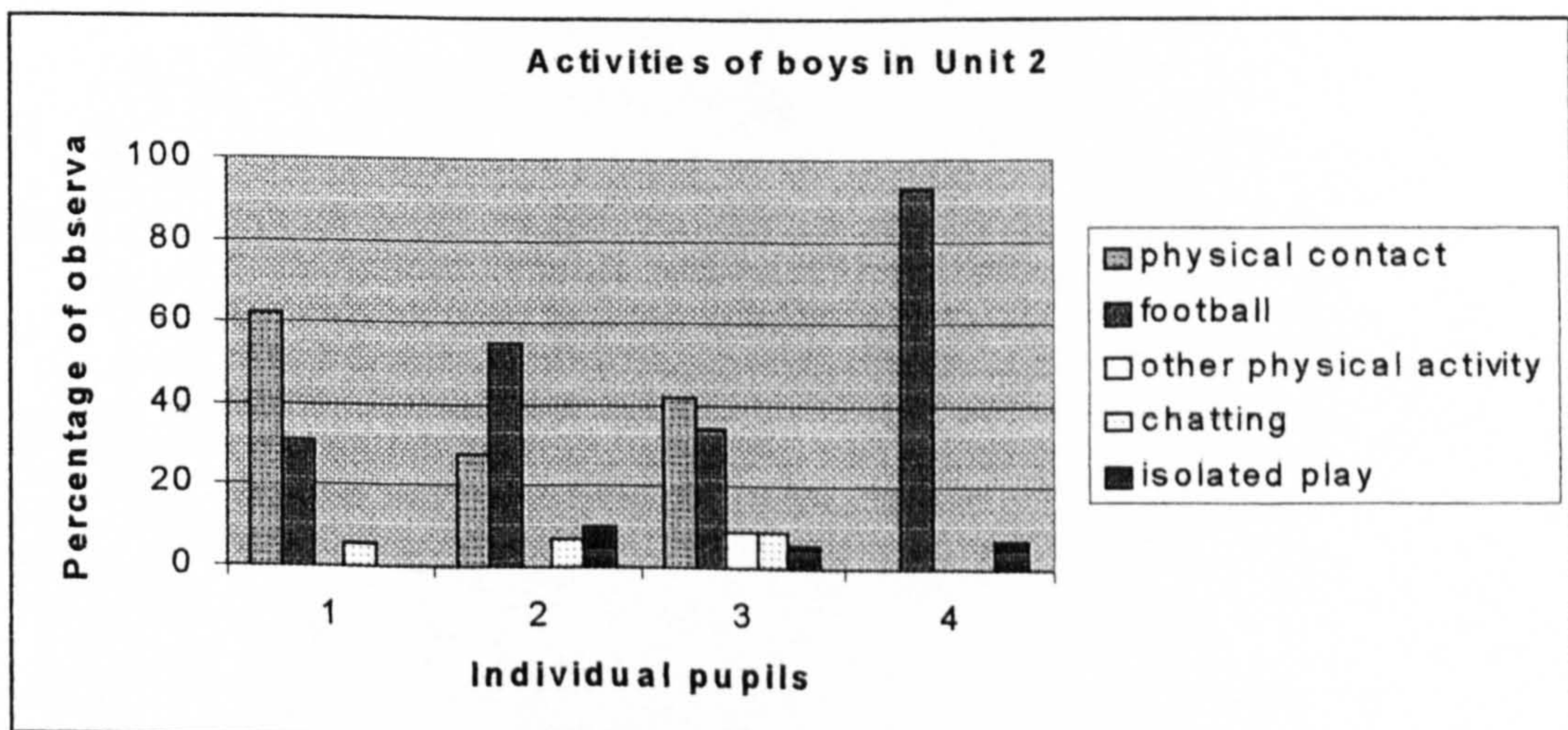


Chart 2: activities of boys in Unit 2



* Pupil 4 recently transferred into the unit from the mainstream school

Chart 3: activities of girls in Unit 1

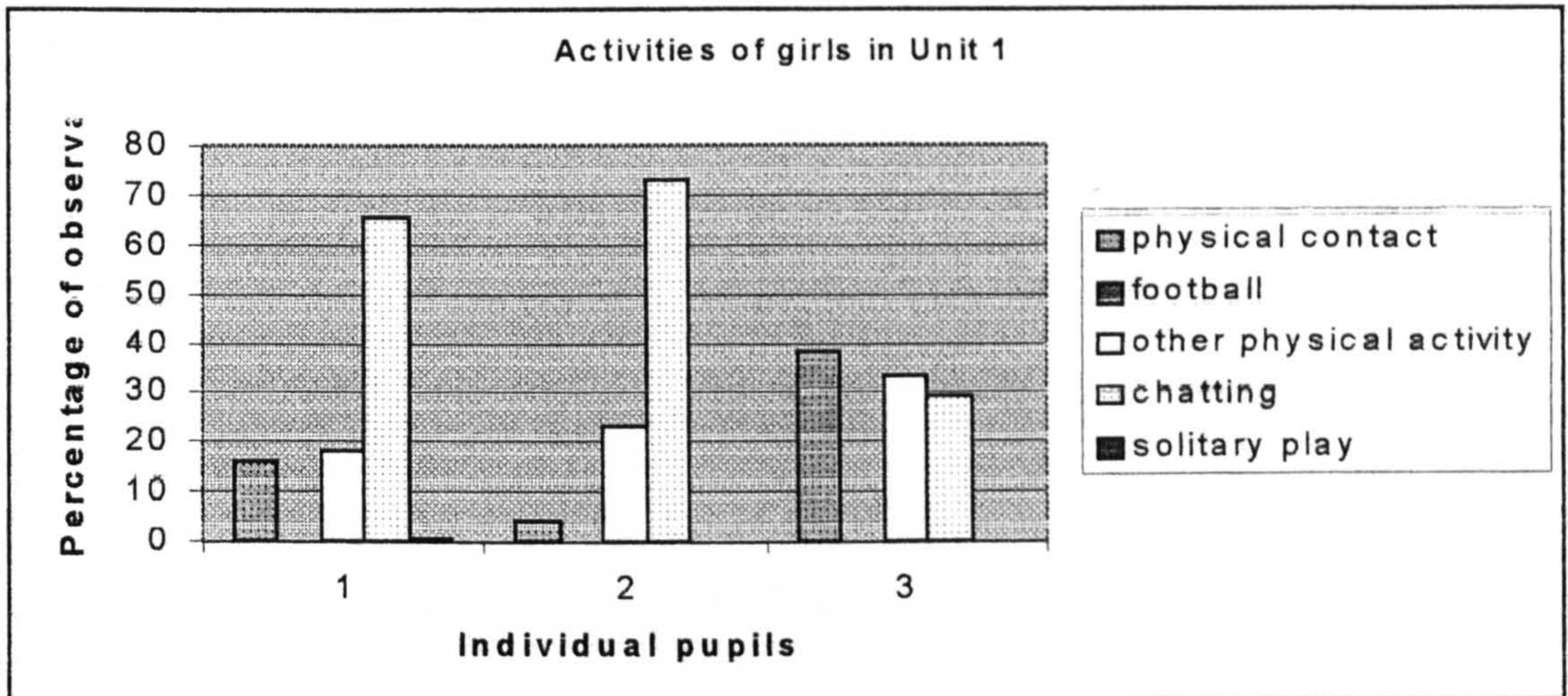
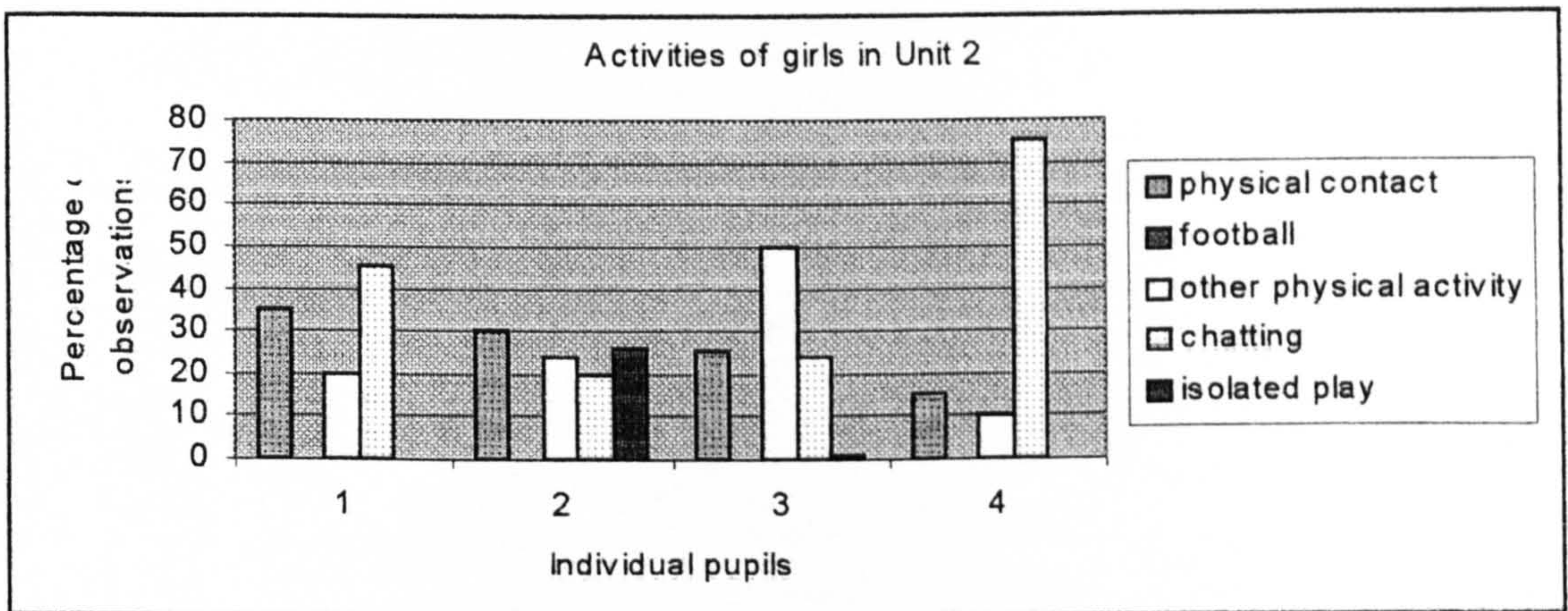


Chart 4: activities of girls in Unit 2



* Pupil 4 recently transferred into the unit from the mainstream school

There would appear to be a close link between gender and the type of activity. This confirms previous research evidence that suggests that pupils in the upper primary age range tend to associate in single sex groupings and around particular activities. Although all pupils engaged in a mixture of physical and more sedentary activities such as sitting chatting, the boys in both units tended to be more physically active in their play than the girls. The percentage of physical activity for boys ranged between 69 and 93% of observed play activities. Conversely the girls tended to be more frequently engaged in

sedentary activities than the boys (between 20 and 75%), although some girls were physically active on the majority of occasions observed.

Gender grouping

Some activities, such as football, dancing, singing and clapping games or sitting chatting tended to be undertaken in single sex groupings and were generally played exclusively by one or other of the sexes. Some activities, however, such as chasing games, were played by both boys and girls and often together, particularly those involving teasing and 'capturing'. The pattern of play observed of individual pupils indicated a predominance of single gender play. Five of the fourteen pupils were observed to play exclusively with friends of their own sex and a further two associated on less than 5% of occasions observed with those of the opposite sex.

The study is unable to present detailed evidence of the pattern of play of other mainstream pupils and it is therefore not possible to suggest how typical unit pupils' play is of their peer group. However, general observations indicate that more than half of the unit pupils appeared to engage in activities and in mixed gender groupings that were more commonly associated with younger mainstream pupils. The reasons for this are unclear. This pattern of play may indicate a lack of maturity among some pupils. It may also indicate a need to play with others and a willingness to engage in whatever activity is available to the group.

Social contacts and isolated play

In Charts 5 to 8 the number of social contacts of unit pupils is presented alongside an analysis of the percentage of observations of isolated play. This percentage was calculated

Chart 5: numbers of social contacts of pupils in Unit 1

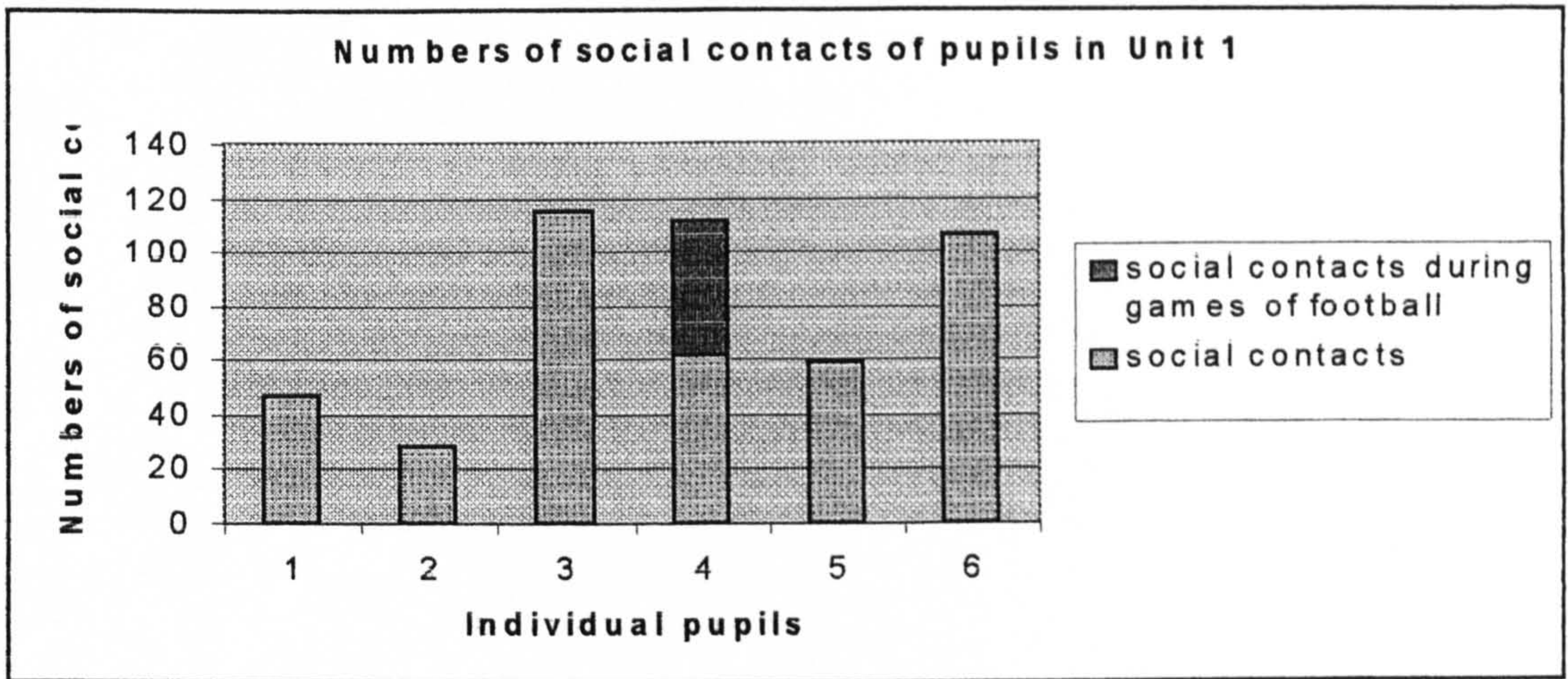


Chart 6: observations of isolated play of pupils in Unit 1

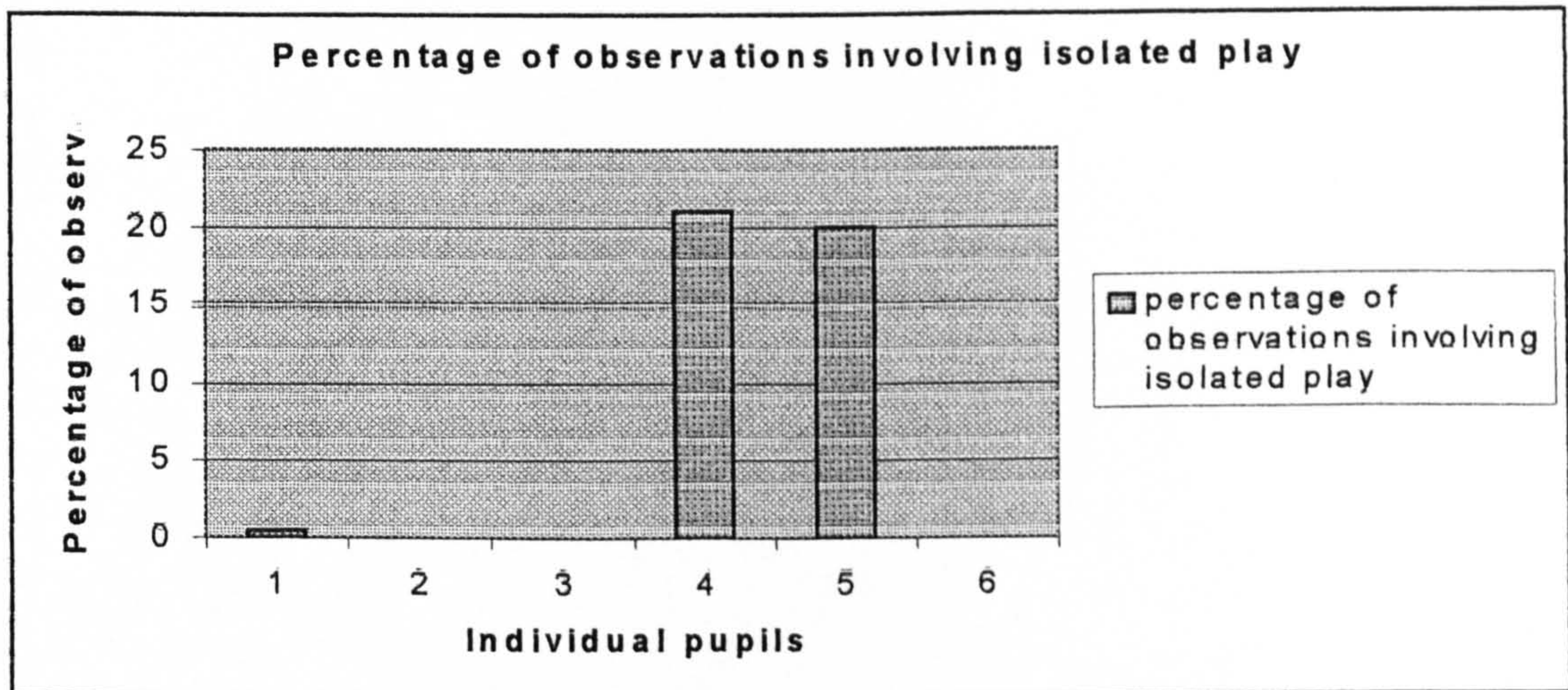
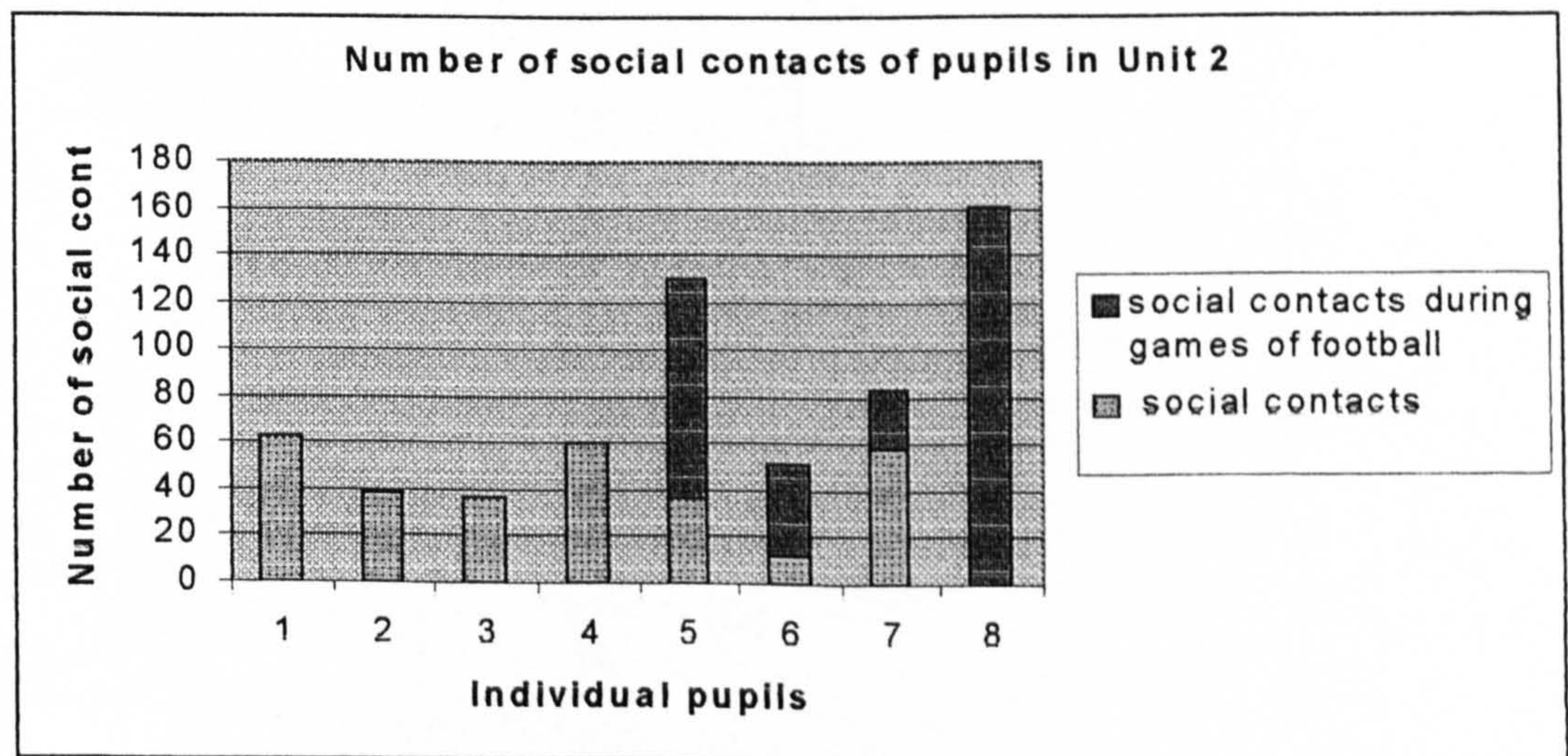
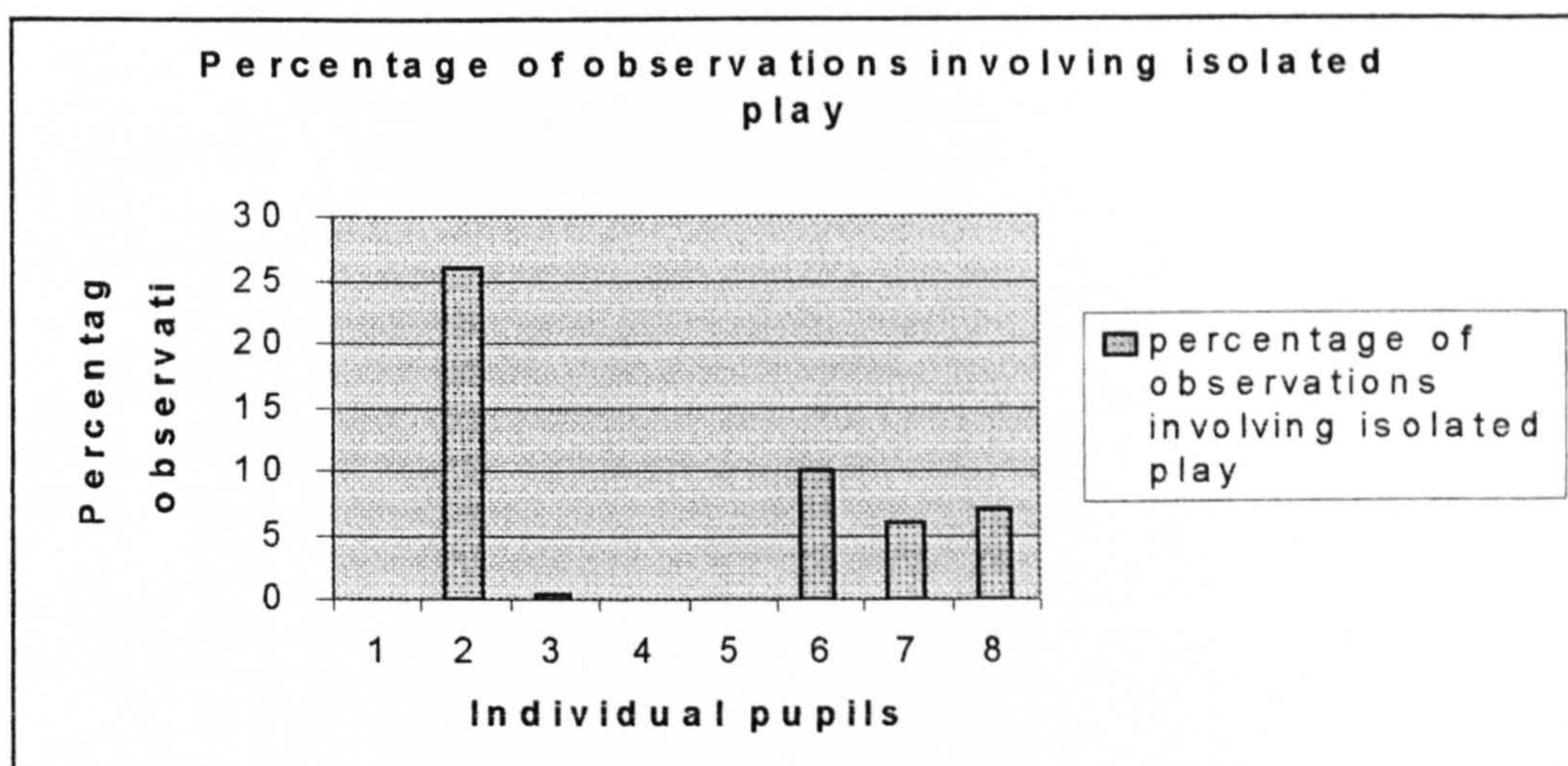


Chart 7: numbers of social contacts of pupils in Unit 2



* Pupils 4 and 8 recently transferred into the unit from the mainstream school

Chart 8: observations of isolated play of pupils in Unit 2



* Pupils 4 and 8 recently transferred into the unit from the mainstream school

from the number of observations which involved any or no contact. The number occurring during games of football is highlighted as a proportion of those contacts. Initial consideration of this data highlighted a significant range in the number of social interactions of individual pupils. However, some caution should be exercised in interpretation. The number of social contacts should in no way be taken as an indication of individual pupils' popularity or lack of friends. Some pupils may have chosen to restrict their social contacts to a small number of very close friends. Others may have preferred to associate, perhaps in a superficial way, with a very large number of pupils. It might also be an indication of individual pupils' preferences for energetic or more sedentary activities. One popular activity observed was a game of chase involving several pupils whilst others preferred to sit quietly and chat, an activity which tends to involve much smaller numbers. The particularly high number of contacts of some of the boys was a result of their engagement with games of football involving as many as 20 players. Social dialogue other than early exchanges when choosing sides and establishing rules and boundaries or disputes over refereeing decisions in these games is very limited. What is perhaps more significant is where a low number of social contacts (excluding football contacts which

tends to distort this data) coincides with a high percentage of observations of isolated play. Indeed where this occurs, (pupils 4 and 5 in Unit 1 and pupils 2 and 6 in Unit 2) and teacher information on individual pupils confirms this, it suggests that such pupils experience some difficulties in establishing positive relationships with both unit and mainstream pupils.

Social contact with peers

The following charts indicate the percentage of contacts that unit pupils had with fellow unit pupils and mainstream peers.

Chart 9: social contact of girls in Unit 1 with fellow unit and mainstream peers

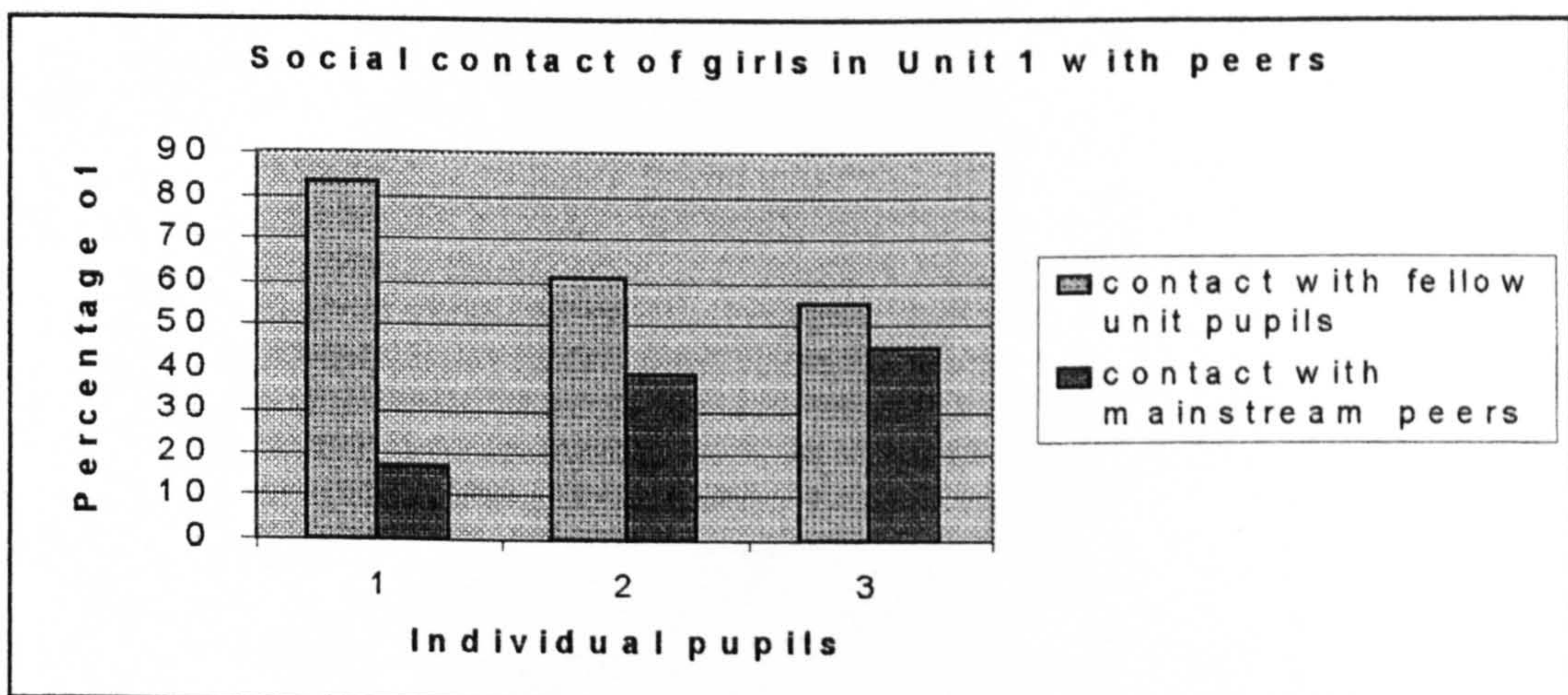
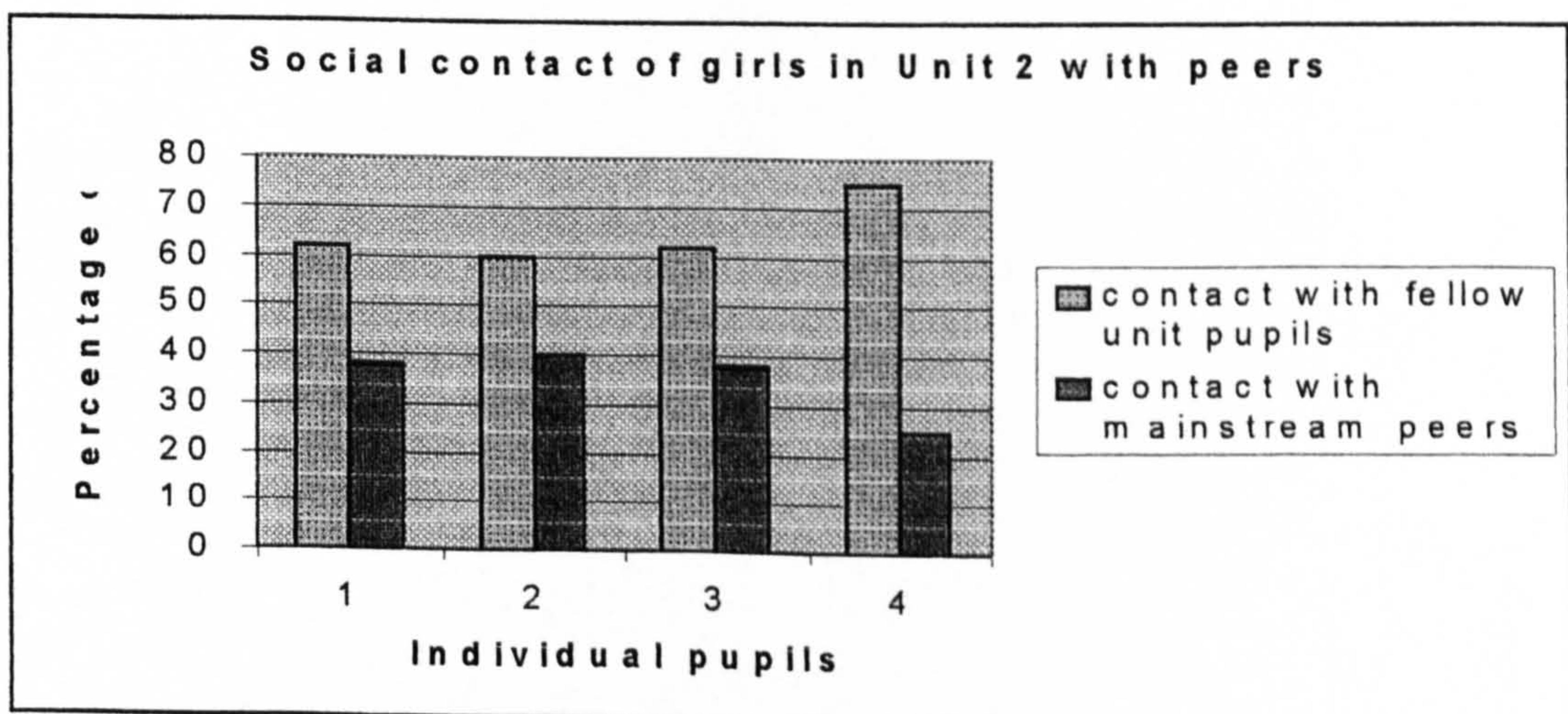


Chart 10: social contact of girls in Unit 2 with fellow unit and mainstream peers



* Pupil 4 recently transferred into the unit from the mainstream school

Chart 11: social contact of boys in Unit 1 with fellow unit and mainstream peers

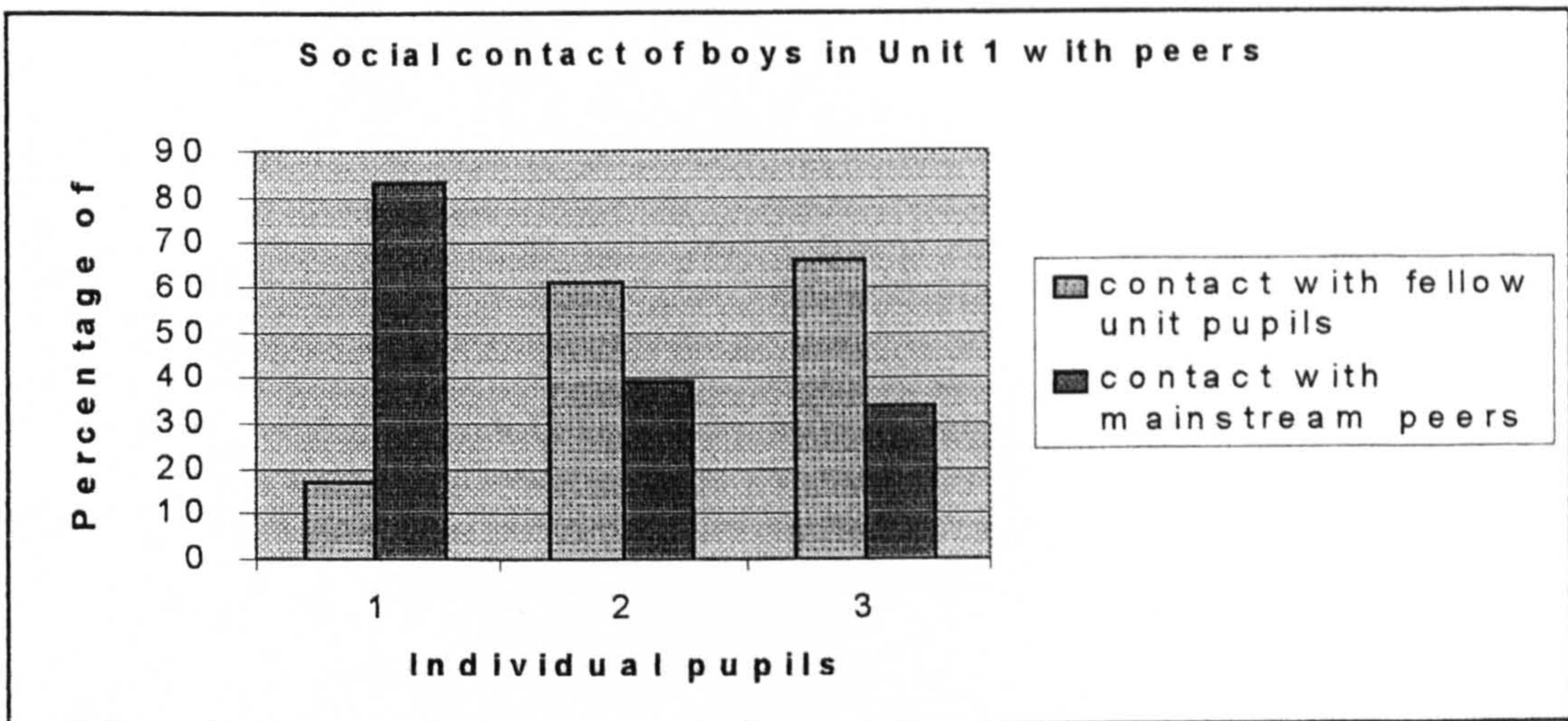
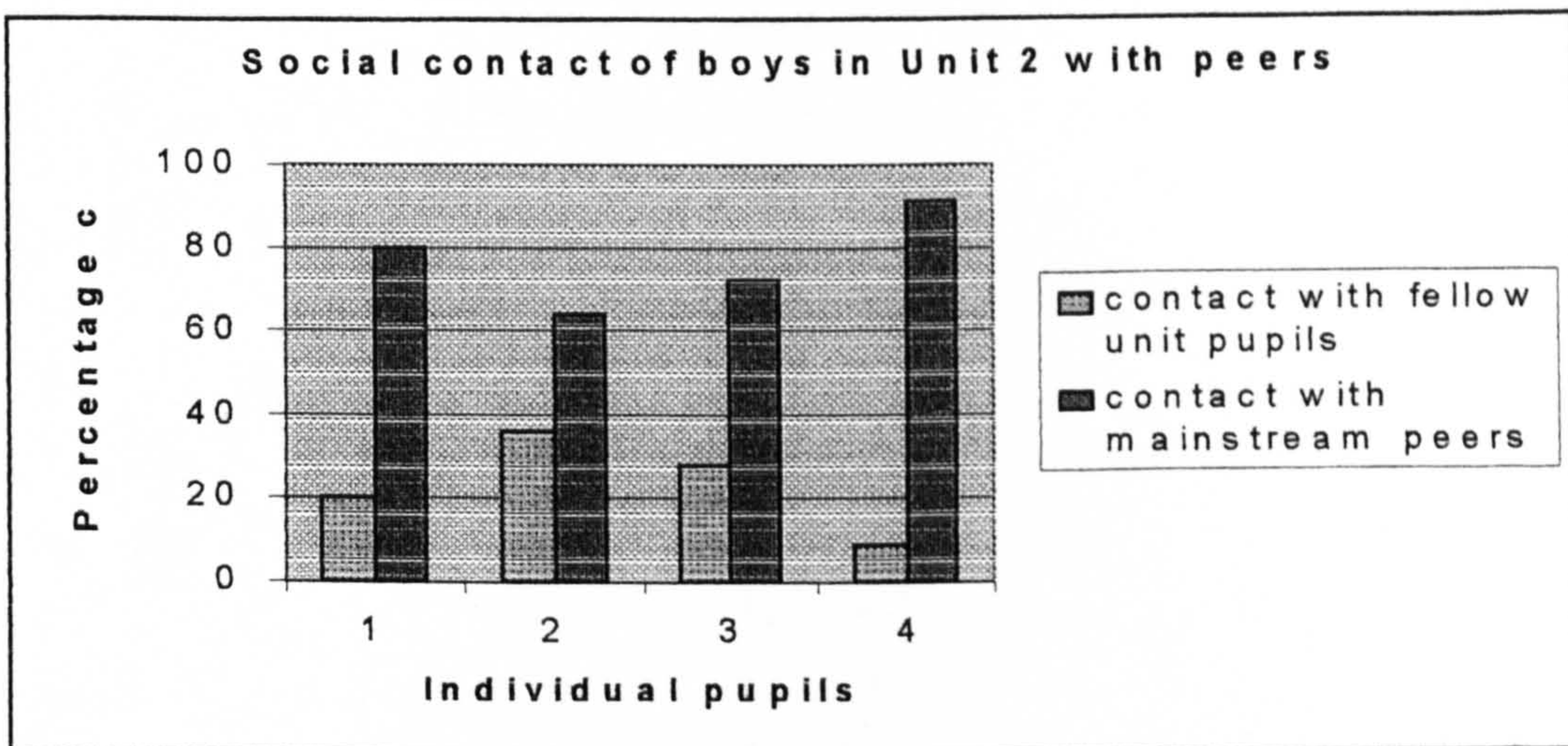


Chart 12: social contact of boys in Unit 2 with fellow unit and mainstream peers



* Pupil 4 recently transferred into the unit from the mainstream school

The analysis of social interaction of unit pupils with mainstream pupils demonstrates a wide range across individual pupils from 17% to 83%. However, looking across the data it appears that the boys in Unit 2 and one boy in Unit 1 were the most successful in developing positive relationships with mainstream peers. These are coincidentally the boys who have gained access to mainstream boys' games of football. As to whether this leads to more extended friendships is a different matter. Boys' friendship patterns at this age are characterised by associations established around activities such as sports and are quite

different to those of girls which become more confiding and closer at this age. (Demetriou, Goalen & Ruddock, 2000; Roffey, Majors & Tarrant, 1997). What is probably more significant is the extent to which these contacts relate to in-class relationships or those after school and their perceptions of 'having enough friends'. Although the boys in Unit 1 cited incidents of assistive behaviour in class from some mainstream peers these relationships did not appear to extend onto the school playground. Only one boy was observed to be included in the habitual game of football and that was only witnessed on one out of more than 20 occasions where his play was observed. No other links, during or after school, were observed and no mainstream pupils were named in this individual's friendship circle. Of the three boys in Unit 2 regularly observed to be included in games of football only one of them included mainstream pupils in his circle of friends. This individual had recently transferred from the same mainstream class into the unit. He, however, did not continue these relationships outside school. Although he lived within walking distance from the school he said he lived too far away to play with his friends outside school hours.

Social contacts with sub-groups of mainstream peers

The data was subjected to a further more detailed analysis of those contacts in terms of the sub-groups with which unit pupils associated. Given that no pupils from the units were placed in same age mainstream classrooms the analysis uses the concept of 'near-age peers' to describe those pupils from same age peer groups and the mainstream peer group with whom pupils from the unit have most opportunities for contact in inclusive classroom settings. It is assumed that this is the group of mainstream pupils with whom pupils from the unit are most likely to make friendship links and play with at playtimes.

Within School 1 a small number of near-aged peers who had been placed on the SEN register at stages 2 and 3 were educated alongside unit pupils for substantial periods of time. Percentage contact with this group of pupils is presented in Chart 13. There was also an observed tendency in both units and particularly School 2 for unit pupils to associate with pupils much younger than themselves. General playground observations suggested that this was not the normal pattern within the mainstream school. Mainstream pupils largely tended to play with peers of the same age. Percentage contact with this group is also presented in Charts 13 and 14.

Chart 13: social contact of pupils in Unit 1 with sub-groups of peers

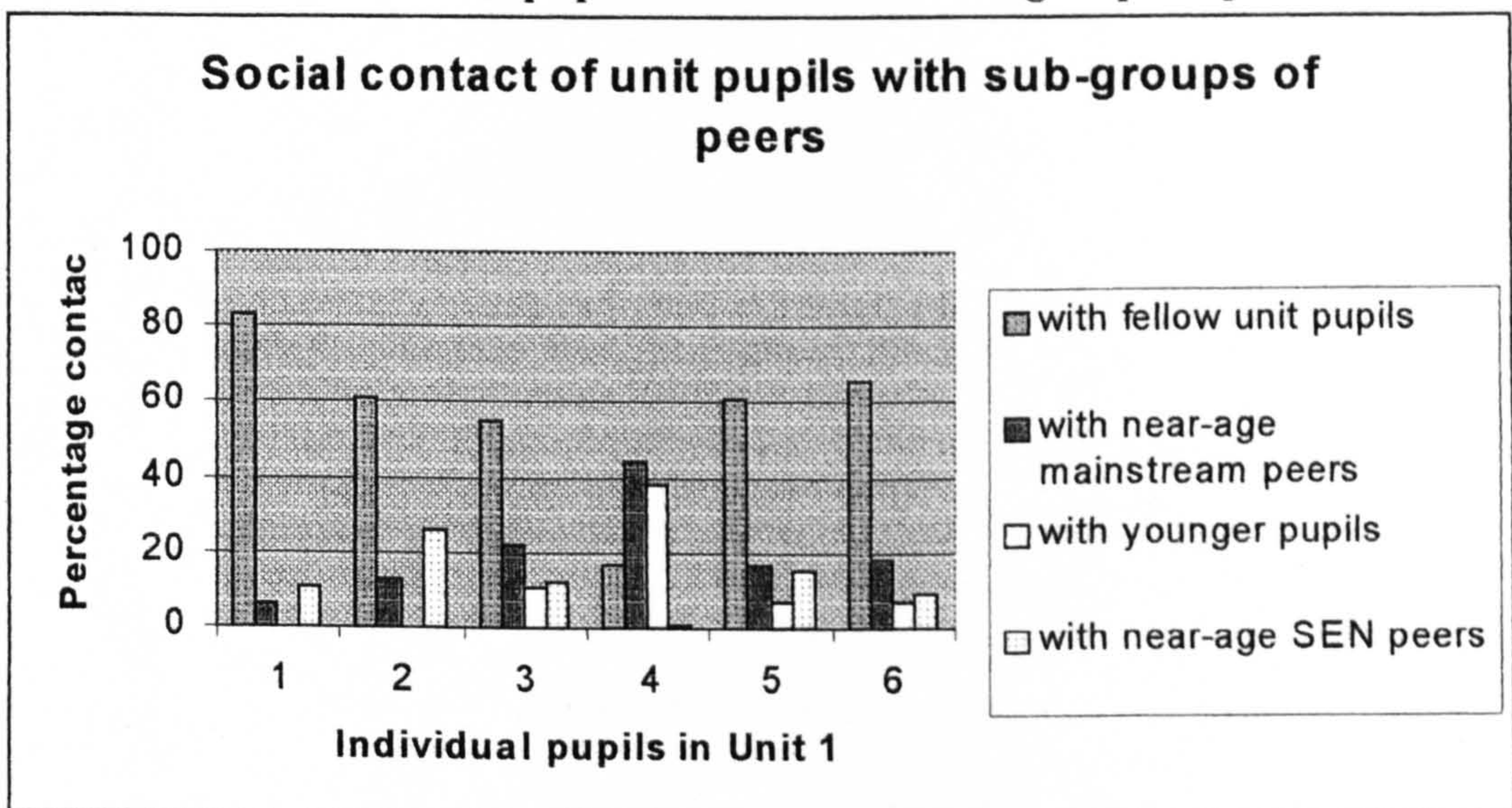
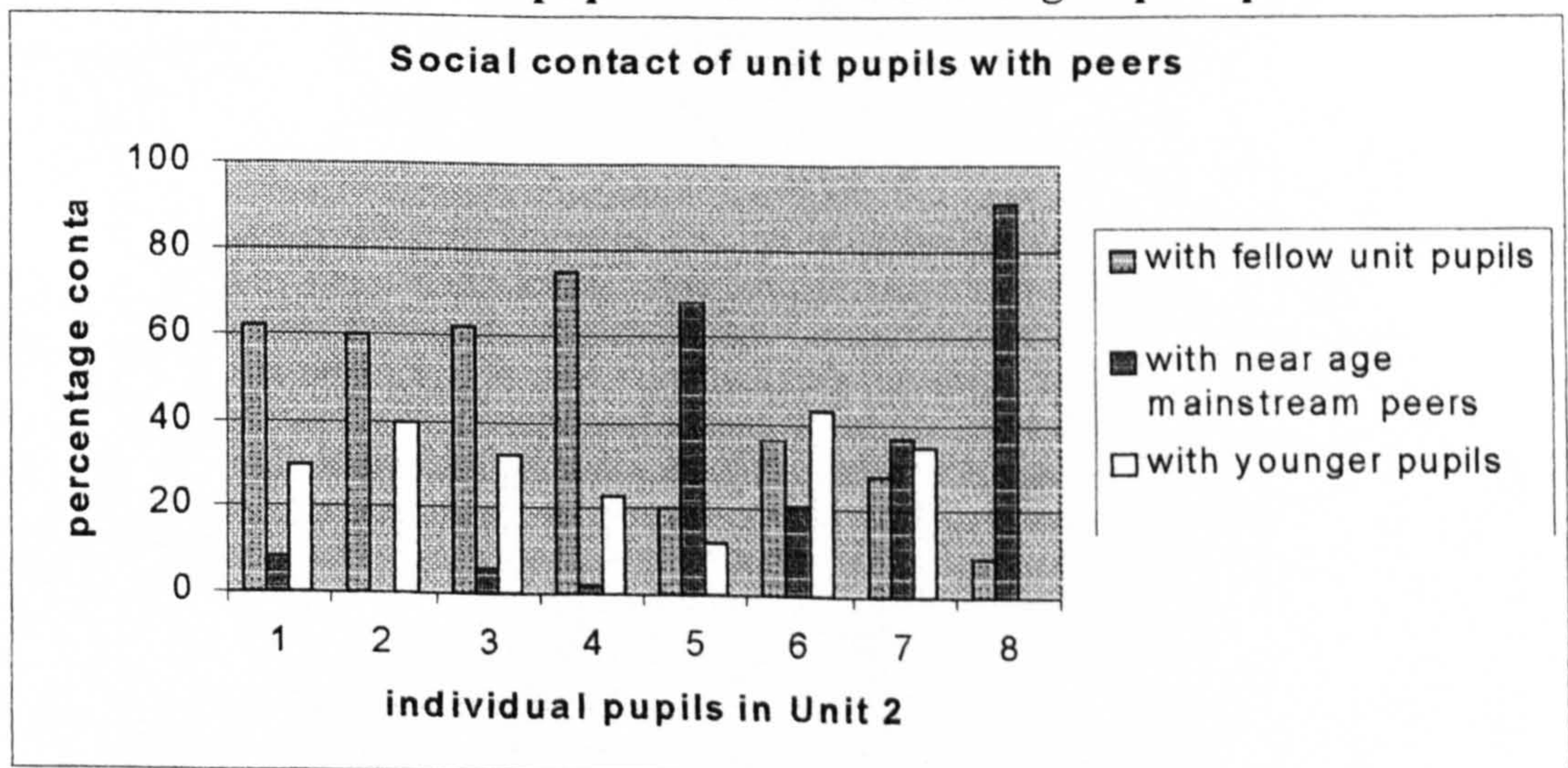


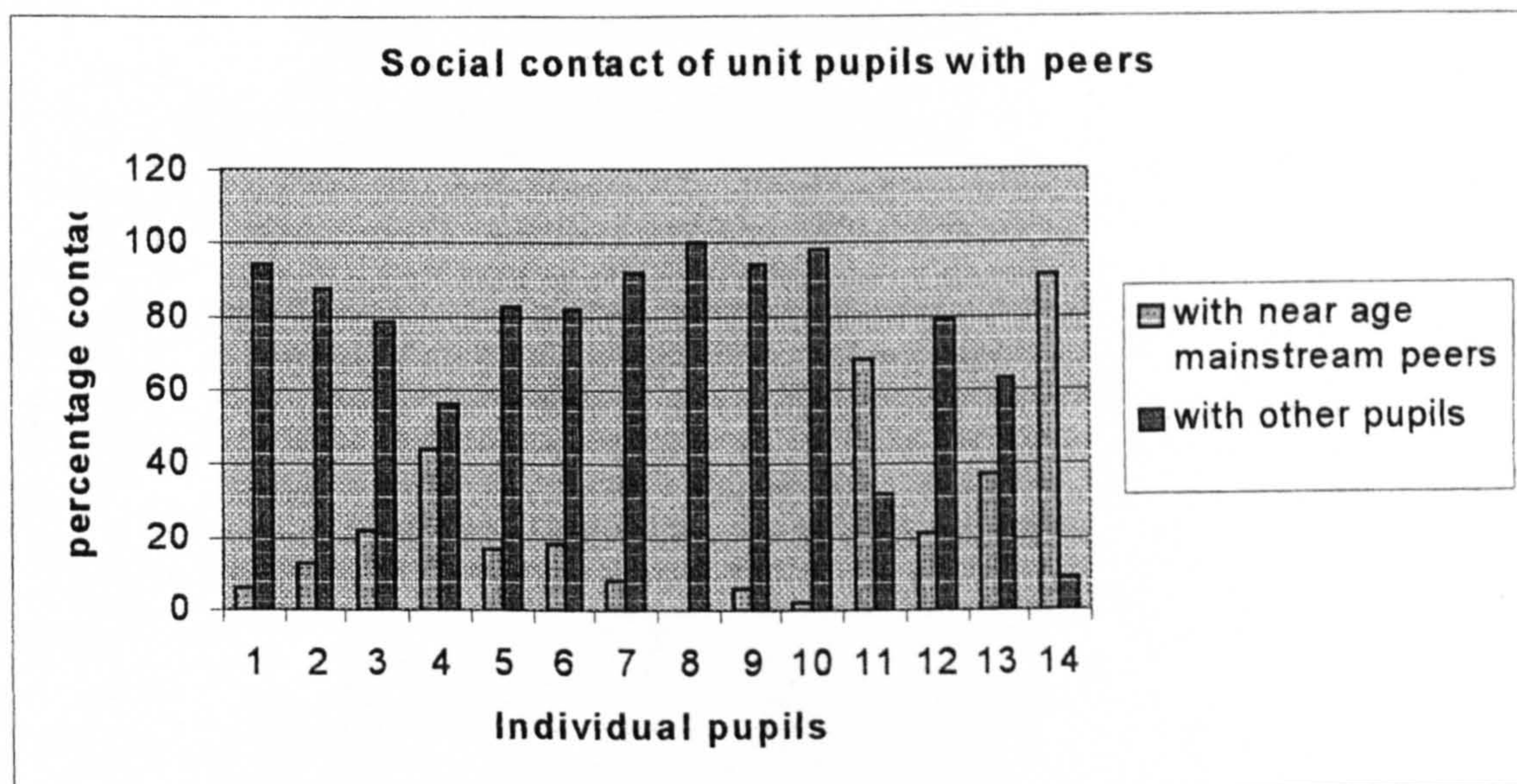
Chart 14: social contact of pupils in Unit 2 with sub-groups of peers



*pupils 4 and 8 recently transferred into the Unit from the mainstream school

An analysis of the social contact between all unit pupils and mainstream near-age peers in contrast to all other groups of pupils (see Chart 15) indicates that three boys (Pupil 4 from Unit 1 and pupils 11 and 14 from Unit 2) appear to be the most successful in their mainstream peer relationships.

Chart 15: Social contact between unit pupils and near-age mainstream peers in contrast to all other groups



*pupils 10 and 14 recently transferred into the Unit from the mainstream school

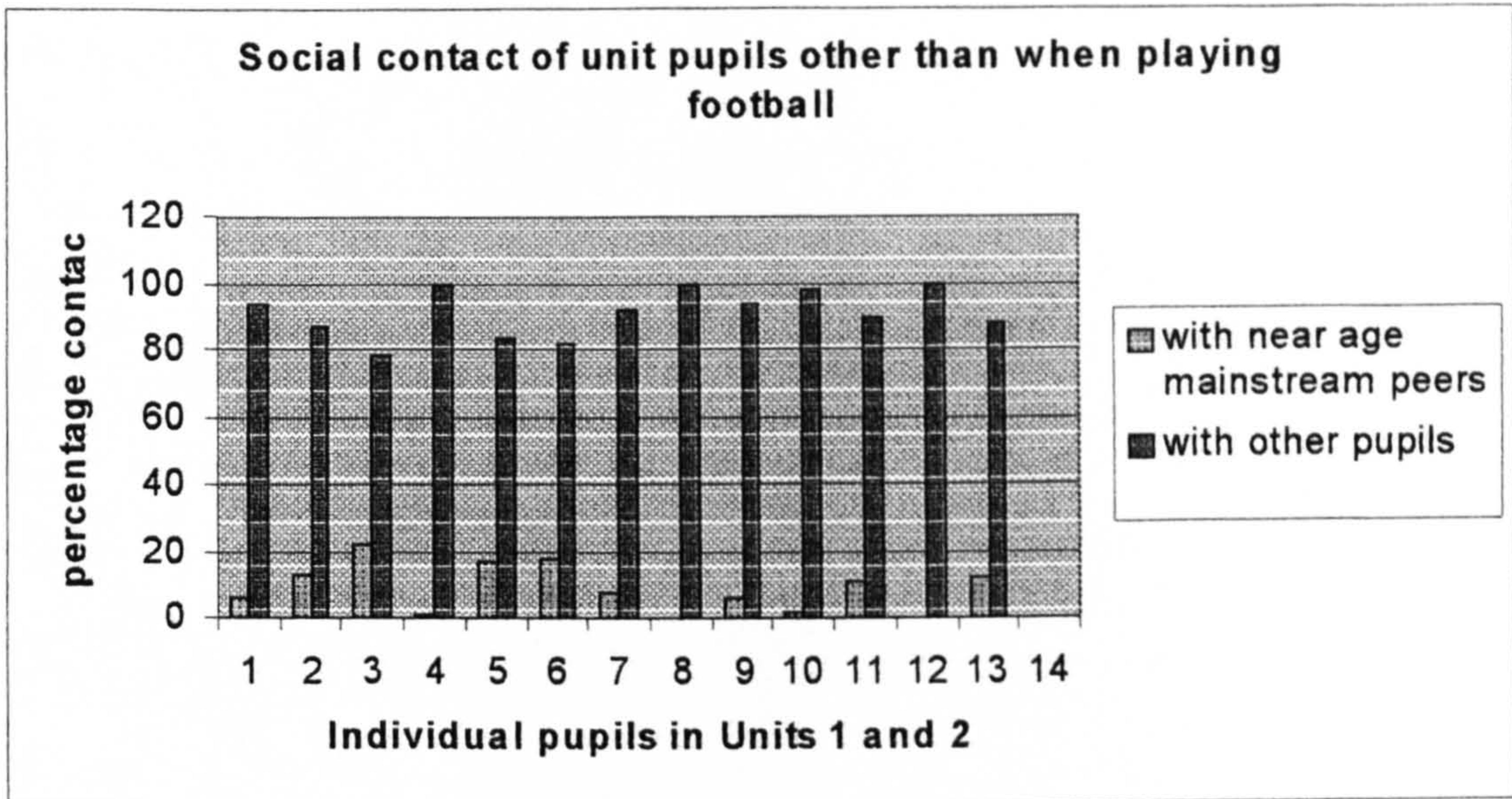
However, this data is distorted by the number of contacts occurring during football games.

A further analysis was conducted to demonstrate the amount of contact (other than when playing football) between unit and mainstream pupils. This demonstrates a very similar pattern of contact across gender groups and in both units.

Conclusion

The above analysis indicates that most pupils, unless they could access games of football, had low levels of social contact with near-age peers on the school playground. The one

Chart 16: Social contact between unit pupils and mainstream peers at times other than when playing football



*pupils 10 and 14 recently transferred into the Unit from the mainstream school

exception to the general pattern was Pupil 14, all of whose social contact occurred during games of football. He was one of the two pupils most recently transferred to the unit. Unlike the girl (Pupil 10) he had apparently retained his friendship links with mainstream peers and did not associate with his new classmates from the unit at playtimes other than when they were likewise engaged in games of football.

Section 2: Classroom observation data

Arrangements for joint lessons

Year 5 and 6 pupils in Unit 1 joined lessons in the mainstream Y5 class. Arrangements varied according to the subject of the lesson. For Science, Geography and History the class was divided into two ability groups with the majority of unit pupils remaining together and being joined by some of the less able pupils from the mainstream class. For Art and Design Technology the group was split into two equal halves with unit pupils going into either group. PE and Music lessons were whole class lessons with groups dividing on the basis of gender for PE on occasions. When all pupils were together there were 38 pupils in the class and these lessons were jointly taught. In integrated lessons where the groups were split, by agreement both unit and mainstream teachers took

responsibility for the teaching of their respective mixed groups. The mainstream class teacher at these times had the additional support of the Unit NNEB. In these classes collaborative learning was encouraged and pupils were deliberately seated together to promote interaction.

The class into which the six of the eight Y4, 5 and 6 unit pupils joined lessons in School 2 was a Y4 class and was quite small, consisting of 20 pupils. This was the class in which observations were carried out. On the occasions monitored there were between 14 and 18 mainstream pupils present. These lessons were led by the mainstream class teacher and took place in the mainstream classroom. The unit teacher played a supportive role. No deliberate policy of pairing unit and mainstream pupils was observed or described. Pupils were co-taught rather than specifically encouraged to collaborate in their learning.

General observations

School 1

All lessons observed were well-organised and controlled and characterised by positive relationships between teachers and pupils. In both classrooms deliberate efforts were made to mix unit and mainstream pupils. In the unit classroom all pupils were allotted specific seats to facilitate collaborative working. In the mainstream classroom 'visiting' unit pupils were allowed to choose seats and then mainstream pupils were moved to sit with them. Pupils generally remained in their seats unless they needed to get additional equipment or directed to move by the teacher. Pupils in both classrooms were on-task for a very high percentage of the time. In the lessons observed pupils were encouraged to help one another but usually, unless involved in a joint project, worked independently. The

atmosphere in both classrooms was calm and productive. The concentration on task in the unit classroom was particularly high, and the atmosphere quiet.

School 2

All lessons observed were well-organised and well-managed. The pupils had a very positive relationship with their teachers, characterised by respectful and on occasion humorous interchanges. Pupils were seated in ability groups for literacy but could work with partners of their choice in other lessons. Unit pupils had regular seats for some integrated lessons in ability groups usually with a mixture of unit and mainstream pupils on the same table. Pupils were generally focused on tasks and there was a quiet working atmosphere. There were occasions observed when pupils moved freely around the classroom and incidental chatting occurred.

Pupil interaction

These findings are presented under headings relating to key aspects of lessons where pupil interaction could be observed.

a) Joining lessons

Because of the separate registration of unit and mainstream pupils integrated lessons in both schools always began with unit pupils having to enter established or seated classes. In some instances pupils had allocated seats which were vacant but in other cases pupils had to negotiate a place. Where seats were not allocated, as on the carpet, the unit pupils on entering the room sat together at the back of the seated group. Occasionally unit pupils were moved to places nearer the teacher. This was the pattern of behaviour of all pupils except for pupil 8* in Unit 2 who always went to sit with mainstream friends. Unit pupils in both schools were on several occasions observed turned away from what appeared to

be empty seats when they asked if they could sit in them. On other occasions unit pupils were observed to choose empty tables rather than attempt to sit with peers. This behaviour could be interpreted as an avoidance of potential rejection.

Choosing partners for co-operative work

Where pupils chose partners with whom to work, which they did in some lessons in mainstream classrooms, they usually chose to work with fellow unit pupils. This was particularly the case in PE lessons observed where, as in School 2, partners were not allotted. On occasions, where by virtue of odd numbers, mainstream and unit pupils were forced to choose each other as partners they did so with very obvious reluctance. The one exception to this was Pupil 8 in School 2, recently admitted to the unit, who regularly chose one of his old classmates to work with.

Independent work time and social interaction

In both schools pupils worked well and with good concentration during periods allotted for independent work. General functional conversation occurred between mainstream and unit pupils at these times which was, on all occasions but one observed, of a positive nature. Pupils seemed happy to collaborate with their allotted partner, which in School 1 was usually a mainstream partner. Some pupils apparently chose to work alone. Lessons observed in School 2 involved pupils working on similar tasks rather than collaborative tasks and unit pupils were able to ask mainstream pupils for help. However this was never observed during lessons monitored. In School 1 some mainstream pupils, when they had finished their own work, moved seats and went to help unit pupils. Two instances of negative social interaction were observed. These both involved the same mainstream and

unit pupil in School 1 and consisted of some name calling and kicking under the desk. This was quickly spotted and dealt with by the class teacher.

Comparative analysis and conclusions

In the following two tables, Tables 10 and 11, the similarities and differences in outcomes for the pupils in the two units are presented. This analysis demonstrates a number of common aspects of their experience at playtimes and in joint lessons and highlights some of the key differences.

Table 10: similarities and differences in outcomes for pupils in the two units when playing on the school playground

Aspect	Common features of peer relationships in Units 1 and 2	Features of peer relationships in Unit 1 only	Features of peer relationships in Unit 2 only
Access to peers		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could access mainstream pupils from Y4-6 at playtimes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could access mainstream pupils from R-Y5 at playtimes
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical activity predominated in boys' play • Chatting together was a common feature of girls' play • Most activities were pursued in single gender groupings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One boy occasionally accessed peers' games of football 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All boys accessed peers' games of football
Isolated play	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One pupil in each unit had a high level (more than 20%) of observed isolated play 		
Numbers of social contacts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual pupils varied widely in their number of social contacts 		
Contact with fellow unit pupils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All girls had high levels of contact with fellow unit pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls had between 55-82% contact with fellow unit pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girls had between 60-75% contact with fellow unit pupils
Contact with mainstream peers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All girls had low levels of contact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All girls associated with near-age 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All girls had more than 20% of their

	with near-age mainstream peers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When contact during games of football were excluded all pupils (other than the boy recently transferred into Unit 2) played predominantly with pupils other than near-age mainstream peers 	mainstream SEN peers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 boy played predominantly with mainstream pupils 	contacts with younger mainstream peers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All boys played predominantly with mainstream pupils
--	---	--	---

Table 11: outcomes for pupils in joint lessons

Common outcomes in the two units	Outcomes in Unit 1 only	Outcomes in Unit 2 only
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When choosing seats or partners some pupils were observed to be rebuffed by mainstream peers. • Unit pupils were actively encouraged to participate in teacher directed parts of lessons • Pupils shared resources and functional interaction at such times was respectful 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When given a choice most unit pupils chose to work with fellow unit pupils or mainstream SEN peers. • Mainstream pupils helped unit pupils • Negative interaction was observed in one lesson between a unit and a mainstream pupil • Could access pupils from Y5 in joint lessons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When given a choice all unit pupils (except Pupil 8*) chose to work with fellow unit pupils or alone • Could access pupils from Y2, 3 or 4 in joint lessons

* Pupil recently transferred into the unit

It would appear that although the subgroups of mainstream peers with whom pupils played differed between the two units, (SEN pupils in Unit 1 and younger mainstream peers in Unit 2), the general pattern of association was similar. This data when added to the evidence gathered from pupil interviews appears to confirm that unit pupils' relationships with mainstream peers was far from optimal. The additional evidence gathered from interviews with the two pupils newly admitted into the unit also seems to confirm the pattern of friendships among unit and mainstream pupils as somewhat exclusive of one another. On transfer it appears that pupils either maintain their old

friendships at the expense of new ones or that they transfer their allegiance wholly to those pupils in the unit.

Chapter 6 - Findings 3: The Social Context

In this chapter the author reports the findings of the third of the three investigations which sought to answer the question

What is the nature of the social context in which pupils' relationships occur?

The social context is here understood to have two dimensions

- a) the organisational responses to the perceived needs of pupils in the unit and through which they accessed mainstream peer groups
- b) the social climate, exemplified by the perceptions and attitudes of staff and pupils in which relationships occur.

The investigation of the social context involved an exploration of the circumstances surrounding the units' establishment and the early experiences of those involved in the planning and implementation phase as well as that which currently exists.

Data was derived from a number of different sources including documentary evidence, observations and interviews with current staff, mainstream pupils and some members of LEA and school staff who had taken an active role in the establishment of the two units.

In seeking to assess the degree of access to mainstream experience calculations were made as to the percentage of time pupils had opportunities to associate with mainstream peers either in class or at playtimes. Other opportunities for access to, and evidence of exclusion from mainstream experience were included in the analysis.

Interview data was carefully scrutinised and responses categorised according to suggested techniques for analysing semi-structured data in small scale research (Atkins 1984). A set of codes was compiled from each transcript in turn, new ones being added where they did

not previously exist. From this coding a number of themes emerged, both suggested by the data itself and found in related literature (Wade and Moore, 1993).

Four main themes were inductively derived from the analysis of data. These related to

- (i) the separate, special and different treatment of the pupils in the unit justified by perceptions of unit pupils' needs
- (ii) the partnership between the special and mainstream school which established the unit as a base, belonging to the special school but accommodated by the mainstream school
- (iii) the resulting lack of ownership of unit pupils by the mainstream school
- (iv) the perception of unit pupils as needy, warranting help and support but not necessarily friendship

These findings were incorporated into the comparative analysis of the two units which is presented in table format at the end of this chapter. This framework seeks to demonstrate common and different features of pupil experience and how these might relate to the social context in existence in each of the two schools.

The model as established

The available documentation suggested that the model established was the result of consultation and negotiation between the LEA, staff, governors and parents of pupils of the special school and those schools who had expressed an interest in the integration initiative. Two 'satellite bases' of the special school were established in two schools, one a primary and one a first school, at either end of the Borough. These schools were chosen because they had expressed an interest and willingness to work with the special school in developing and promoting 'substantial functional integration' for identified pupils from the special school. Each unit was designed to accommodate a maximum of 15 pupils and was

staffed by two teachers and one nursery nurse from the special school. Pupils were selected for attendance at the unit by the special school. The two units, their staff and pupils remained under the managerial control of the special school.

Analysis of the interview data revealed a high level of consensus among informants about the circumstances of the involved schools and discussions which took place at that time. Perceptions of the unit teachers closely overlapped with regard to the approach and strategy adopted by the staff of the two units as they sought to develop working relationships with the mainstream staff.

In setting up the two units several informants attested to the concern there was to ensure a positive working relationship between the host schools and unit staffs. Although there was agreement that the two schools were carefully selected on the basis of their declared willingness to work with the special school, other factors were also mentioned as being influential in the schools' interest in the initiative. For example, both schools had falling rolls and were in danger of closure. This was referred to by one member of the unit staff as the schools seeing the units as 'vital to their survival at the start'.

Although many meetings and visits occurred between the staffs, these, as the acting head teacher of the special school at the time of the units' establishment described, were focussed on issues surrounding 'tenancy' rather than 'anything more substantial than that such as looking at curriculum or teaching styles'. The perceived lack of a lead by the LEA in developing a rationale for working practices led him to describe the initiative as 'a rudderless ship'.

Nobody seemed to have any clear idea about the outcomes they expected. There was no real setting out of a guiding philosophy. There was no action plan or success criteria. It was a bit of a rudderless ship to be honest.

(Acting Head Teacher of the special school)

The development of working practice and a positive relationship between the staffs of the unit and mainstream schools was very much left to the staff of the schools. The strategy of promoting 'mutual benefits' was referred to by several members of the unit staff as important for both staff and unit pupils. This was facilitated in a number of ways, most notably by providing support in mainstream classrooms, by volunteering to take part in duty rosters and by contributing to the professional development of the school through the provision of resources and advice where appropriate.

I think you've got to be seen as a benefit and if the staff are seen as a benefit then it's easier for the pupils.

(Member of staff, Unit 1)

Integration was described as developing gradually with a concern not to overburden the mainstream school staff,

Initially the children were kept within the unit for most of the day and we arranged for children in the mainstream classes who were having problems to come down into the unit. We went out for Art, PE and Music initially. There wasn't as much integration going on as there is now.

(Member of staff, Unit 2)

Some of the concerns and prejudices of mainstream staff and parents that the unit staff felt had to be overcome were described.

We had to overcome the prejudice of the parents of the mainstream school children. I don't know what kind of children they thought we were going to bring in. I don't know if they thought we were just going to put the children in the classrooms and leave them there and that their behaviour was going to be dreadful.

(Member of staff, Unit 2)

The lack of documentation describing the model of provision and the consensus among interviewees supports the conclusion that the model of provision established in 1994 was the outcome of the negotiations of the schools as to how best to interpret and implement

the remit of achieving ‘substantial functional integration’. There was a clearer idea of what was *not* wanted rather than what should be put in place.

What was not wanted, and I think this *was* articulated, was ‘a little island of specialness at the end of the corridor’ where our pupils would spend most of their time with special school teachers and not having much to do with the rest of the mainstream population.

(Acting Head Teacher)

There appeared to be little suggestion of a need for change or adaptation by the mainstream school.

There was certainly no discussion about what the mainstream school needed to do to make this successful, what a mainstream school would look like in terms of its ethos, its practices, its routines, its curriculum, that would enable our children to work alongside them.

(Acting Head Teacher)

The role of the LEA in monitoring developments at that time was perceived by unit staff as very limited.

I think we had one or two visits from the people who decided there was going to be a unit here but apart from that there’s been very little input

(Member of staff, Unit 2)

The acting head teacher suggested that there had been ‘a satisfaction with symbols’ such as special school pupils wearing mainstream school uniform and being thus difficult to identify.

An analysis across the two units as presented in Table 12 identifies a number of similarities and no significant differences between the model established in the two units.

Table 12: features of the model as established in the two units

Aspect	Common features of units 1 and 2	Features in Unit 1 only	Features in Unit 2 only
Purpose of the unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to accommodate up to 15 pupils • to effect mutual benefits to both partners i.e. special and mainstream schools 		

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to establish functional integration for unit pupils • to provide access to mainstream lessons and peer groups for pupils in the unit 		
<p>Roles and responsibilities of mainstream and unit staff</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to negotiate appropriate levels of mainstream experience • to develop collaborative relationships • mainstream teachers would provide access to mainstream lessons and peer groups • unit staff would be responsible for the learning and discipline of unit pupils and provide necessary support in joint lessons • unit staff would provide advice and support on special educational needs to mainstream staff • unit staff would contribute to the efficient running of the mainstream school. 		

The current model

Dimension 1: Organisational responses

At the time of the research the units had been in operation for five years. In that period a number of different strategies had been employed to try and maintain a level of functional integration that was acceptable to the special and host schools. These strategies had been adopted in response to changes in the mainstream school's circumstances or Government and LEA policy and recommendations. They also reflected responses to changes in staffing ratios in the unit and changes in unit population.

Our concern was to match the ability of the children to the classes they were going to work in....It was down to the willingness of the staff to participate and how much they thought the children could cope with. And it varied from year to year as we went through and changed things which were often necessitated by the difference in the children we had each year.

(Teacher, Unit 1)

It varies across the bases and varies from year to year. We look at the needs of our pupils who are placed there and also we have to bear in mind class sizes and teaching staff of the mainstream school

(Special School Head Teacher)

At the time of the research each unit was catering for 15 pupils varying in age from Year 3 to Year 6. In each school a separate classroom 'the Base' was set up in which the pupils were registered and in which separate educational and social provision was possible. Both were well-furnished and resourced with shower and food technology facilities. These could be accessed, by arrangement, by the mainstream schools and their pupils. Staffing at each base had been modified and was at that time one special school teacher and two NNEBs. Pupils were admitted to the Bases by one of three routes, transfer from special school, transfer from host mainstream school or directly into the unit from other mainstream schools. All admissions were under the direct control of the head teacher of the special school. Pupils remained on, or were transferred to, the roll of the special school.

The organisational arrangements through which the children in each unit accessed mainstream classrooms and the amount and nature of separate education varied between the two units and was an outcome of negotiations conducted at the beginning of each academic year. These arrangements were described as being affected by willingness and or perceived readiness of individual mainstream staff to work in collaborative teaching situations. The current organisational arrangements for each unit are described separately below.

Unit 1

This unit was established in a local primary school. Organisational arrangements resulted in the younger group of four Year 4 pupils being fully integrated into the Year 3 classroom full-time. They were supported by one of the NNEBs and taught by two mainstream class teachers who job-shared. This was the first time that such an arrangement had been tried. The group of older pupils worked very closely with the Year 5 class. These older unit pupils were taught by the special school teacher and supported by the NNEB for Maths, English and Science. A group of four mainstream pupils from the Year 5 class who had been placed on the SEN register at stages 2 to 4 joined the Unit pupils for these lessons. Older unit pupils accessed Year 5 mainstream lessons of PE, Art, R.E., Music, Technology, History and Geography and were taught jointly by the special and mainstream teachers with the support of the NNEB. All unit pupils spent the last period on Friday afternoon in the unit and received specific input in IT and PSE.

Table 13 shows the proportion of time as a percentage that pupils were taught either entirely separately, with selected mainstream SEN pupils or alongside mainstream peers.

Table 13: percentages of time pupils in Unit 1 are taught in separate and mainstream settings

Taught separately in the unit with fellow unit pupils only	Taught within the unit but with mainstream SEN peers	Taught with all mainstream peers	Taught with some or all mainstream peers
5%	60%	35%	95%

Unit pupils spent all break times and lunch times with their mainstream peers unless retained in the classroom as a punishment or to finish work. The older group were supervised at lunchtimes by a member of the unit staff who sat with them at a separate dining table. One or two other mainstream staff sat with children to eat lunch on an ad hoc basis. The older group of unit pupils sat together as a group in school assembly unless they were in Y6 in which case they ‘shared the privilege’ of sitting on the bench at the back of the hall. Pupils were included in all whole school activities, functions and events and were invited to participate in after school clubs although rarely did so.

Older unit pupils had the opportunity to mix socially at lunch and break times for 350/450 minutes per week (78% of non-lesson time) A member of staff from the unit was available at these times for support if called upon.

Unit 2

Unit 2 was originally set up in a first school but more recently the school had changed its designation to a primary school. The year of the study was the first time that Y5 pupils had been retained in the school. This meant that older, Y6, unit pupils had not been able to access their chronological peer group and for joint lessons had of necessity often been at least two years older than their peers.

Pupils in the unit at the time of the research accessed mainstream lessons in 3 different classes where they were supported by either the unit class teacher or an NNEB. Of the six pupils, selected for the study on the grounds of their having been in the unit for a minimum of 12 months, four pupils accessed Y4 lessons in English. One of these pupils was a Y5 pupil and three were Y6. Of the other two pupils, one was a Y5 and the other a Y4 pupil. Both these pupils accessed English lessons in Y2. All unit pupils were taught Maths separately in the unit except for one Y5 pupil who accessed Maths in Y2. The group of six, including the two pupils recently admitted to the unit, who worked with Y4 had joint lessons with the mainstream class for Science, singing, History, Geography, Music, PE, Art and Technology. They attended swimming lessons, accessed through special school funding, separately and spent Friday afternoons in the unit working on ICT and PSE. The two pupils who accessed English in the Y2 classroom accessed mainstream lessons for, Science, PE, History, Geography. They were taught separately in the unit for Art, RE, ICT, Music and PSE and accessed separate swimming lessons with the rest of the unit pupils. One pupil had separate speech and language input during the mainstream singing lesson while the other pupil accessed this lesson.

Table 14 shows the proportion of time as a percentage that pupils who accessed lessons with Y4 were taught either entirely separately, with selected mainstream SEN pupils or alongside mainstream peers.

Table 14: percentages of time older pupils in Unit 2 are taught in separate and mainstream settings

Taught separately in the unit	Taught with all mainstream peers
45%	55%

Table 15 shows the proportion of time that pupils who accessed mainstream lessons with Y3 were taught either entirely separately or alongside mainstream peers.

Table 15: percentages of time younger pupils in Unit 2 are taught in separate and mainstream settings

	Taught separately in the unit	Taught alongside all mainstream peers
Pupil 7	25%	75%
Pupil 2	45%	55%

Unit pupils spent all break times and lunch times with their mainstream peers unless retained in the classroom as a punishment or to finish work. At lunch time they were seated together at tables and did not choose where or with whom they sat. Pupils were free to choose with whom they socialised at break and lunch times on the school yard. This constituted 275/375 minutes (73%) of available social contact time outside lessons. One of the unit members of staff was on duty at all break times to supervise and or offer support to any pupils, mainstream or unit. Unit pupils sat together as a class in school assembly and were included in all whole school events and functions. They also sat together for lunch where, like all mainstream pupils, they were supervised by dinner nannies. Pupils were invited to attend after-school clubs but rarely did so.

At the time of the research the majority of the pupils in both units lived outside the school neighbourhood and were transported into school by minibus or taxi. Arrivals and departures were organised to coincide with starting and finishing times at both schools but delays were not infrequent. If pupils were early they went directly into school rather than wait in the playground with mainstream pupils. Registration took place in the base classroom.

The following table summarises the similarities and differences in the organisational responses in the two units.

Table 16 : similarities and differences in organisational arrangements in the two units

Aspect	Common features of units 1 and 2	Features in Unit 1 only	Features in Unit 2 only
Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most pupils were transported into the mainstream school from outside the local area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most pupils were transported by minibus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most pupils were transported individually or in small groups by taxi
Opportunities for social contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pupils did not have access to mainstream peers before or after school • All pupils had access to near-age peers at break times on the playground • All pupils had restricted/supervised access to mainstream peers whilst eating lunch • All pupils had social access to mainstream peers during joint lessons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All pupils had access to pupils from Y4-6 at playtimes • Unit pupils sat with their class teacher in the school hall • Mainstream peers to which pupils had access in lessons were up to one year younger than the unit pupils • All unit pupils were taught alongside all their mainstream peers for 35% of the time • All unit pupils were taught alongside near-age mainstream SEN peers for 95% of the time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All pupils had access to pupils from Y1-4 at playtimes • Unit pupils were seated together as a group and supervised by mainstream school supervisors • Mainstream peers to which pupils had access in lessons were up to three years younger than the unit pupils • Unit pupils were taught alongside mainstream peers for between 55 and 75% of the time
Teaching arrangements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit and mainstream teachers shared planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainstream and unit teachers shared responsibility for teaching in joint lessons • Teachers promoted collaborative learning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit staff supported unit pupils in mainstream lessons which were taught by mainstream

		and pair unit and mainstream pupils <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mainstream teachers deliberately encouraged mainstream pupils to 'help' unit pupils 	teachers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pupils chose their own partners during co-operative activities
Roles and responsibilities of mainstream and unit staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unit teachers were responsible for the learning and discipline of unit pupils Mainstream teachers provided negotiated, appropriate levels of access to mainstream classes 		

Dimension 2: Social climate: perceptions of the unit and its members

(i) Documentary evidence

A limited amount of documentation which made reference to the units was available for analysis. That which existed included the prospectuses of the three schools and recent Ofsted reports. Ofsted reports were examined because they were deemed likely to offer an external perspective as well as reflect school policy as described in documentation presented to the inspection team and the views of school staff. These were examined in an attempt to identify the status of the units, their staff and pupils and to shed light on the relationship between the special and mainstream schools.

In all documentation examined there was a clear view that the units were owned by the special school and were its 'bases' in the 'host' schools. They were described as either 'satellite bases' or 'special school classes' by the respective Ofsted reports. The relationship with the special school was commonly described as a 'partnership' from which unit pupils benefited and the relationships between the staff of the mainstream schools and units considered 'co-operative and constructive'. The role of the unit staff in the mainstream school was not mentioned directly in any documentation. However, their

involvement and contribution to the mainstream school was partially acknowledged in the prospectus of School 2 by their being listed, although separately, under staffing.

The discourse of the two mainstream schools' prospectuses generally conveyed a positive view of the partnership with 'mutual benefits' accruing to both partners. Direct benefits to mainstream pupils with special educational needs were, however, only described in the prospectus of School 2. These pupils were described as benefiting from 'further specialist help provided within the base'. This omission regarding direct support to mainstream pupils in School 1 is somewhat surprising given the regular support that groups of mainstream pupils had always received in the school. Moreover, the prospectus of this school appeared to attempt to minimise the impact of inclusion arrangements on mainstream pupils. Unit pupils were described as being taught separately for core subjects and where they accessed mainstream classes for foundation subjects these lessons were described as 'carefully chosen and for specific activities'. The Ofsted report of this school, although acknowledging social benefits for mainstream pupils also mentioned the potentially negative impact upon mainstream pupils' attainment which might result from shortcomings in planning.

The integration of special school pupils into some lessons with classes at the beginning and middle of the key stage brings social benefits to all pupils. Teachers plan individually for these integrated lessons and then share the planning. Planning is not collaborative and this is a shortcoming. The lesson plans and the teaching do not cater for the very wide ability range. This restricts the achievements of the higher attaining and older Blanchland pupils.

(para 32)

(ii) Interview data

Teachers' views

Head teachers and staff of the special and mainstream school were asked to comment on their understanding of the model of provision in operation, the intended benefits to pupils,

staff and schools, how the model operated and their perceptions of the outcomes for themselves and pupils. An analysis of congruency of response is presented in the table on p. 267 in Appendix D.

a) The role of the unit

It was the view of all groups of informants that the model of provision was designed to confer benefits to the pupils educated within the unit. All three head teachers saw it as affording both educational and social opportunities to unit pupils. From the perspective of mainstream head teachers these included the stimulus of more challenging mainstream lessons and raised expectation in terms of learning and behaviour. The unit was described by both mainstream and special school head teachers as a 'half-way house', offering managed levels of access to mainstream lessons plus continued access to specialist teaching at an appropriate level which could not be delivered within the mainstream class. This flexibility was seen to be particularly advantageous and both the unit and special school acted as a 'safety net' for those who were unable to 'cope' in mainstream.

Benefits were generally seen in terms of broadening pupils' experience through access to the mainstream, e.g.

To give the children experiences in the mainstream situation that they may not get by being in the M main base
(Head Teacher, School 1)

and affording opportunities to mix with a wider range of peers from whom they might learn.

Just to give them a bigger outlook of the world so they're mixing with more children and they actually learn from other children. I think that's probably why.
(Teacher, School 1)

The continued access to specialist educational support was also mentioned by all groups, e.g.

It's to give the children the special requirements and the special attention and the special methods that they need, one to one and everything. Plus it's the... basically the integration so that they socialise with our children, so that they don't feel particularly isolated and yet they've got the best of both worlds.

(Teacher, School 2)

This, it was suggested, necessitated, for at least some of the time, and in particular in core curriculum areas, separate facilities and accommodation.

Because of the pressure that's there from the literacy and numeracy strategies there is need for some separate work.

(Head Teacher, School 1)

So at the moment at Heathcliff numeracy and literacy are taught separately by our staff in the base. This is new this year, following an evaluation last year where our children weren't keeping up with the pace of the literacy and numeracy.

(Head Teacher of Special School)

All mainstream staff spoke of the benefits to the mainstream school that the units' presence was intended to confer.

This provides a valuable opportunity to share expertise and also benefits our pupils.

(Head Teacher, School 2)

These included resources and advice,

The unit provides a lot of resources in this school. I suppose...because we can talk to people like B and D who've got more experience of special needs. It helps us. It gives us some support with our special needs kids. We've been able to sort of say 'What shall we do' and you've given us materials and shown us things you've used in the past and also you take some of our kids as well so I think it's supporting some of our children as well

(Teacher, School 1)

and opportunities to work collaboratively and pool individual strengths.

Well, they're experts and everything...I mean, when B and the children come in to me there are certain things I'm good at and certain things that he's good at.

(Teacher, School 2)

For some the benefits were personal in terms of their own professional development,

It's definitely helped my professional development....I learned a lot in that respect.

(Teacher, School 1)

Some teachers acknowledged social benefits to mainstream pupils of working with the unit.

I think that's an advantage, especially in the North East area like this where we don't have very many minority groups and I think for them to be aware of the differences in children and their learning and things, I think it's a bonus to see them reacting like that when they're working together

(Teacher, School 1)

This view of the purpose of the unit conferring mutual benefits was confirmed by all unit staff, who, as has been mentioned, had deliberately taken steps from the early days of the units' establishment to foster this perception.

We offered a service to the school. B thought that was the best way forward. It creates good will and allows time for the staff to get used to our children, to get to know them...The word got around that it was a good thing to have us in the school...The parents of the children, some who came in for a little bit of help with their reading, the parents thought that was wonderful. It was something simple but it created good will and it's just gone forward from there.

(Member of staff, Unit 2)

There were, however, some dissenting voices to this otherwise optimistic and mutually beneficial view of the partnership. The head teacher of the special school, who had recently reduced the input to School 2 in terms of unit staff's support for mainstream pupils, felt that she should prioritise the needs of pupils in the unit.

It has to be flexible...already the head teacher has commented that some of her children are not getting the support they were getting in literacy because we're not in there full-time so we're now in the process of talking that one through... because the priority has to be that our children are making progress and we will access that in whatever way we can.

(Head Teacher, Special School)

One mainstream teacher had a more modified view of the benefits. She felt that the presence of the unit was only an advantage to some mainstream pupils and that in fact it could have a negative impact upon those who had low self-esteem.

For some children it has a detrimental effect because, and I've found usually it's the poorer children who have low self-esteem themselves and they have a low

image of how these children are going to be as well and they come with added baggage...and I think if it is handled correctly it can work well to change these children's perspectives. But whether it does or not I have my reservations about.

(Teacher, School 1)

b) Perceptions of unit pupils

Apart from the head teacher in school 2, who did not comment on the nature of the needs of pupils taught in the unit, all groups of informants suggested that pupils taught in the unit were in some way 'special', e.g.

They can't really handle being with the other children and being in a large group situation and have problems on the yard.

(Teacher, School 1)

I think it's building up of self-esteem, self-worth, because they've obviously failed in a normal school and when M came into school and D in particular and A they were just so withdrawn

(Teacher, School 2)

Unit pupils, they suggested, required appropriate levels of access to mainstream classes and to specialist teaching. They understood pupils to have been selected for unit placement according to their perceived ability to cope and benefit.

Because these children are the ones from the main base who can cope with this kind of integration, obviously they will be your better children

(Teacher, School 1)

A common view existed that unit pupils tended to 'stick together' as a group.

I think they manage really well, but they do still stick together. They definitely stick together.

(Teacher, School 1)

This was sometimes seen positively, as mutually supportive, akin to a family.

They do tend to come in as a social group. They are all together and very very quickly they do find that they look out for one another. Out on the yard, you'll find, if there's a problem, they'll go up to help. It's a little family.

(Member of staff, Unit 2)

However, one teacher thought this was an indication that pupils were not fully integrating into the mainstream school.

R: How would you judge success?

T: I think...how they relate to our children as well. Whether they do have friends with children from the mainstream or whether they stick together. Sometimes they seem quite isolated and sometimes you see some of the children from the unit playing with our kids and that's nice and that shows it's working a bit more.

(Teacher, School 1)

Some groups were acknowledged as more successful than others.

They still tend to play together a lot, although some of the girls mix in more with some of ours.

(Teacher, School 1)

I think the boys mix better than the girls.

(Teacher, School 2)

Access to games of football was a recognised area of success.

R: How do you think they fare on the yard?

T: They play football, the boys.

(Teacher, School 2)

Immaturity was cited by one mainstream teacher for some pupils' lack of inclusion into mainstream peer groups.

They're very sophisticated the girls in Y5 now and S is a bit on the immature side.

(Teacher, School 2)

c) Roles and responsibilities

The particular management model of the units described appeared to result in the allocation of specific and differing responsibilities to the mainstream and unit staff. It gave the special school responsibility for the selection of pupils who would attend the units and their educational and social progress. The role of the mainstream head teachers in the management of the base, its staff and pupils was acknowledged by them respectively as

no real involvement

(Head Teacher, School 2)

and

I don't think I've got a particularly strong role in that, although the base follows the every day things of our school...I would say I support what's going on, but apart from direct responsibilities like if a child falls over and breaks their leg, D (Unit teacher) has to make those decisions.

(Head Teacher, School 1)

The staff of the units were acutely aware of this responsibility and were at pains to reduce the burden that might fall upon mainstream teachers.

They've got goodness knows how many children. It can be a worrying factor. They've got to be reassured on that. We have to help. We do have to help the mainstream.

(Member of staff, Unit 2)

The ownership of pupils, when it came to dealing with matters of discipline, was clearly demarcated.

With incidents of behaviour that I have to deal with instantly, there's that definite 'your children' and I always get the feeling that I have to be very much on their side, backing them up but being fair to both sides.

(Teacher, Unit 1)

We can't keep our children with behaviour problems in the mainstream class. It's not fair. It's not what we do any way. It's not their problem. But they will discipline our children any way.

(Member of Staff, Unit 2)

The need to constantly monitor pupils' behaviour resulted in staff in both units being either on duty or available at all break times.

At playtimes and lunch times we have to keep a close eye. B does a duty every day

(Member of Staff, Unit 2)

Mainstream staff saw their role as facilitating access to mainstream experience at an 'appropriate level'. Unit pupils had their own teachers who were responsible for 'their' pupils' learning. This they did by matching them to appropriate classes and selected lessons, or parts of lessons on offer there. The view of unit staff as 'experts' coupled with a low, if growing, level of confidence in their own ability to meet the needs of SEN pupils perpetuated the status quo.

From a teaching point of view I found it very very difficult because I thought 'my goodness I've got no qualifications to teach these children. For years we've struggled to get these children into a special school' and then suddenly I'm confronted with all these children and they have to be part of the mainstream and I found it difficult.

(Teacher, School 1)

Although at pains to include pupils and to encourage pupils in the unit to see themselves as 'part of the school' the notion that these pupils were 'special' and that this specialness warranted some separate, and when included benevolent and assistive treatment, prevailed.

Mainstream pupils' views

a) Role of the unit

Most pupils interviewed in both schools thought the unit was intended to help those that attended.

R: Why do you think there is a separate class?

D: To help them a little bit more.

(School 1)

R: Why do some children have lots of lessons in this class?

J: Like needs, like a littler bit more like, just a little bit more help.

(School 2)

However, some pupils (in School 2) had a rather more confused view

Ch: Schools have got units and different schools have got different units and its for children...say there's a school and it had too many children in, they would go into another school

G: They've got more room in here.

(School 2)

or simpler view of its purpose.

A: For working in and playing in.

(School 2)

b) Perceptions of unit pupils

Mainstream pupils were not asked directly what they thought of unit pupils. They did, however, appear to associate membership of the unit with learning difficulties or emotional/behavioural/ social needs.

J: They might be a bit slow at something.

R: It's to catch up.

C: For settling them down
(School 2)

S: I think if people have got problems it's gonna help them learn and stuff.

R: What sort of problems?

S: Like if they've got problems with reading and writing

C: In the yard like to get them used to playing with other people instead of...

M: Just the other people out of the class.

C: Just other Ms.
(School 1)

Mainstream pupils were asked what they believed others thought of the pupils who attended the unit. The answers from pupils in both schools indicated a mixture of attitudes to the pupils in the unit.

Ch: Well I think some people don't like them and some people do.

C: Well....I thinksome people might not like them and some people do like them

(School 2)

C: Some horrible people tend to pick on them

M: Because they say they're like thick and everything.

E: Some of the school don't like them but some of them do. But I don't think it's very fair.

(School 1)

When asked for a reason for the negative attitude of some pupils several of those interviewed in School 1 suggested it was linked to their membership of a separate class and the perception that these children were in some ways different and possibly even inferior.

R: Why do you think they don't like them?

S: Just because they're in a certain unit and they're not the same as us.

E: Aha.

G: And they're a bit slower in their work and we're higher than them.

(School 1)

The associated stigma of being in the unit appeared to be the reason for some mainstream pupils' unwillingness to be in the unit themselves. They felt that this would lead to negative responses from some mainstream pupils.

R: Would you like to be in that class?

Rob: No.

D: Cos Sometimes people call them, don't they. I think they're just the same as us but they come from another school.

L: That's why I wouldn't like to be in their class, but I like helping them.

(School 1).

c) Roles and responsibilities

The interview with mainstream pupils in School 1 indicated that these pupils saw themselves as having an assistive role towards unit pupils.

M: Miss R. says when the Art group haven't come in, she says 'Help them , 'cos they're not as clever as you and you've got to help them. And we do.

(School 1)

This relationship seems to be related to the collaborative learning strategies which teachers had deliberately engineered in an attempt to foster positive relationships between pupils. No such role appeared to have been assumed by pupils in School 2. In integrated lessons observed co-learning rather than collaborative learning seemed to be occurring. Pupils sometimes had allotted seats but these were within ability groups, not with partners. Staff certainly never spoke of any specific strategy to foster positive relationships between unit and mainstream pupils and peer relationships was not acknowledged as a significant issue.

The following tables summarise the similarities and differences in attitudes and perceptions in the two units conveyed by teachers and documentation explored (Table 17) and by mainstream pupils (Table 18)

Table 17: attitudes to and perceptions of the unit, its staff and pupils as derived from documentation and interviews with teachers

Aspect	Common features of units 1 and 2	Features in Unit 1 only	Features in Unit 2 only
Purpose of the unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • to effect mutual benefits, social and educational, to both special and mainstream staff and pupils • to provide access to mainstream lessons and peer groups for pupils in the unit • to provide access to specialist advice and support on SEN. 		
Benefits of the unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to specialist advice and support on SEN. • Share expertise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct support for some groups of mainstream pupils with SEN • Personal professional development • Some mainstream pupils benefit from socialisation with unit pupils • There is a negative impact upon some mainstream pupils 	
Unit pupils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit pupils are in some way 'special' • They require specialist teaching • They tend to stick together • Some pupils are more successful than others in building friendships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some struggle to make relationships with peers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit pupils need to build their confidence and self-esteem • Some are viewed as more immature than their peers
Roles and responsibilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainstream head teachers have little responsibility for unit pupils 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainstream teachers' role was to facilitate access to mainstream lessons and peer groups • Unit teachers felt the need to minimise the impact on mainstream teachers' workload • Unit teachers had responsibility for the learning and discipline of unit pupils 		
Unit teachers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have necessary specialist knowledge and expertise in working with unit pupils • They are very supportive to the mainstream school and are highly valued 		

Table 18: attitudes of mainstream pupils to the unit, its staff and pupils

Aspect	Common features of units 1 and 2	Features in Unit 1 only	Features in Unit 2 only
Role of the unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To 'help' those who attended 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many pupils had a clear and detailed view of its purpose and benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a general lack of knowledge of the purpose of the unit • Some pupils had a rather confused view of its purpose and benefits
Attitude to the unit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some pupils would have been happy to attend the unit • The unit was seen to have lots of resources and toys • Lessons in the unit were thought to be fun 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some pupils would not have been happy to attend the unit. They acknowledged a stigma attached to unit membership 	
Views of unit pupils' experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominated 'friends' responses demonstrated a sympathetic understanding of unit pupils experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominated 'friends' responses demonstrated a detailed knowledge of unit pupils' experience and provided examples of both positive and negative aspects • 'More able' pupils' responses indicated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominated 'friends' responses demonstrated only limited knowledge of unit pupils' experience • 'More able' pupils' responses indicated

		<p>insightful and detailed knowledge of unit pupils' experience and an awareness of individual variations in that experience.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Other' pupils' responses indicated a knowledge of unit pupils' experience and of both positive and negative aspects 	<p>little knowledge of unit pupils' experience</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Other' pupils' responses about unit pupils' experiences were generally tentative indicating a level of uncertainty about it
Perceptions of unit pupils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most unit pupils were seen as having learning and or social difficulties • Most unit pupils were perceived to have their own friends (in the unit) with whom they played • Unit pupils were perceived to have their own teachers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many unit pupils were seen as being socially rejected by some mainstream pupils • Their rejection was sometimes seen as connected to their being different and sometimes their membership of the unit • Some mainstream pupils sympathised and 'felt sorry' for unit pupils • Unit pupils were strongly associated in mainstream pupils minds with their former special school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some unit pupils were seen as being socially rejected by some mainstream pupils
Attitudes to unit staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All mainstream pupils liked the unit teachers. They saw them as 'fun' and entertaining 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some pupils saw unit teachers as kind and helpful particularly to those who were experiencing difficulties 	
Perceptions of mainstream pupils' role towards unit pupils		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many pupils saw themselves as having an assistive role to play towards unit pupils, both academically and socially 	
Perceptions of mainstream teachers' attitudes to unit pupils	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unit pupils were welcomed into lessons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They liked unit pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They treated unit pupils fairly

Chapter 7 - Conclusions: Social Outcomes and Interpretation

In this chapter the author summarises the social outcomes for pupils educated in the units and attempts to account for the pattern of peer relationships.

1. Social outcomes

Positive aspects of pupils' experience

The analysis conducted across findings in the two units and presented in Tables 1-8 suggests that there were a number of common positive outcomes in areas deemed significant by pupils themselves (Wade & Moore, 1993).

Transition

The evidence provided from the research in the two units (see Table 1) demonstrated that all pupils had settled well and quickly into the units and found their new teachers and fellow unit pupils friendly and welcoming. However, it is important to note that acceptance by mainstream peers had been a much greater challenge.

Current experience

All pupils (see Table 2) reported being content to be in the unit and mentioned positive features of the following aspects of experience.

(i) Lessons

Lessons provide, as Wade and Moore (op cit.) note, 'the main interface for the development of relationships with teachers' (p.41) and occupy a significant amount of school time. Unsurprisingly their research confirmed that lessons that are boring,

undemanding or badly taught were commonly disliked. Pupils also appreciated lessons that were well-matched to their abilities and offered the right degree of challenge.

All pupils in the two units in this study stated that they enjoyed lessons in the unit (see Table 3) and many enjoyed the content of mainstream lessons. Some pupils who had transferred to the unit from the special school were proud of their 'promotion' and their perceived ability to cope with the demands of the mainstream school. Some pupils found the lessons in the unit easier, but did not suggest that this made them boring. In general unit pupils found the balance between unit and mainstream lessons about right although some suggested that they might be prepared to spend a little more time in the mainstream. The pace of mainstream lessons accessed by unit pupils appeared to offer sufficient challenge and enable pupils to cope. However, for many pupils this was only achieved by placing them with peers of a younger age. In some instances there was as much as three year's difference between unit pupils and their mainstream peers.

(ii) Relationships with teachers

Early studies (Dale, 1967; Makins, 1969; Blishen, 1969) of how pupils view their teachers indicate the critical importance of the nature of their relationships with them. Wade and Moore's study showed that pupils with SEN value 'warm, open relationships in which they are valued and in which their difficulties and disabilities are accepted' (p.33). They also liked teachers with a sense of humour and who were 'helpful'. In their expectations of pupils and reactions to their efforts teachers may not only have a significant and direct impact upon the self-image of pupils but also model attitudes towards those with SEN. As Wade and Moore suggest

A teacher is in a strong position to take a lead by subtle, well-judged praise which is neither patronising nor exaggerated, for the peer group usually take their cue from this model. (Wade & Moore, 1993, p.40)

The evidence from this study (see Table 4) suggests that the relationships of both unit and mainstream pupils with teachers in both unit and mainstream schools were very positive. All pupils interviewed mentioned their liking of unit teachers, their sense of humour and helpfulness. Mainstream teachers were considered to be fair and welcoming of unit pupils into mainstream classes. There was also evidence of mainstream teachers valuing unit pupils' contributions and skills and modelling encouraging and sympathetic attitudes towards unit pupils.

(iii) Playtimes

The evidence gathered from interviews with unit pupils (Table 5) and by the researcher in her observations at such times indicates that playtimes for most pupils were positive experiences. Although three pupils in the units spent a significant amount of time (around 20% of observations) playing alone, they were observed on all other occasions to mix with pupils and to join in with games. This is not to suggest that observed playmates were the ones pupils would ideally have chosen, and other evidence suggests that they were not always welcomed by near-age mainstream peers. Indeed for some pupils playtime experiences appeared to emphasise their lack of acceptance by mainstream pupils and where negative incidences were cited they were often at playtimes. However, unit pupils were usually active and happily engaged at such times with fellow pupils from the unit, younger pupils and some, although a limited number, of their near-age mainstream peers.

(iv) Friends

The analysis presented in Table 6 indicates that all pupils appeared to have a supportive peer group. Although this group was generally dominated by fellow unit pupils all individuals were able to name a group of children as friends. This group was described by mainstream staff in both schools as akin to a family unit.

(v) Travelling to school

Most pupils were transported into school from outside the school catchment area and all suggested they were satisfied with these arrangements.

Suggestions for change

As previously acknowledged, pupils appeared to struggle to make suggestions for change other than to aspects of their physical environment. However their responses can be interpreted as indicating a generally positive view of their current experience.

Negative aspects of pupils' experience

The research also identified a number of common aspects of school experience which were less than satisfactory. These are linked to two areas of Wade and Moore's research which appear to be closely related, *feeling different* and pupils perceptions of *being accepted as friends* by mainstream peers. The evidence gathered from interviews with unit pupils and other sources suggested that there were aspects of school experience which emphasised unit pupils' 'differentness' from mainstream peers both in terms of the way they were treated and the way they were perceived by others. The evidence suggests that unit pupils were aware of this 'difference' and felt it most strongly in their lack of acceptance by mainstream pupils as *potential friends*.

Feeling different

Pupils in Wade & Moore's study identified a number of ways in which their school experience made them feel somehow different from the majority of their peers. For instance, the distance that many pupils travelled to school meant they lived too far away from school for friends made there to meet them socially. A number of aspects of school organisation also contributed to their notions of difference. This included missing certain lessons or parts of lessons.

The evidence gathered in this study suggests that pupils in the two units had similar feelings about their experiences as those in Wade and Moore's study (op cit.). Both unit and mainstream pupils were aware of aspects of the school's differential treatment of unit pupils. For instance, no unit pupil had full access to mainstream experience and although regularly included in some mainstream lessons, they saw these classes as 'not their real class'. Nor did they see mainstream teachers as other than 'other teachers'. Before school and at lunch times unit pupils were more closely supervised than their peers. This may not have been negatively perceived by the unit pupils themselves, but it was an example of special treatment that mainstream peers may well have subconsciously noted. Although accepted as 'part of the school' by mainstream teachers and pupils it was evident to those interviewed that this group of pupils, because of their acknowledged educational and/or social needs, warranted a degree of separation and different treatment to the rest of the school. Sympathetic mainstream peers acknowledged the potential disadvantages and stigma of such differential treatment. Others, less sympathetic, may have seen it as a reason to reject unit pupils and in some cases to verbally abuse them. Unit pupils were aware of the negative reaction of some mainstream pupils and some (pupils in Unit 1) appeared to link this with their association with the special school. However, unit pupils

did not suggest that greater levels of inclusion or a reduction in their special treatment might be a possible solution to this problem. This is, however, a solution that those responsible for provision might consider, if a link between the social context created by the model of provision and negative peer relationships can be established.

Friendship links with mainstream peers

Pupils from the two units in this research commonly highlighted one area of concern, that of relationships with near-age and older mainstream peers. Evidence gathered by the researcher, through her observations in classrooms and on the school playground and through interviews with pupils and teachers, confirmed unit pupils' perceptions that they struggled to make friendship links in school with near-age mainstream peers and that many of them lacked friends both in and outside school.

The researcher's observations suggested that the social contact that unit pupils had on the playground was predominantly with fellow unit pupils or younger mainstream peers. The main exception to this pattern was the inclusion by some boys in mainstream peers' games of football. However, these associations, other than for one boy recently transferred into the unit from the same mainstream school, were not continued beyond this activity. Negative behaviour towards unit pupils was reported by all groups of pupils interviewed and observed in both schools. However, its incidence seemed to be much higher in School 1. Although specific efforts were made in this school through the strategy of collaborative learning, peer relationships engendered appeared to be largely 'assistive' and to be based on an understanding of unit pupils' 'needs' and a view of mainstream pupils as superior. This did not appear to encourage many mainstream pupils to view unit pupils as equals or potential 'friends' outside the classroom. The difficulty in establishing friendship links with

mainstream peers may also have been exacerbated by the late transition of pupils into the units (Blatchford, 1999). This created difficulties, previously mentioned, of breaking into already established peer groups. The grouping of pupils together in this move, although in the short term providing support to individuals who are sharing the experience, may actually have worked against their acceptance. Their pre-existing friendships or those nurtured within the unit may have been a barrier to the development of friendships with mainstream pupils. Unit pupils may not have felt the need to make friends outside the unit. Certainly mainstream peers saw unit pupils as having enough friends of their own.

2. Interpretation

In this section the author seeks to account for the nature and pattern of peer relationships of the unit pupils in the two schools. In seeking to do so she explores previous research evidence and theory on the development of social relationships between peers and in particular between those with and without disabilities.

The research findings indicate that in both schools there was a predominance of friendship links with fellow unit pupils and limited contact with mainstream near-age peers. The author suggests that this common outcome and other significant differences between the two units might be explained in terms of the social context in each. However, she first considers other possible interpretations of the evidence. One such theory, that of selective homophilic affiliation, suggests that pupils choose to associate with those with whom they share common characteristics. A second possible explanation considered is that characteristics such as disability, may serve to alienate pupils from their non-disabled peers. These theories are interrogated through a review of previous research and the findings of this study.

a) selective homophilic affiliation

The theory of selective homophilic affiliation (Cohen, 1977; Kandel, 1978; Neckerman, 1990; Farmer & Farmer, 1996) suggests that individuals tend to choose friends and associates who have demographic and social characteristics which are similar to their own. Other studies have noted that pupils choose friends whose behaviours support and complement their own (Farmer & Hollowell, 1994; Cairns et al, 1988). Key social characteristics around which such clusters form include gender, race, leadership, sporting

and academic success, physical and behavioural attributes, social status, shared interests and peer group cultural norms (Adler, Kless and Adler, 1992; Cairns et al, 1988; Cairns, Perrin and Cairns, 1985; Eder and Parker, 1987; Edwards, 1990; Malik & Furman, 1993; Neckerman, 1990; Pratt, 2000; Roffey, Majors & Tarrant, 1997; Swain, 2003).

b) The impact of disability

Other studies have explored the impact of different categories of disability and the social or cognitive difficulties associated with them on peer relationships. Those which focus on the impact of moderate learning difficulty (MLD), intellectual disability (ID), and a number of other categories which feature in the US literature such as mild disabilities, mild to moderate mental retardation (MMR), mild mental retardation (MR), emotional behavioural disorders (EBD), learning disability (LD), or learning difficulty (LD) are examined here. Several reviews of research in this area (Guskin & Spicker, 1968; Kirk, 1964; Ochoa & Olivarez, 1995; Semmel, Gottlieb & Robinson, 1979 and Swanson & Malone, 1992) and other research findings (Asher & Taylor, 1981; Baldwin, 1958; Gresham, 1982; Heiman, 2000; Iano et al, 1974; Pearl et al, 1998; Sabornie, 1985,1987; Sabornie et al, 1987; Sale & Carey, 1995; Taylor, Asher & Williams, 1987; Zic & Igric, 2001) have consistently reported that pupils with mild disabilities are not well accepted by their mainstream peers. Studies of pupils with disabilities demonstrate significantly lower social preference scores for such pupils (Sale & Carey, 1995) and demonstrate their over-representation as 'social isolates' (Pearl et al, 1998; Heiman, 2000). Pupils with learning difficulties were found to be less popular and more often rejected than their non-disabled peers, received fewer nominations as 'co-operative' or 'leaders' and were more often perceived as shy, seeking help or victims of bullying (Nabuzoka & Smith, 1993). Adolescents with mild mental retardation expressed 'feelings of emptiness, a lack of

emotional support and an absence of meaningful relationships with peers' (Heiman op cit p.278).

The significance of cognitive disability was investigated by Cook & Semmel (1999) in their study of 285 students in 14 elementary classrooms. The results appeared to demonstrate that factors such as visibility of disability and consequent sympathetic understanding played an important part in responses to disabled peers. They investigated peer acceptance as a function of severity of disability and classroom composition and found that of their sample of 44 disabled pupils the 15 with severe disability were generally the more accepted. They suggested that

Rather than excuse atypical behaviour due to obvious indications of a disability, peers-particularly in non-heterogeneous classrooms- may have held students with mild disabilities responsible and blameworthy for atypical behaviour (Cook & Semmel, 1999, p. 58).

Many other studies have gone on to investigate this phenomenon and suggested a number of related factors or possible causes of such rejection. Some research suggests that the source of these problems may lie within the pupils themselves, or at least be associated with their lack of cognitive ability or social skills (Asher & Coie, 1990; Hymel & Rubin, 1985; Newcomb, Bukowski & Pattee, 1993; Siperstein & Bak, 1985) or the socially unacceptable and aggressive behaviours of some groups (Farmer & Hollowell, 1994; Farmer, Pearl & Acker, 1996; Pearl et al, 1998).

Relating findings to theory: the evidence examined

Both teachers and mainstream pupils in this study noticed the tendency of unit pupils to 'stick together' and to support one another 'like a little family'. However, the suggestion that this is because unit pupils i.e. those characterised as having moderate learning

difficulties, share common characteristics is not easy to substantiate. Pupils falling under this umbrella label are, as Costley (2000) notes, 'a diffuse group'. Indeed, it has been argued, (Buckland & Croll, 1987) that the characteristics they share relate mostly to their common failure to keep up with the demands of the mainstream school. The pupils in the units were described by their teachers as having a variety and combination of special educational needs such as speech and language problems, emotional and behavioral difficulties, ADHD, hearing impairment as well as learning difficulties. And, although in some ways mutually supportive, the evidence from playground observations suggests that, like their peers, they formed distinct sub-groups of 'friends' and playground associations around gender, common interests and popular playground activities rather than around any common disabilities. Moreover, if special educational need was a characteristic linking individuals one might have expected to see associations between mainstream pupils with SEN and unit pupils. This was indeed a feature of friendship patterns in School 1, but not of School 2. In School 1 unit pupils were taught alongside mainstream SEN pupils for 95% of the time and had significant opportunities to make friendship links. Such links did occur between the pupils in the unit and two mainstream pupils with SEN with whom they were taught. However, other near-age SEN pupils in the school were not among named friends of the unit pupils.

The view that shared characteristics including undesirable and problematic behaviours (Adler, Kless & Adler, 1992; Cairns, Perrin & Cairns, 1985; Farmer & Farmer, 1996; Pearl et al, 1998) may draw pupils together and serve to alienate them from their peers was considered. Some pupils in the units, predominately in Unit 1, were acknowledged as having additional social and emotional problems. However, low numbers of contacts with mainstream peers were not limited to these pupils. Nor did these pupils associate with

mainstream pupils with similar problems. Some pupils in the units were acknowledged by mainstream peers and teachers as having positive social characteristics. Although these pupils generally fared better than other unit pupils in terms of numbers of reciprocal friendships with fellow unit pupils this did not appear to impact upon links with near-age mainstream peers.

Another possible explanation might have lain with the common interests unit pupils had and the activities in which they engaged at playtimes, which differed from those of their mainstream peers. However, whilst the study is not able to demonstrate what common patterns of play and interest, existed amongst the mainstream pupils in the two schools, the research findings would appear to suggest that unit pupils' interests and groupings were similar to other mainstream peers of their age. Whilst many unit pupils, like their mainstream peers (Eder & Hallinan, 1978) in this age group, continued to participate in games of chase in some mixed groupings there was an increasing tendency to associate exclusively with their own sex. For the girls this tended to be around small intimate groups who would walk about or sit together chatting. (Roffey, Majors & Tarrant, 1997). Boys' play continued to be dominated by physical activities and they showed a strong preference for larger male peer groups (Pratt, 2000) which focused around the game of football. Given common areas of interest and similar levels of maturity it might have been expected that friendships would develop between at least some unit and mainstream pupils. Although the boys in Unit 2 were quite successful in accessing mainstream games of football this did not appear to have a knock-on effect in terms of friendship links with mainstream peers. There were few in-class contacts observed or other associations on the school playground.

Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence is that provided by the pupils themselves. In both units the pupils indicated that they would have welcomed the opportunity to widen their circle of friends to include mainstream peers. The fact that they were not able to establish these looked for relationships seems to suggest that they were somehow rejected as potential friends, and marginalised, by the vast majority of mainstream pupils. The hypothesis, and one that is supported by pupil interview data, is that most mainstream pupils rejected unit pupils as potential friends because of their identification of them as members of the unit. It is to the social context in which these perceptions were generated that the author now turns for a possible explanation.

The impact of the social context

a) Creating labels/stigma

Some research, previously mentioned, has suggested that certain characteristics such as physical, cognitive or social disability have been observed to lead to prejudice and negative response from others. However, it has also been argued that such prejudice may be socially constructed (Barnes, 1996; Oliver, 1990; Shakespeare & Watson, 1997) or exacerbated by assigning individuals to categories and providing education and support through separate and segregated services (Krasner 1984; DES, 1978). One body of research suggests that certain social structures or organisational response can lead to groupings which can create divisions and confer low status upon the members of that group (Maras & Brown, 2000; Sinclair-Taylor 1994). This associated stigma can be transmitted and reinforced at many levels of the social environment through the discourse of policy and practice.

There has been much debate around the significance and potential impact of socially ascribed labels to individuals and groups of pupils. The question has been posed as to whether the attribution of a label and in some instances their consequent full or partially segregated educational placement influences and prejudices non-disabled pupils towards their disabled peers. A number of studies have investigated this hypothesis with conflicting results. Naturalistic studies (Goodman, Gottlieb & Harrison, 1972; Gottlieb & Davies, 1973) seem to suggest that non-disabled pupils rate those with cognitive disabilities less favourably regardless of whether or not they have been labelled and placed in a separate class. Some research (Freeman & Algozzone, 1980; Gottlieb, 1974; McMillan, Jones & Aloia, 1974;) does not fully support the view that a 'label' exerts a negative influence on the attitude of others. However, several studies have demonstrated such a link (Budoff & Siperstein, 1978; Farina et al, 1976; Foley, 1979; Gersch & Jones, 1973; Propst & Nagle, 1981; Wisely & Morgan, 1981). Van Bourgondien (1987) suggests that the impact of labels upon attitudes may be dependent on the age and even sex of non-disabled peers. Boys have been found to be more negatively influenced by a label than girls (Clark, 1964; Siperstein, Budoff & Bak, 1980; Voeltz, 1982). Van Bourgondien's research, which explored the attitudes of 48 eight and nine year olds and 48 twelve and thirteen year olds to socially inappropriate behaviours and labels of retardation, indicated that although the girls under study appeared to be sensitive to even minor socially inappropriate behaviours older girls were less so than younger ones and a label provoked a more sympathetic attitude.

Some studies (Guterman, 1995; Larrivee & Horne, 1991; Sinclair-Taylor 1994; Maras & Brown, 2000) have explored the significance of educational placement upon the generation and transmission of negative labelling and social status. Differential treatment

such as being designated a separate classroom is likely, it is argued, to give a permanent and legitimate negative status to pupils.

The eradication of stigma arising from education in segregated settings was one of the driving forces behind the integration movement and its successor 'inclusion'. Special classes and 'units' were and still are in many instances perceived as a step towards the realisation of this goal because of their bringing pupils closer together. However, some research has suggested that their effect upon social relationships has been less than optimal. The theory of Troyna and Hatcher (1991) referred to in the study of pupil experience of school in a secondary unit by Sinclair-Taylor (1994) goes some way to explain how such a structure promotes and sustains the low status of its members. In attempting to further understandings at all levels of the variables likely to result in acts of discrimination they suggest that such acts result from the 'fusion and interaction' of influences at various levels' of social systems including interactional, contextual, biographical, sub-cultural, institutional, cultural, politico/ideological and structural. The model they suggest provides a 'synchro-analysis' of such influences. Whilst Troyna and Hatcher applied this theory to the area of race relations Sinclair -Taylor suggests it relates also to the stigmatising process which imparts similarly stigmatising labels

the range of practices which result from the legislation lead to legitimisation and segregation" (Sinclair -Taylor, 1994, p.34).

The unit system, she maintains, is 'built around the old labels attached to pupils' and this 'perpetuates and rigidifies the thinking and therefore the opportunities for pupils' (p.53).

Her research into pupils experience suggests that prejudicial and restrictive attitudes were promoted and sustained by the segregative structure of the unit and the discourse of those maintaining and acting within it.

The social context within which pupil relationships occur, it has been argued, and the research evidence of such as Sinclair-Taylor supports this, has a powerful bearing upon the quality of those relationships. Her study showed that the segregation established at policy and structural level and transmitted through the discourse of documentation describing the unit permeated relationships between unit and mainstream staff, staff and pupils and between pupils themselves. The message that such discourse conveyed was that unit pupils were of a lower status and deserving of separate and 'special' treatment. Pupils were 'supervised' rather than taught and ownership and responsibility for their learning fell upon a socially isolated group of staff. The social outcomes for unit pupils were very negative. Social contact which occurred in such a context did little to reduce but rather confirmed negative and prejudiced attitudes to pupils with special needs.

b) The impact of the social context upon opportunities for contact

The move towards integration and inclusion is based on the principle that proximity promotes contact and social interaction and leads naturally to the erosion of prejudicial attitudes towards the disabled. Warnock (DES, 1978) suggested that even locational integration 'the most tenuous form of association' could 'bring about worthwhile gains' (para 7.7). In describing observations of this form of integration in Sweden she spoke of their potential benefits.

those which are imaginatively planned and organised, however, offer handicapped and non-handicapped children the opportunity of familiarising themselves with the other, and they represent a first step towards full integration (Warnock, 1978, para. 7.7)

One such theory, that of the 'contact hypothesis' (Allport, 1954), suggests that social contact is likely to reduce prejudicial attitudes and so foster positive social relationships. However, as Allport was careful to point out, much depends on the nature of the contact

that takes place. Proximity, although a necessary pre-condition for any association, alone is insufficient to promote positive social relationships. Research into the attitudes of children towards peers with disabilities has focused around a number of themes. Some has explored the impact of contact per se (McConkey, McCormack & Naughton, 1983) exposure and visibility (Furnham & Pendred, 1984; Strohmer, Grand & Purcell, 1984) and perceived similarities (Siperstein & Chatillon, 1982). The general conclusion is that 'contact per se will have positive outcomes but that this will be more effective where similarities are perceived' (Maras & Brown, 2000). However, little is known about which practices and strategies are the most effective in developing positive attitudes amongst pupils to peers in the unit.

The evidence explored

The hypothesis interrogated by the research findings of this study is that the social context created by the model of provision in both units, both in terms of (i) the opportunities for contact it created and (ii) the climate in which those contacts took place, conferred a separate and negative status upon pupils in the units. This, it is argued, impacted upon mainstream pupils' perceptions of unit pupils and reduced the likelihood of them being seen as potential friends.

(i) Opportunities for contact

The social context created by the model of provision has an obvious and direct impact upon opportunities for contact between pupils in the unit and their mainstream peers. In looking at the common organisational response made in the two units the author suggests that it might be possible to account for the limited links between unit pupil and their mainstream peers by the lack of opportunities for contact between these two groups. The

contact hypothesis suggests that the natural antipathy between groups which arise from perceived differences can be eroded through increased contact. These opportunities were clearly limited for pupils in the two units by a number of common factors and organisational responses including

- unit pupils not living in the neighbourhood of the mainstream school and being transported to school by taxi or minibus
- unit pupils being brought directly into school on arrival
- unit pupils being registered in a separate class
- access to mainstream classes being controlled and limited to certain subjects
- access to mainstream peers at times of choice being closely supervised.

However, the pattern of friendships does not suggest that there is a direct link between the amount of contact between pupils and the development of positive peer relationships.

Although the highest number of friendships occurred amongst those pupils who had the greatest amount of contact i.e. fellow unit pupils, other links occurred between pupils with quite low levels (35%) of contact. Similarly, some pupils with whom unit pupils spent high percentages of their time i.e. some mainstream peers with SEN, were not included amongst named friends nor did they associate with them at times of choice. Although a necessary condition it would appear that opportunity for contact is indeed not in itself a sufficient condition.

(ii) Social climate: perceptions of and attitudes to the unit and its members

Here the author seeks to demonstrate a link between the attitudes to the unit and its members as conveyed in documentation, staff views and aspects of organisational

response and the perceptions of mainstream pupils of pupils in the unit as potential friends.

A number of common facets of the social context in the two units appear to limit the likelihood of unit pupils being perceived as potential friends by mainstream pupils. Organisational responses not only limit opportunities for contact they suggest that such contact is only appropriate under certain conditions. Pupils are also seen as different in that they require special teachers, a special class and many other special arrangements. The mainstream school although welcoming, has a clearly defined and only partial responsibility for unit pupils. These attitudes are transmitted in the documentation and appear to derive from the partnership established between the host and special schools. The notion of the mainstream school as 'host' suggests its role is 'accommodation' rather than ownership and confirms the position of members of the unit as 'guests'. This image also suggests the temporary nature of these arrangements which undermines the position of the pupils in the unit as belonging to the mainstream school.

In both schools mainstream pupils are aware of many of these aspects of organisational response. They know that pupils in the unit have to be transported into school from their homes outside the local school neighbourhood. They recognise that they have their own separate well-equipped classrooms, where they are registered and taught for substantial parts of the school day. They join their mainstream classes for only some subjects. Unlike mainstream pupils they are not allowed to choose where or with whom they sit for lunch. They are not able to participate in after-school clubs but they do have some special treats such as trips out in the special school minibus and regular swimming lessons which the mainstream pupils miss out on. Some aspects of this special treatment are envied whereas

others are considered to be undesirable and elicit sympathetic responses from some mainstream pupils. Mainstream pupils in both schools see this differential treatment as somehow justified by the 'needs' of the pupils in the units and, by implication of its official status as an organisational response, legitimised.

The distinct and separate roles and responsibilities of unit and mainstream staff to pupils in the unit is acknowledged in teacher interviews. Mainstream pupils seem to be aware of these boundaries. Unit pupils' separateness from the mainstream appeared to be confirmed in the minds of mainstream pupils in both schools by their having 'their own teachers', who are largely responsible for their education and discipline, and their 'own friends', who were mainly fellow unit pupils. This appeared to suggest that although, as acknowledged, they were part of the school they also had allegiances elsewhere and did not fully belong. Mainstream teachers were seen to treat the unit pupils well and to like them but were rarely viewed by mainstream or unit pupils as their 'real' teachers or the mainstream class as their 'real' class.

It could be argued that, from a mainstream pupil's perspective, unit pupils neither required nor warranted the friendship of mainstream pupils. Their image as needy and the organisation's response of special treatment indicated to some mainstream pupils that their relationship with such pupils was more appropriately assistive rather than equal. Such a relationship is unlikely to be a firm foundation for friendship.

Accounting for differences

In this section the author seeks to account for some of the differences in pupil experience.

She examines pupil outcomes in the light of the analytical framework which identified differences in unit population and the social contexts in each of the two schools.

1. Patterns of association at times of choice

a) Among girls

Although the girls in each of the units varied in terms of the numbers of contacts they had with peers, the pattern of interaction of the group of girls in each of the units was similar. Girls in Unit 1 had the majority of their associations with fellow unit pupils. However, they were noticeably more successful in term of the number of links they had with near-age mainstream peers. Although the links with near-age mainstream SEN peers could possibly be accounted for by the increase in opportunities for contact, being taught for 95% of lesson time alongside these pupils, they had fewer opportunities to mix with other near-age mainstream peers than the girls in Unit 2. The friendship links they had with three near-age mainstream peers had been established largely during playtimes or in the 45% of lessons they shared with them. The author suggests that aspects of the social context and in particular the nature of contact fostered in mainstream joint lessons in School 1 may have been a contributory factor to the positive relationships that developed between Unit 1 girls and their near-age mainstream peers. In School 1 collaborative teaching and learning was a deliberate strategy adopted to foster closer relationships between unit pupils and their peers. It certainly appeared to be effective in terms of increasing the knowledge and awareness of these mainstream pupils of the purpose of the unit and the needs, attributes and experience of its members. Although the richness of the data gathered from mainstream pupils in this school might partly be explained by the more established relationship the researcher had with these pupils, the data provided by pupils in School 2 was not only more limited in content, their knowledge of unit pupils was far more superficial and their views couched in tentative terms.

Another contributory factor related to the social context suggested by the author to account for links between the girls in Unit 1 and the three near-age mainstream peers is their common 'marginality'. The sorts of confiding relationship that girls of this age are attracted to depend upon well-established and close links. Breaking into established friendship groups for new pupils to schools is known to be difficult (Blatchford, 1999). These girls in were relative newcomers to the school having joined the class during the current academic year. The fact that none of these girls could easily access other mainstream peers may have drawn them together.

The pattern of play of girls in Unit 2 was characterised by a far higher number of associations with younger pupils and indeed younger mainstream peers. The girls in Unit 1 had no opportunities to befriend very young pupils, having no access to them on the yard or in lessons. However, they rarely chose to play with the younger Y4 pupils who did share the yard. One possible explanation might have lain in a difference in the girls themselves and their level of maturity. This did not, however, appear to be the case. The sorts of activities they engaged in at times of choice were very similar as were their interests outside school. The lack of close links with any near-age mainstream peers, a feature of the play of girls in Unit 2, may have resulted in them relying heavily upon fellow unit pupils of any age and those mainstream pupils who were willing participants i.e. younger pupils.

b) Among boys

Both groups of boys opted largely for physical activities at playtimes. However, the boys in Unit 2 were noticeably more successful in accessing mainstream games of football, which was the key preoccupation at playtimes of mainstream boys of their age. Once

again the author looked to the differences in the two groups of boys in terms of their physical ability for a possible explanation. Indeed the boys who most regularly joined in these games were the more physically able. However all the boys in School 2 accessed these games on some occasions observed whereas those in School 1, including one very athletic boy, rarely if ever participated. The age and physical maturity of the boys with whom the unit pupils in School 2 played may well have been a significant factor. They were always younger pupils, sometimes as much as three years. These boys may well have welcomed the interest of older boys in their games and were obviously willing to include them. However, in spite of their inclusion in these games the associations and friendships, other than for Pupil 8 (recently admitted to the unit) in School 2, rarely carried over into joint lessons or other playtime contacts.

2. Incidences of rejection

Incidents of rejection and name calling were an issue of concern to all pupils in Unit 1 and mentioned noticeably more often by pupils in this school. Although they reportedly occurred in School 2, and were referred to by unit pupils in their discussions of aspects of mainstream lessons they did not like, they were not mentioned as an issue of concern by staff. The author was interested to try and account for this difference between the experience of the pupils in the two units, and in particular the heightened sensitivity of pupils in Unit 1 to this rejection.

One possible explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the difference in populations of the two units. It has previously been reported that pupils were rarely admitted directly into Unit 1 because of their history of difficulties in social relationships. This may have enhanced their sensitivity to issues such as 'name calling'. However, it is also likely that the

greater level of knowledge of, and intimacy with unit pupils, of mainstream pupils in School 1 may have increased opportunities for both positive and negative interactions. The collaborative teaching and learning strategies which had deliberately and effectively brought pupils closer together may have indeed resulted, in both more positive and negative outcomes. Some mainstream pupils were very supportive in class, clearly as a direct result of the mainstream teachers' encouragement to 'help' unit pupils. However, this strategy also brought unit pupil into contact with mainstream pupils who were less favourably inclined towards them. The negative attitude of these pupils seems, however, to be closely related to their perception of unit pupils as being different and strongly associated with the special school from which they had transferred and with whom they continued to have links. This strategy also encouraged the unit pupils to seek friendship links with mainstream pupils and possibly to be more aware of their rejection.

Conclusion

In attempting to account for the pattern of peer relationships between unit and mainstream pupils the author has considered a number of theories. In considering that of selective homophilic affiliation she concludes that the populations of the units were neither significantly different from one another nor from the population of the mainstream schools and that population characteristics did not account for the unit pupils' rejection as potential friends or playmates. Although the two groups of children in the units had designated differences, i.e. moderate learning difficulties, the author maintains that these 'differences' did not differentiate them significantly from their mainstream peers. Pupils in the units had no distinguishing physical characteristics, were able to access and contribute to mainstream lessons and work with and alongside their mainstream peers. Their pattern of association in terms of gender and playtime activities, the literature suggests, were

typical of pupils their age. Moreover, amongst the mainstream population there were pupils identified by mainstream staff and pupils as experiencing similar barriers to their educational and social inclusion. These children did not appear to be treated by their mainstream peers as a separate and distinct social group and had friendship links with other mainstream peers. The most significant factors, and ones which the author argues were strongly linked with mainstream pupils' perceptions of unit pupils as different, were those associated with the social context in the two schools, i.e. their separate and special treatment. These organisational responses, she maintains, contributed to mainstream pupils' perceptions of unit pupils as needy and warranted heightened supervision, their own teachers and classroom. Although, in general, tolerant of unit pupils and, in School 1 encouraged to 'help' unit pupils, they did not see them as particularly needing mainstream friends, having their own friends in the unit.

The author therefore concludes that her research confirms the hypothesis that the social context, and specifically membership of the unit and the resulting perceptions and differential treatment of unit pupils, confers an inferior and negative status upon unit pupils and negatively impacts upon their relationship with mainstream peers. It would appear that even at this relatively young age children are keen to avoid the associated stigma of friendship with members of low status groups.

Chapter 8 - Implications

The author set out to evaluate the model of provision which existed in two units in mainstream schools from the perspective of those it was designed to benefit and in terms of its effectiveness in delivering positive social outcomes for pupils. In so doing she sought to paint a picture of unit pupils' experience and to investigate the issue of social relationships with mainstream peers.

In spite of the challenges presented in seeking to consult the views of young people, and in particular those with moderate learning difficulties, the author remains convinced the relationship established with interviewees was sufficiently trusting and methods employed of data collection and analysis sufficiently robust to enable her to claim that the picture drawn of unit pupils experience is fair and accurate. The quality of the data provided by pupils also supports Costley's (2000) conclusions that the consultation of children's perspectives in the evaluation of services is both necessary and valid. Like the pupils in her study the unit pupils in this research 'offered an insight and depth of understanding that was unexpected' (p.172). The author would also argue that, in spite of the limitations of the size of the sample of pupils consulted it was representative of the population from which it was drawn from what unit staff described as 'the usual wide cross-section' of the range of difficulties that pupils categorised as having moderate learning difficulties exhibit. As to members of mainstream staff interviewed, three teachers in one school and one in the second school were included in the sample. These were the members of staff currently in post who had had substantial first-hand experience of working with unit pupils and staff and were considered most likely to have greatest knowledge. Their views also reflected several years' experience of working with different cohorts of pupils. Although the

researcher might have hoped to have accessed the views of a greater number of teachers the unit staff felt that these teachers' views were likely to be representative of the mainstream teacher population. The researcher therefore concludes that the data can be used to evaluate the model of provision which existed in the two units.

Strengths and weaknesses of the model

The evidence indicates that there were several positive aspects of pupils' experience common to the two units, previously mentioned, including good relationships with staff and positive self-image relating to their educational progress and to that extent the units were successful. However, also impacting, and indeed negatively, upon pupils' self-image and their enjoyment of school was their marginalisation and apparent rejection by mainstream peers as potential friends. Certain common factors within the social context of each of the schools appeared to contribute to this problem. Similar structural barriers had been created by transport, registration, accommodation and teaching arrangements. At the base of these was the agreed understanding of an appropriate level of integration which would maximise benefits to unit pupils and minimise disruption to the mainstream school. Most significantly the partnership between the special and mainstream schools and the distinctive roles and responsibilities, which had evolved for unit and mainstream staff, appeared to have negatively impacted upon the ownership of unit pupils by the mainstream school and pupils' consequent allegiances and feelings of belonging. The separate and special treatment that unit pupils received was very visible to mainstream pupils and contributed to their view of unit pupils as having their own group identity, teachers and friends. This difference was also associated with an inferior status of educational need. The known association with the special school of pupils in Unit 1 appeared to compound the difficulties of pupils in Unit 1 who were actively encouraged

and indeed wanted to break into mainstream peer networks but found themselves rejected as potential playmates and victimised by some groups of mainstream pupils.

Implications for the schools and possible ways forward

In considering ways in which the social outcomes of pupils in the two units might be improved, the author posed a similar question to that explored in the first EPPI review of the Inclusive Education Review Group (Dyson, Howes & Roberts, 2002) when they asked

What actions can schools take to promote the participation of all students in the cultures, curricula and communities of their schools?

The first and most pervasive theme which ran strongly in all 'key studies' was that of the importance placed upon the promotion of an inclusive culture within the school. One aspect of that culture appeared to be the values and attitudes held by school staff. In an inclusive school this culture was exemplified by an 'acceptance and celebration of difference and commitment to offering educational opportunities to all students' (p.46) and was shared across all staff. A second aspect of culture which was linked to enhanced participation was collaboration. The willingness of staff to work together was seen as essential to blending services in the mainstream classroom and enhanced staff's ability to respond to difference. A problem-solving approach or the collaborative learning of staff was also characteristic of schools with an inclusive culture. Some 'inclusive schools' in the studies reviewed also reported the positive impact of collaborative learning among students or the shared sense of community students felt. These strategies appear to lead to an underlying sense of mutual acceptance as well as being a means of managing the diversity of classrooms.

It is interesting to note that where outcomes for unit pupils in this present piece of research were positive there was evidence of the emergence of aspects of an inclusive culture. Both unit and mainstream staff who worked with the unit staff and pupils exhibited and sought to promote an attitude of acceptance and even celebration of diversity among pupils. They spoke positively of the benefits of collaboration in terms of enhancing their ability to meet a greater range of pupils' learning needs and their own professional development. And in School 1 they actively promoted collaborative learning amongst pupils. Here mainstream pupils had an in-depth knowledge of and a sympathetic attitude to the learning, and in some instances, social needs of their peers in the unit. The study was, however, not able to demonstrate the extent to which these attitudes were held by all staff of the two mainstream schools. The suggestion is, however, that positive changes in attitude and practice had developed from close working relationships with the unit, which had been limited in both schools to a small number of mainstream staff and pupils.

As the EPPI review reports, leadership in inclusive schools is crucial and it is the pervasiveness of inclusive values i.e. shared by leaders and all staff, which makes for success (Dyson & Millward, 2000). It is suggested, therefore, that the head teachers of these schools and the LEA which seeks to support them might look to ways through which they can ensure that inclusive values are shared and the developing good practice is more widely spread amongst the staff of the mainstream schools.

All 'key studies' in the EPPI review also reported evidence of restructuring and in particular a movement away from separate programmes and forms of provision to a more integrated/blended services approach. The researcher suggests that the LEA in her study

may wish to explore ways in which the visible structural barriers to inclusion might be reduced. This, it is argued, could lead to an increased sense of ownership by mainstream staff of the pupils in the unit and a greater sense of belonging and participation in the community of the school by the pupils themselves.

Short-term developments

In the short term registration of unit pupils in mainstream classrooms might be a first step towards reducing some of the obvious distinctions between pupils. Similarly the severing of obvious links with the special school, such as attendance at special school events and the wearing of the similar but nevertheless distinguishable school uniform might reduce the perceptions of mainstream pupils, particularly those in School 1, that unit pupils had divided allegiances.

Positive steps with regard to mainstream teachers' professional development and their skills and confidence in working with pupils with SEN were evident in the schools. This appeared to be best effected through collaborative teaching. Increased collaboration, building upon the good practice already developed, could continue to enhance mainstream staff's skills and confidence in working with unit pupils. This could be extended to other mainstream staff through a deliberate policy of placing non-experienced teachers in the classes which link most closely with the unit. Greater ownership of unit pupils might be brought about by an increase in the sharing of responsibility for unit pupils in term of their educational progress, supervision and discipline. Unit and mainstream staff did co-operate to share planning and, in School 1, they were jointly responsible for the teaching of non-core subjects. Staff in both schools might also consider how they could work together to

monitor and share information on all pupils' progress and be involved jointly in feedback to parents, rather than have discrete areas of responsibility.

It is possible that the schools might adopt specific interventions supported by research, such as social skills training, to foster positive peer relationships (Malik & Furman, 1993), or, as embarked upon in School 1, collaborative learning (Kirk, 1999; Devries & Slavin 1978) and dyadic interventions (Furman, Rahe & Hartup, 1979). These strategies, Bayliss (1995) suggests, may lead to the development of 'joint culture', so necessary if disabled children are not to be marginalised. The strategy of collaborative learning being promoted in School 1, although only going part-way towards the development of 'reciprocal roles and responsibilities' (Bayliss, 1995, p.139), the author suggests, might be extended, and promoted in School 2. Staff in School 1 might indeed seek to move pupils beyond the 'assistive roles' that are prevalent to those, which are beginning to emerge, of mutual respect and valuing of one another's contributions.

An awareness of peer issues, coupled with a strategic response to the eradication of negative behaviours is also advocated (Olweus, 1992). Key elements of such a community-level intervention are strategies to

a) create an atmosphere of warmth in the schools...b) to communicate that certain behaviours would not be tolerated...and c) to ensure that adults were clearly authorities, consequating unacceptable behaviors with strong, consistent, nonhostile and nonphysical sanctions. (Malik & Furman, op cit. p.1320).

The staff in School 1 had acknowledged that such issues did exist and were taking deliberate steps to address peer relationship problems. This work clearly needs to continue and progress should be closely monitored. It is more difficult to judge the situation in School 2. Unit pupils certainly seemed to be less aware of their marginalisation. However,

these pupils lacked friends in their near-age peer group and efforts to improve this situation would very likely be welcomed by the unit pupils, particularly if it led to friendship links outside school.

Long term developments

Other changes that the schools may wish to consider are more fundamental and would involve a review of the model of provision and the nature of the partnership between the special and mainstream schools. The model of provision still in operation was established as part of the LEA's response to national policy directives to promote integration and its original aims and objectives have been superseded by those of inclusion. Whereas access to mainstream classrooms and peer groups was, at that time, an appropriate goal, schools now recognise the need to go beyond mere access to create systems and strategies which promote the participation of individuals in the cultures, curricula and communities of their schools. The use of a tool for self-assessment such as the 'Index for Inclusion' (Booth et al 2000) might serve to identify strengths on which to build and areas for development.

As a model for development the initiative had been successful in bringing together the cultures of special and mainstream education. Much learning had occurred and the schools might now consider how they might go forward in further developing the two mainstream schools as 'inclusive schools'. For this to occur the mainstream schools would need to take greater ownership and responsibility for the unit pupils. As a corollary to this the special school might begin to withdraw from its management role of the units. This would have resourcing implications for both partners and an interim arrangement of dual placement, with a management structure where responsibility for admissions and pupil progress would be shared, a possible forward step. The future role of the unit staff would

also need to be considered. One option would be for the unit staff to become part of the mainstream staff. Alternatively a member of the mainstream staff might take on the role of teacher in charge of the unit, or what it might become, 'resourced provision', and the unit staff return to the special school to take up a developmental role elsewhere, once the mainstream schools' capacity to meet the needs of the unit pupils was assured. The special school could then look to a developmental relationship, on broadly similar lines with other mainstream schools. Thus we might begin to approach a situation within the LEA where pupils with special needs could readily be accommodated in local 'neighbourhood' schools.

Wider implications

The outcomes for pupils in the units in this piece of research relate very specifically to a particular model of provision, that of a unit attached to a mainstream school and managed jointly by the special and mainstream schools. However, some conclusions and implications might more generally be drawn. The research, very closely linked as it was to that of Sinclair-Taylor (1994), supports her hypothesis that the structure of a unit confers and legitimises the separate and negative status of its members. These unintended outcomes are likely to apply to all or any group of pupils so 'treated', irrespective of their special educational need, disability or even, it would seem, relatively young age. Structural responses which result in the grouping and labelling of children are always potentially divisive in social terms. Such a formal and visible acknowledgement of difference by others, Berger & Luckman (1966) suggest, leads to an acceptance of the definition by those to whom difference is ascribed.

The self is a reflected entity, reflecting the attitudes first taken by significant others towards it; the individual becomes what he is addressed as. (Berger & Luckman, 1966, p.152)

Similarly, whilst grouping children together in order to meet their educational needs may well be economically efficient and effective in terms of their academic progress, and neither study tested out this claim, the social consequences of taking pupils out of their neighbourhood school to do so is likely to limit their opportunities to be included in their wider natural community.

The future of units as a model of inclusive practice

The question then is should units be promoted as a model of inclusive practice or as a vehicle for the development of inclusive schools. The findings of this research, the author argues, do not support the case for abandoning units as a model of provision. The experience of school for pupils educated in the two units under study was by no means predominantly negative. The strategies adopted by the staff of the two schools were carefully considered and adopted with the best of intentions. Negative consequences were inadvertent. Their willingness to participate in this research is indicative of their concern to enhance pupils' experience of school. In seeking to respond to the inclusion agenda there had been a concern not to lose the hard-fought benefits of special education which unit pupils had previously accessed in their segregated special school and move towards something even better. Their continued existence is necessitated by the lack of flexibility that exists in mainstream provision. Schools are increasingly resorting to segregative approaches such as streaming or units as solutions to the dilemma they are facing. As such special education is indeed 'colonising' rather than transforming the mainstream (Dyson, 1997). The requirement of raising standards of achievement and meeting a greater range of pupils' needs in a mainstream context, where teachers are tied to a narrow and highly prescriptive norm related curriculum of what and when they teach certain skills and units of learning, results in such responses. Such responses are 'jeopardising' inclusive practices

(Meadmore, 2002). Certainly in the schools under study Ofsted's recommendations, focusing on the standards agenda, had led to an increase in segregative practice. Unit pupils were now being taught separately for more subjects than before their respective inspections. Similarly, where this option was available, mainstream teachers had chosen to place some mainstream pupils within the units for support, where they believed the pace and level of instruction was more appropriate to these pupils' needs.

Units can, indeed, be seen more positively as a 'cautious' response to inclusion (Fuchs & Fuchs, 1994; Kauffman, 1995) or as 'responsible inclusion' (Vaughn & Schumm, 1995; Hornby, 1999). They might also be viewed as providing part of the 'continua of teaching approaches' necessary to ensure that the needs of those unable to access learning through normal adaptations are met (Norwich & Lewis, 2001). Whilst we await a situation where teachers have the flexibility to deliver appropriate instruction in ways such as those recommended by Feuser, (1987), i.e. through a child-centred approach such as a common theme or topic, where pupils can 'join in at different levels of motor or/and mental action and in different ways of participation' (Probst, 1998, p. 84), units remain an interim solution. Many parents continue to favour the special school and other segregative options (Lunt, 2001). And it can be argued that unless we can assure parents that pupils' social and educational needs can be met in the mainstream we are morally bound to offer them a choice of placement. However, it is vital to be aware of the limitations and potential drawbacks of this model. In returning pupils full-time to the mainstream classroom we may increase access to mainstream peers and keep the child within its natural community, however, this research like others which have looked specifically at social outcomes, demonstrates that this does not ensure that other aspects of social relationships will necessarily be positive.

The stigmatisation of students with labels will not disappear by simply placing students in regular schools as they, and their peers, will need to be taught appropriate social and academic skills. Indeed without careful management and the development of the included students' skills, other children may create their own discriminatory labels for included students'

(Knight, 1999, p. 4)

This does not mean that we should not meanwhile strive towards the goal of the truly inclusive mainstream school, but that we also critically evaluate the outcomes of those decisions we make in pursuit of such goals.

This research highlights the need for continuous in-depth exploration of the outcomes of interventions undertaken in pursuit of principles. Without the necessary resources to implement what is ideal compromises are inevitable. However, we have a duty to monitor and evaluate the impact of the decisions and compromises we make. Research has an important role to play in monitoring innovation. In this instance the economic advantages offered by units need to be balanced against the social costs incurred by pupils. As a vehicle for the development of inclusive schools units may well have a role to play, certainly in the interim, while mainstream staff develop confidence and skills in working with a wider range of pupil needs. Research and a willingness to learn from it should enable the education system to move forward towards its goal of effective education for all. In conducting that research the author makes the case for including the perspective of consumers of services, and in this case the perspective of pupils with special educational needs, who can, as this research demonstrates, provide rich and reliable data.

References

- Adler, P. Kless, S. & Adler, P. (1992) 'Socialisation to Gender Roles: Popularity among Elementary School Boys and Girls' Sociology of Education Vol. 65 pp. 169-87.
- Ainscow, M., Booth, T. & Dyson, D. (1999) 'Inclusion and Exclusion in Schools: Listening to Some Hidden Voices' in K. Ballard (Ed.), Inclusive Education: International Voices on Disability and Justice Falmer Press: London.
- Ainscow, M. et al., (1994) Creating the Conditions for School Improvement: A Handbook of Staff Development Activities London, D. Fulton.
- Ainscow, M. (1997) 'Towards Inclusive Schooling' British Journal of Special Education Vol. 24 pp. 3-6
- Allan, J. (1999) 'I Don't Need This: Acts of Transgression by Students with Special Educational Needs, in K. Ballard (ed.) Inclusive Education: International Voices on Disability and Justice. London: Falmer Press.
- Allport, G. W. (1954) The Nature of Prejudice Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Asher, S. & Coie, J. (1990) Peer Rejection in Childhood pp. 274-305 (New York: Cambridge University Press)
- Asher, S.R. & Taylor, A. R. (1981) 'Social Outcomes of Mainstreaming; Sociometric Assessment and Beyond' Exceptional Education Quarterly Vol. 1 No. 4 pp. 13-29
- Ashworth, P. (1997) 'Variety in qualitative research, Part 2: on positivist approaches' Nurse Education Today Vol. 17 No. 3 pp. 219-224
- Atkins, M. J. (1984) 'Practitioner as Researcher: Some Techniques for Analysing Semi-Structured Data in Small-Scale Research' in British Journal of Educational Studies Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 250-261

Attili, G. (1990) 'Successful and Disconfirmed Children in the Peer Group: Indices of Social Competence within an Evolutionary Perspective' Human Development Vol. 33 pp. 238-249

Avramidis, E., Bayliss, P. & Burden, R. (2002) 'Inclusion in Action: An In-depth Case Study of an Effective Secondary School in the South-west of England' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 6 No. 2 pp. 143-163

Bailey, J. and Barton, B. (1999) 'The Impact of Hospitalization on School Inclusion: the Experiences of Two Students with Chronic Illness, in K. Ballard (ed.) Inclusive Education: International Voices on Disability and Justice. London: Falmer Press.

Baker, J. & Zigmond, N. (1990) 'Are Regular Education Classes Equipped to Accommodate Students with Learning Disabilities?' Exceptional Children Vol. 56, No. 6 pp. 515-526.

Baldwin, W. K. (1958) 'The Educable Mentally Retarded Child in the Regular Grades'. Exceptional Children Vol. 25 pp. 106-108; 112

Ball, S. (1993) Self Doubt and Soft Data. In M. Hammersley (ed.) Educational Research

Ballard, K. & McDonald, T. (1999) 'Disability, Inclusion and Exclusion: some Insider Accounts and Interpretations' In K. Ballard (ed.) Inclusive Education: International Voices on Disability and Justice. London: Falmer Press.

Barnes, C. (1996) 'Disability and the Myth of the Independent Researcher' Disability & Society Vol. 11 pp. 107-110.

Barnes, D. (1976) From Communication to Curriculum. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Barnes, D. & Schemilt, D. (1974) 'Transmission and Interpretation' Educational Review 26(3), 213-28.

Barnes, D. & Todd, F. (1977) Communication and Learning in Small Groups. London: Routledge.

- Barton, L. (1997) 'Inclusive Education: Romantic, Subversive or Realistic?' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 1 No. 3 pp. 231-42
- Battye, L. (1966) I had a Little Nut Tree. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Bayliss, P (1995) 'Integration and Interpersonal Relations: Interaction between Disabled Children and their Non-Disabled Peers' British Journal of Special Education Vol. 22 No. 3 pp. 131-9
- Bear, G. G., Cleaver, A. & Proctor, W. A. (1991) 'Self-Perceptions of Non-handicapped Children and Children with Learning Disabilities in Integrated Classes' The Journal of Special Education Vol. 24 No. 4 pp. 409-445.
- Beasley, F. & Upton, G. (1989) 'Effectiveness of Locational Integration for Children with Moderate Learning Difficulties' In N. Jones (ed.) Special Educational Needs Review Vol. 2. Lewes: Falmer Press
- Benjamin, S., Nind, M., Hall, K., Collins, J. & Sheehy, K. (2003) 'Moments of inclusion and exclusion: pupils negotiating classroom contexts' British Journal of Sociology of Education Vol. 24 No. 5 pp.547-558
- Berger, P. L. & Luckman, T. (1966) The Social Construction of Reality London,
- Bines, H. (1995) 'Confronting personal and social constructs' in P Clough. and L. Barton (eds.) Making Difficulties: Research and Construction of S.E.N. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
- Black-Hawkins, K. (1999) 'Close encounters of the cultural kind: the significance of culture in understanding processes of inclusion and exclusion in schools. Paper presented at British Educational Research Association Annual Conference. University of Sussex
- Blatchford, P. (1999) 'Friendships at School: The Role of Break-times' Education 3-13 March pp. 60-65
- Blishen, E. (1969) The School that I'd Like Harmondsworth, Penguin.

- Boiven, M. & Begin, G. (1989) 'Peer status and Self-perception among Early Elementary School Children: The Case of Rejected Children.' Child Development Vol. 60 pp. 591-596
- Booth, T., Ainscow, M., Black-Hawkins, K., Vaughan, M. & Shaw, L. (2000) Index for Inclusion: Developing Learning and Participation in Schools Bristol, Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education.
- Breakwell, G. (1990) Interviewing. London: Routledge/BPS.
- Brennan, A. & Dumbleton, P. (1989) 'Learning difficulties and the concept of a person' Journal of Educational Studies Vol.37 No.2 pp. 147-168.
- Brown, C. (1990) My Left Foot. London: Minerva.
- Buckland, M. & Croll, P. (1987) 'Classroom Organisation and Interactions of Pupils with Moderate Learning Difficulties in Mainstream and Special Schools' European Journal of Special Needs Education Vol.2. No. 2 pp. 75-87.
- Budoff, M. & Siperstein, C. (1978) 'Low Income Children's Attitudes Towards Mentally Retarded Children: Effects of Labelling and Academic Behaviour' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 82 pp. 474-9.
- Butler, I. & Williamson, H. (1994) Children Speak: Children, Trauma and Social Work. London: Longman.
- Cairns, R. B., Perrin, E. J. & Cairns, B. D. (1985) 'Social Structure and Social Cognition in Early Adolescence: Affiliative Patterns' Journal of Early Adolescence Vol. 5 pp. 339-55.
- Cairns, R. B., Cairns, B. D., Neckerman, H. J., Gest, S. & Garipey, J-L. (1988) 'Social Networks and Aggressive Behaviour: Peer Support or Peer Rejection?' Developmental Psychology Vol. 24 pp. 815-23.
- Calvert, B. (1975) The Role of the Pupil. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Carlberg, C. & Kavale, K. (1980) 'The Efficacy of Special Versus Regular Class Placement for Exceptional Children: A Meta-analysis' Journal of Special Education Vol. 14 No. 7 pp. 295-309

Ceci, S. (1991) 'The Suggestibility of Child Witnesses' Paper to the British Psychological Society. Annual Conference, Bournemouth, March.

Cegelka, W. J. & Tyler, J. L. (1970) 'The Efficacy of Special Class Placement for the Mentally Retarded Improper Perspective' Training School Bulletin Vol. 65 pp. 33-65

Chapman, J. W. (1988) Special Education in the Least Restricted Environment: Mainstreaming or Mairdumping?' Australian and New Zealand Journal of Developmental Disabilities Vol. 14 No. 2 pp. 123-34

Clark, E. T. (1964) 'Children's Perceptions of Educable Mentally Retarded Children' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 68 pp. 602-11.

Clark, C., Dyson, A. and Millward, A. (1995) 'Towards Inclusive Schools?' London: David Fulton

Cohen, J. M. (1977) 'Sources of Peer Group Homogeneity' Sociology of Education Vol. 50 pp. 227-41.

Coie, J. D. (1990) 'Toward a Theory of Peer Rejection' in R. S. Asher & J. D. Coie (eds.) Peer Rejection in Childhood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cook, B. G. & Semmel, M. I. (1999) 'Peer Acceptance of Included Students with Disabilities as a Function of Severity of Disability and Classroom Composition' The Journal of Special Education Vol. 33 No. 1 pp. 50-61.

Cope, C. & Anderson, E. (1977) Special Units in Ordinary Schools University of London Institute of Education.

Corbett, J. (2001) Supporting Inclusive Education: A Connective Pedagogy London, Routledge Falmer

Costley, D. (2000) 'Collecting the Views of Young People with Moderate Learning Difficulties' in A. Lewis & G. Lindsay (eds.) Researching Children's Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Cowen, E.L., Pederson, A. Babigan, H. Izzo, L. D. & Trost, M.A. (1973) 'Long-term Follow-up of Early Detected Vulnerable Children' Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology Vol. 41 pp. 438-446

Crozier, J. & Tracey (2000) in A. Lewis & G. Lindsay (eds.) Researching Children's Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Dale, R. R. (1967) 'Teachers Who have had a Bad Influence' Education for Teaching Vol. 74, pp. 25-32.

Danby, J & Cullen, C. (1988) 'Integration and Mainstreaming: A Review of the Efficacy of Mainstreaming for Mentally Handicapped Pupils' Educational Psychology Vol. 8 No. 3 pp. 177-195.

Davie, R. & Gallaway, D. (eds.) (1996) Listening to Children in Education London: David Fulton

Davies, B. (1982) Life in the Classroom and Playground London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Dean, V. (1957) Three Steps Forward London: Faber

Deering, P. (1996) An ethnographic study of norms of inclusion and co-operation in a multi-ethnic middle school. Urban Review Vol. 28 No. 1 pp.21-40

Demetriou, H., Goalen, P. & Ruddock, J. (2000) 'Academic Performance, Transfer, Transition and Friendship: Listening to the Student Voice' International Journal of Educational Research Vol. 33 pp. 425-41

Department of Education and Science (DES) (1967) Education Survey 1: Units for Partially Hearing Children Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Department of Education and Science (DES) (1968) Education Survey 4: Blind and Partially Sighted Children Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Department of Education and Science (DES) (1972) Aspects of Special children: Schools for Delicate Children Special Classes in Ordinary Schools Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Department of Education and Science (DES) (1978) Special Educational Needs: Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Department of Education and Science and Welsh Office (1988) English for Ages 5-11 London: HMSO

Department of Education and Science (DES) (1989) A Survey of Pupils with Special Educational Needs in Ordinary Schools: A Report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate London: DES

Department of Education and Science (DES) (1991) Statistics of Education: Schools London, HMSO

Department for Education (DFE) (1993) Statistics of Education: Schools 1992 London, HMSO.

Department for Education (DFE) (1994) Statistics of Education: Schools 1993 London, HMSO.

Department for Education (DFE) (1995) Statistics of Education: Schools in England 1994 London, HMSO.

Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) (1997) The National Literacy Strategy: Framework for Teaching YR to Y6 London, The Stationery Office

Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) (1997) Excellence for All Children: Meeting Special Educational Needs London, The Stationery Office Ltd.

Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) (2000) The National Numeracy Strategy: Framework for Teaching Mathematics Reception to Y6 London, DfEE

Department for Education and Science (DfES)(1998) Programme of Action: Meeting Special Educational Needs The Stationery Office Ltd.

DfES (2003) Report of the Special Needs Working Group London: The Stationery Office

DeVries, D. & Slavin, R. (1978) Teams-Games-Tournament: A Final Report on the Research (Technical Report No. 7) Greensboro, NC: Centre for Creative Leadership

Dockrell, J., Lewis, A. & Lindsay, G. (2000)'Researching Children's Perspectives: A Psychological Dimension' in A. Lewis & G. Lindsay (eds.) Researching Children's Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press

- Downing, J. E., Eichinger, J. & Williams, L. J. (1997) 'Inclusive Education for Students with Severe Disabilities: Comparative Views of Principals and Educators at Different Levels of Implementation' Remedial & Special Education Vol. 18 pp. 133-42
- Dunn, L. M. (1968) 'Special Education for the Mentally Retarded: Is Much of it Justifiable?' Exceptional Children Vol. 35 pp. 5-22
- Dyson, A. (1990) 'Effective Learning Consultancy: A Future Role for Special Needs Coordinators' Support for Learning Vol. 5 pp. 15-27
- Dyson, A. (1997) 'Inclusion: What to Include?' Education Review March
- Dyson, A., Howes, A. & Roberts, B. (2002) 'A systematic review of the effectiveness of school-level actions for promoting participation by all students' (EPPI-Centre Review, version 1.1) Research Evidence in Education Library (London, EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education)
- Dyson, D. A. & Millward, A. J. (2000) Towards Inclusive Schools London, D. Fulton.
- Dyson, D. A. & Millward A. (2000) Schools and Special Needs: Issues of Innovation and Inclusion London, Paul Chapman
- Dyson, A., Gallannaugh, F. & Millward, A. (2003) 'Making Space in the Standards Agenda: Developing Inclusive Practices in Schools' European Educational Research Journal Vol. 2 No. 2 pp. 228-244
- Dyson, D.A., Howes, A. & Roberts, B (2002)
- Eder, D. & Hallinan, M. T. (1978) 'Some Differences in Children's Friendships' American Sociological Review Vol. 43 pp. 237-50.
- Eder, D. & Parker, S. (1987) 'The Cultural Production and Reproduction of Gender: the Effect of Extracurricular Activities on Peer Group Culture' Sociology of Education Vol. 60 pp. 200-13.

Edwards, G. (1962) Keep in Touch. St. Albans: MacGibbon & Kee.

Edwards, C. A. (1990) 'Leadership, Social Networks and Personal Attributes in School Age Girls' Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Eisner, E.W. (1981) The Enlightened Eye McMillan Publishing Co.

Farina, A. Thaw, J. Felner, R. & Hust, B. E. (1976) 'Some Interpersonal Consequences of Being Mentally Ill or Mentally Retarded' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 80 pp. 414-22

Farmer, T.W. and Farmer, E.M.Z. (1996) Social Relationships of Students with Exceptionalities in Mainstreaming Classrooms Exceptional Children Vol.62 No.5 pp. 431-451

Farmer, T.W. and Hollowell, J.H. (1994) Social Networks in Mainstream Classrooms: Social Affiliations and Behavioral Characteristics of Students with E.B.D. Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders July Vol.2 No.3 pp.143-155

Farmer, T. W. Pearl, R. & Van Acker, R. (1996) 'Expanding the Social Skills Deficit Framework: A Developmental Synthesis Perspective, Classroom Social Networks, and the Implications for the Growth of Students with Disabilities' Journal of Special Education Vol. 30 pp. 232-56.

Farrell, P. (1997) 'The Integration of Children with Severe Learning Difficulties: A Review of the Recent Literature' Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities Vol. 10 pp. 1-14

- Farrell, P. (2001) 'Special Education in the Last Twenty Years: Have Things Really Got Better?' British Journal of Special Education Vol. 28 No. 1 pp. 3-9
- Feuser, G. (1989) 'Allgemeine Integrative Pedagogik und Entwicklungslogische Didaktik' Behindertenpädagogik Vol. 28 pp. 4-48
- Finch, J. (1984) 'It's great to have someone to talk to': the Ethics and Politics of Interviewing Women' in C. Bell & H. Roberts (eds.) Social Researching : Politics Problems and Practice London: Routledge & Kegan Paul
- Foley, J. M. (1979) Effect of Labelling and Teacher Behaviour on Children's Attitudes' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 83 pp. 380-4.
- Frederickson, N., Dunsmuir, S. Lang, J. & Monsen, J. (2004) 'Mainstream-special school inclusion partnerships: pupil, parent and teacher perspectives' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 8 No. 1 pp. 37-57
- Freeman, S. & Algozzine, B. (1980) 'Social Acceptability as a Function of Labels and Assigned Attributes' American Journal of Mental Deficiency vol. 84 pp. 589-95.
- Freire, P. (1972) The Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Fuchs, D. Fuchs, L. S. (1994) 'Inclusive Schools Movement and the Radicalization of Special Education Reform' Exceptional Children Vol. 60 No. 4 pp. 294-309
- Furman, W. Rahe, D. & Hartup, W. (1979) 'Rehabilitation of Socially Withdrawn Pre-school Children through Mixed-age and Same-age Socialization' Child Development Vol. 50 pp. 915-22

- Furnham, A. & Pendred, J. (1984) 'Attitudes towards the Mentally and Physically Disabled' British Journal of Medical Psychology Vol. 56 pp. 179-87.
- Garnett, J. (1976) 'Special Children in a Comprehensive' Special Education Forward Trends Vol. 3 No. 1 pp. 8-12
- Gersch, K. & Jones, R. L. (1973) 'Children's Perceptions of the Trainable Mentally Retarded: An Experimental Analysis' Unpublished manuscript Ohio State University.
- Giangreco, M. F., Broer, S. M. & Edelman, S. W. (2001) 'Teacher Engagement with Students with Disabilities: Differences between Paraprofessional Service Delivery Models. Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps Vol. 26 pp. 75-86.
- Gillborn, D & Youdell, D. (2000) Rationing Education: Policy, Practice, Reform and Equity Buckingham: Open University Press
- Glaser, B. (1978) Theoretical Sensitivity Sociology Press, Mill Valley, CA.
- Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967) The Discovery of Grounded Theory Aldine Publishing Company, Hawthorne, NY.
- Gold, R.L. (1958) 'Roles in Sociological Field Observations' Social Forces Vol. 36 pp. 217-23
- Goldstein, H. (1967) 'The Efficacy of Special Classes and Regular Classes in the Education of Educably Mentally Retarded Children in J.Zubin & G. A. Gervis (eds.) Psychopathology of Mental Development New York: Grune & Stratton.

Goodman, H., Gottlieb, J., & Harrison, R. (1972) 'Social Acceptance of EMRs Integrated into a Non-graded Elementary School' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 76 pp. 412-7.

Gottlieb, J. (1974) 'Attitudes Toward Retarded Children: Effects of Labelling on Academic Performance' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 79 pp. 268-73.

Gottlieb, J. (1981) Educating Mentally Retarded Persons in Mainstream. Baltimore: University Park Press.

Gottlieb, J. & Davis, J. (1973) 'Social Acceptance of EMR Children During Overt Behavioral Interactions' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 78 pp. 141-3.

Great Britain. Inspectorate of Schools (England and Wales) (1978) Behavioural Units: A Survey of Special Units for Pupils with Behavioural Problems: A Report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools London, Department of Education and Science.

Great Britain. Inspectorate of Schools (England and Wales) Great Britain. Scottish Education Department (1981) The Education of Mildly Mentally Handicapped Pupils of Secondary School Age in special Schools and Units in Scotland: A Report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Great Britain. Inspectorate of Schools, Great Britain Scottish Education Department (1987) The Education of Pupils with Severe Hearing Impairment in Special Schools and Units in Scotland: A Report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools Edinburgh, Her Majesty's Stationery Office

Gresham, F. M. (1982) 'Misguided Mainstreaming: The Case for Social Skills Training with Handicapped Children' Exceptional Children pp. 422-33.

Groene, J & Inderbitzen-Pisaruk, H. (1992) Popularity and Friendship: An Investigation of their Effects on Self-esteem Lincoln: University of Nebraska (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED350 519.

Guralnick, M.J. (1990) 'Social Competence and Early Intervention' Journal of Early Intervention Vol. 14 pp. 3-14.

Guskin, S. L. & Spicker, H. H. (1968) 'Educational Research in Mental Retardation' In N. R. Ellis (ed.) International Review of research in Mental Retardation Vol. 3 New York: Academic Press.

Guterman, B. (1995) 'The Validity of Categorical Learning Disability Services: The Consumer's View' Exceptional Children Vol. 62 No.2 pp. 111-124

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (1983) Ethnography: Principles in Practice. London: Tavistock.

Hazel, N. (1996) Elicitation Techniques with Young People Social Research Update. Guildford: University of Surrey.

Hedges, A. (1995) 'Group Interviewing' in R. Walker (ed.) Applied Quantitative Research. Aldershot: Gower.

Hegarty, S., Pocklington, K. & Lucas, D. (1981) Educating Pupils with Special Needs in the Ordinary School. NFER Nelson.

Hegarty, S. (1987) Meeting Special Needs in Ordinary Schools London, Cassell

Hegarty, S. (1993) 'Reviewing the Literature on Integration' European Journal of Special Needs Education Vol. 8 pp. 194-200

Heiman, T. (2000) Quality and Friendship School Psychology International Vol. 21 No. 3
pp. 265-280

Holt, J. (1969) How Children Fail. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Hopkins, D. West, M. & Ainscow, M. (1996) School Improvement in an Era of Change
London, Cassell.

Hornby, G. (1992) 'Integration of Children with Special Educational Needs: Is it Time for
a Policy Review?' Support for Learning Vol. 7 pp 130-4

Hornby, G. (1999) 'Inclusion or Delusion: Can One Size Fit All?' Support for Learning
Vol. 14 No. 4 pp. 152-7

Hunt, P., Hirose-Hitae, A., Doering, K. & Goetz, L. (2000) 'Community is what I think
everyone is talking about' Remedial & Special Education Vol. 21 No. 5 pp. 305-317

Hurford, A. & Hart, D. (1979) 'Social Integration in a Language Unit' Special Education
Forward Trends Vol. 6 No. 4 pp. 8-9

Hymel, S. (1983) 'Social Isolation and Rejection in Children : The Child's Perspective
Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development
Detroit MI.

Hymel, S. & Rubin, K. H. (1985) 'Children with Peer Relationships and Social Skills
Problems: Conceptual, Methodological and Developmental Issues' In G. J. Whitehurst
(ed.) Annals of Child Development Vol. 2 pp. 251-82 Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Hymel, S., Rubin, K. H., Rowden, R. & LeMare, L. (1990) 'Children's Peer
Relationships: Longitudinal Prediction of Internalising and Externalising Problems from
Middle to Late Childhood' Child Development Vol. 61 pp. 2004-21.

Iano, R.P., Ayers, D., Heller, H. B., McGettigan, J. F. & Walker, V. S. (1974) 'Sociometric Status of Retarded Children in an Integrative Program' Exceptional children Vol. 40 pp. 276-81.

Jamieson, M., Parlett, M. & Pocklington, K. (1977) Towards Integration: A Study of Blind and Partially Sighted Children in Ordinary Schools Windsor, NFER.

Jenkins, J. R. & Heinen, A. (1998) 'Students' Preferences for Service Delivery: Pull-out, In-class, or Integrated Models' Exceptional Children Vol.55 No.6 pp. 516-23

Jenkins, J., Zigmond, N., Fuchs, L., Fuchs, D. & Deno, S. (1993) 'Special Education in Restructured Schools: Findings from Three Multi-year Studies' Manuscript in preparation.

Jenkins, J., Lewell, M., Leicester, N., O'Connor, R. Jenkins, L. & Trentonor, N. (1994) 'Accommodations for Individual Differences without Classroom Ability Groups: An Experiment in School Re-structuring' Exceptional Children Vol. 60 pp. 344-58

Kandel, D. (1978) 'Homophily, Selection and Socialisation in Adolescent Friendships' American Journal of Sociology Vol. 84 pp. 427-36.

Kauffman, J. M. (1995) 'The Regular Education Initiative as Regan Bush Education Policy: A Trickle-down Theory of the Hard-to-teach' in J. M Kauffman & D. P. Hallahan, (eds.) The Illusion of Full Inclusion: A Comprehensive Critique of a Current Educational Bandwagon Austin Texas, PRO-ED.

Kauffman, J. M. & Hallahan, D. P. (1995) The Illusion of Full Inclusion: A Comprehensive Critique of a Current Educational Bandwagon Austin Texas, PRO-ED.

Kelly, E. & Cohn, T. (eds.) (1988) Racism in Schools: New Research Evidence Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.

Kirk, S. A. (1964) 'Research in Education' in H. A. Stevens and R. Heber (eds.) Mental Retardation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

- Kirk, T. (1999) 'Celebrating Diversity through Co-operative Learning and Social Skills' Irish Educational Studies Vol. 18 pp. 75-90
- Kliwer, C. (1998) 'The Meaning of Inclusion' Mental Retardation Vol.36 pp. 317-322
- Knight, B. A. (1999) 'Towards Inclusion of Students with Special Educational Needs in the Regular Classroom' Support for Learning Vol. 14 No. 1 pp. 3-7
- Krasner, S. (1984) 'Developmental Aspects of Communication in children with Downs's Syndrome' Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Street Andrews.
- Kratzer, C. (1997) Community and Diversity in an Urban School: Co-existence or Conflict? Report by the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Kugelmass, J. (2001) 'Collaboration and compromise in creating and sustaining an inclusive school' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 5 No. 1 pp. 47-65
- Kunc, N. (1992) 'The Need to Belong: Rediscovering Maslow's 'Hierarchy of Needs'. In R. A. Villa, J. S. Thousand, W. Stainbeck & S. Stainbeck (eds.) Restructuring for Caring and Effective Education: Administrative Guide to Creating Heterogeneous Schools Baltimore, MD, Paul M Brookes
- Kupersmidt, J. B. & Coie, J. (1990) 'Pre-adolescent Peer Status, Aggression and School Adjustment as Predictors of Externalizing Problems in Adolescence' Child Development Vol. 61 pp. 1350-62
- Kupersmidt, J. B., Coie, J. & Dodge, K. A. (1990) The Role of Poor Peer Relationships in the Development of Disorder in S. Asher & J. Coie (eds.) Peer Rejection in Childhood pp. 274-305 New York: Cambridge University Press
- Ladd, G. W. & Price, J. M. (1993) 'Play Styles of Peer-accepted and Peer-rejected Children on the Playground' In C. H. Hart (ed.) Children on Playgrounds: Research Perspectives and Applications Albany NY: State University of New York Press.

- Larrivee, B. & Horne, M. D. (1991) 'Social Status: A Comparison of Mainstreamed Students with Peers of Different Ability Groups' Journal of Special Education Vol. 25 No. 1 pp. 90-101
- Lewis, A. (1992) 'Group Child Interviews as a Research Tool' British Educational Research Journal Vol.18 No.4 pp. 413-21.
- Lewis, A. (1995) Children's Understanding of Disability London: Routledge
- Lewis, A. & Lindsay, G. (2000) Researching Children's Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lewis, A. & Norwich, B. (1999) 'Mapping a Pedagogy for Special Educational Needs' Research Intelligence Vol. 69 pp. 9-13.
- Lindsay, G. (1989) 'Evaluating Integration' Educational Psychology in Practice Vol. 5 No.1 pp. 7-16
- Lindsay, G. (2000) 'Researching Children's Perspectives: Ethical Issues' in Lewis & G. Lindsay (eds.) Researching Children's Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lipsky, D. K., & Gartner, A. (1996) 'Inclusion, School Restructuring and the Remaking of American Society' Harvard Educational Review Vol. 66 No. 4 pp. 78-81
- Lloyd-Smith, M. & Davies, J. D.(1995) On the Margins: the Educational Experience of 'Problem' Pupils Trentham Books Ltd.
- Lloyd-Smith, M. & Tarr, J. (2000) 'Researching Children's Perspectives: A Sociological Dimension' in A. Lewis & G. Lindsay (eds.) Researching Children's Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lowden, G. (1985) 'The Units Approach to Integration' British Journal of Special Education Vol. 12 No. 1 pp. 10-13

Luftig, R. L. (1988) 'Assessment of the Perceived School Loneliness and Isolation of Mentally Retarded and Non-retarded Students'. American Journal on Mental Retardation Vol. 92 pp. 472-5.

Lunt, I. & Norwich, B. (1999) 'Can Effective Schools Be Inclusive Schools? London: Institute of Education, University of London

Lynas, W. (1986) 'Pupils' Attitudes to Integration' British Journal of Special Education Vol.13 No.1 pp. 31-33.

Lyotard, J. F. (1984) The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge Manchester, Manchester University Press.

MacMillan, D. L. (1971) 'Special Education for the Mildly Handicapped-Servant or Savant?' Focus on Exceptional Children Vol. 2 pp. 1-11.

MacMillan, D. L., Jones, R. L. & Aloia, G. F. (1974) 'The 'Mentally Retarded' Label: A Theoretical Analysis and Review of Research' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 79 pp. 241-61

MacMillan, D.L., Semmel, M. I. & Gerber, M. M. (1994) 'The Social Context of Dunn: Then and Now' Journal of Special Education Vol. 27 pp. 466-480

Madden, N. A. Slavin, R.E. (1983) 'Mainstreaming Students with Mild Handicaps: Academic and Social Outcomes' Review of Educational Research Vol. 53 No. 4 pp. 519-69

Madge, S., Affleck, J. & Lowenbraun, S. (1990) 'Social Effects of Integrated Classrooms and Resource Rooms Regular Class Placements on Students with Disabilities' Journal of Learning Disabilities Vol. 23 No. 7 pp. 439-45

Madge, N. and Fasson, M. (1982) Ask the Children: Experiences of Physical Disabilities in the School Years London: Batsford Academic and Educational.

- Makins, V. (1969) 'Child's Eye View of the Teacher' Times Educational Supplement, 19th September, 21-23 and 26th September, 18-19.
- Malik, N. M. & Furman, W. (1993) 'Practitioner Review: Problems in Children's Peer Relations: What Can the Clinician Do?' Journal of Child Psychology Vol. 34 No.8 pp.1303-1326
- Manset, G. and Semmel, M. I. (1997) 'Are Inclusive Programs for Students with Mild Disabilities Effective? A Comparative Review of Model Programs'. Journal of Special Education Vol. 31 pp. 155-80
- Maras, P. & Brown, R. (2000) 'Effects of Different Forms of School contact on children's Attitudes towards Disabled and Non-disabled Peers' British Journal of Educational Psychology vol. 70 pp. 337-51
- Marshall, J., Ralph, S. & Palmer, S. (2002) 'I Wasn't Trained to Work with Them': Mainstream Teachers Attitudes to Children with Speech and Language Difficulties' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol.6 No. 3 pp. 199-215.
- Martlew, M. & Hodson, J. (1990) 'Children with Mild Learning Difficulties in an Integrated and in a Special School: Comparisons of Behaviour, Teasing and Teacher' Attitudes' British Journal of Educational Psychology Vol. 61. pp. 355-69
- McConkey, R., McCormick, B. & Naughton, M. (1983) 'A National Survey of Young People's Perceptions of Mental Handicap' Journal of Mental Deficiency Research Vol. 27 pp. 171-83.

- McMillan, D.L., Jones, R. L. and Aloia, G. F. (1974) 'The Mentally Retarded Label: A Theoretical Analysis and Review of Research' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 79 pp. 241-261
- Meadmore, D. (2002) 'The Pursuit of Standards: Simply Managing Education?' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol.25, No. 5, pp. 353-365
- Meighan R. (1977) 'The Pupil as Client: The Learner's Experience of Schooling' Educational Review Vol. 30 No.2 pp. 52-60.
- Minkes, J., Robinson, C. & Weston, C. (1994) 'Consulting the Children: Interviews with Children Using Residential Respite Care Services' Disability and Society Vol. 9 No. 1 pp. 47-57
- Mittler, P. (1991) 'Competence and Consent in People with Mental Handicap' in M. Brazier & M. Lobjoit (eds.) Protesting the Vulnerable: Autonomy and Consent in Health Care London: Routledge.
- Morrison, G. & Cosden, M. (1997) 'Risk, Resilience and Social Adjustment of Individuals with Learning Disabilities' Learning Disability Quarterly Vol. 20 pp. 43-60
- Mortimore, P., Sammons, P., Stoll, L., Lewis, D. & Ecob, R. (1988) School Matters: The Junior Years. Wells: Open Books.
- Nabuzoka, D. & Smith, P. K. (1993) 'Sociometric Status and Social Behaviour of Children with and without Learning Difficulties' Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines Vol. 34 No. 8 pp. 1435-1448.

- Nakken, H. & Pijl, S. J. (2002) 'Getting Along with Classmates in Regular Schools: A Review of the Effects of Integration on the Development of Social Relationships' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 6 No. 1 pp. 47-61.
- National Literacy Task force (1997) The Implementation of the National Literacy Strategy London: National Literacy Task Force
- Norwich, B. & Lewis, A. (2001) 'Mapping a Pedagogy for Special Educational Needs' British Educational Research Journal Vol. 27 No. 33 pp. 313-29
- Numeracy Task Force (1998) The Implementation of the National Numeracy Strategy London; DfEE
- Nazor, M. & Nikolic, M. (1991) 'Children with Developmental Difficulties' Primjenjena Psihologija Vol. 12 pp. 123-7.
- Neary, A. & Joseph, S. (1994) Peer Victimization and its Relationship to Self-concept and Depression among Schoolgirls Personality and Individual Difference Vol. 16 No.1 pp. 183-186.
- Neckerman, H. J. (1990) 'Ontogeny of Friendships: Stability and Change' Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Conference on Human Development Richmond, VA.
- Nes, K. (1999) 'Three Voices from the First Generation of Integration Students in Norway in K. Ballard (ed.) Inclusive Education: International Voices on Disability and Justice. London: Falmer Press.
- Newcomb, A., Bukowski, W. & Pattee, L. (1993) 'Children's Peer Relations: A Meta-analytic View of Popular, Rejected, Neglected, Controversial and Average Children' Psychological Bulletin Vol. 113 pp. 99-128.
- Ochoa, S. & Olivarez, A. (1995) 'A Meta-Analysis of Peer Rating Sociometric Studies of Pupils with Learning Difficulties' Journal of Special Education Vol. 29 pp. 1-19.
- Oliver, M. (1990) The Politics of Disablement Basingstoke, MacMillan.

- Oliver, M. (1996) Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice Basingstoke: MacMillan
- Olweus, D. (1992) 'Bullying Among School Children: Intervention and Prevention' in R. Peters, R. McMahon & V. Quincey (eds.) Aggression and Violence Throughout the Lifespan Newbury Park CA: Sage Publication
- Padeliadu, S. (1995) 'Preferences of Students with Learning Disabilities for Alternative Service Delivery Modes' European Journal of Special Needs Education Vol. 10 No. 3 pp. 210-26
- Parker, J. G. & Asher, S. R. (1987) 'Peer Relations and Later Personal Adjustments: Are Low Accepted Children at Risk?' Psychological Bulletin Vol. 102 pp. 357-89
- Parker, J. G. & Asher, S. R. (1993) 'Friendship and Friendship Quality in Middle Childhood: Links with Peer Acceptance and Feelings of Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction' Developmental Psychology Vol. 29 No. 4 pp. 611-21
- Patterson, C. J., Kupersmidt, J. B. & Griesler, P. C. (1990) 'Children's Perceptions of Self and of Relationships with Others as a Function of Sociometric Status' Child Development Vol. 61 pp. 1335-1349
- Patterson, G., DeBaryshe, B. & Ramsey, E. (1989) 'A Developmental Perspective on Anti-social Behaviour' American Psychologist Vol. 44 pp. 329-35
- Pearl, R., Farmer, T. W. , Van Acker, R., Rodkin, P.C., Bost, K. K., Coe, M. & Henley, W. (1998) 'The Social Integration of Students with Mild Disabilities in General Education Classrooms: Peer Group Membership and Peer-Assessed Behavior' The Elementary School Journal Vol. 99 No. 2 pp. 167-185.

Pickett, R. (1994) 'The relationship between school structure and culture and student views of diversity and inclusive education: a comparative study of two middle schools' Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Wisconsin

Pijl, S. J., Meijer, C. J.W. & Hegarty, S. (1997) Inclusive Education: A Global Agenda London, Routledge.

Pollard, A. (1985) The Social World of the Primary School. London: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Pollard, A. (1987) 'Studying Children's Perspectives: A Collaborative Approach' in G. Walford (ed.) Doing Sociology of Education Lewes: Falmer Press

Powney, J. & Watts, M. (1987) Interviewing in Educational Research. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Pratt, S. (2000) 'Wanna be my Friend? A study of Male Primary School Pupils' Friendship' Primary Teaching Studies Vol. 11(2) pp. 43-46

Probst, H. (1998) 'Innovation of Public Schools: A Precondition for the Inclusion of Children with Special Educational Needs In P. Haug & J. Tøssebro Theoretical Perspectives on Special Education HoyskoleForlaget Norwegian Academic Press.

Propst, L.B. & Nagle, R. J. (1981) 'Effects of Labelling and a Child's Reaction to Punishment or subsequent Disciplinary Practice of Adults and Peers' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 86 pp. 287-94.

Quay, L. C. (1963) 'Academic skills' In N. R. Ellis (ed.) Handbook of Mental Deficiency New York: McGraw-Hill.

Roberts, C. & Zubrick, S. (1992) 'Factors Influencing the Social Status of Children with Mild Academic Disabilities in Regular Classrooms' Exceptional Children Vol. 59 pp. 192-202.

Robson, C. (1993) Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers Oxford: Blackwell

Roffey, S., Majors, K. & Tarrant, T (1997) 'Friends Who needs Them? What Do We Know and What Can We Do?' Educational and Child Psychology Vol. 14 No.3 pp. 51-56

Roland, E. (1989) 'Bullying: The Scandinavian Research Tradition' in D. P. Tattum & D. A. Lane (eds.) Bullying in Schools (London: Trentham Books)

Ruddock, J., Chaplain, R. & Wallace, G. (1996) School Improvement: What Can Pupils Tell Us? London: David Fulton.

Rutter, M., Maughn, B., Mortimer, P. & Ouston, J. (1979) Fifteen Thousand Hours. London: Open Books.

Sabornie, E. J. (1985) 'Social Mainstreaming of Handicapped Students: Facing an Unpleasant Reality' Remedial & Special Education Vol. 6 No. 2 pp. 12-16.

Sabornie, E. J. (1987) 'Bi-directional Social Status of Behaviourally Disordered and Non-handicapped Elementary School Children' Behavioral Disorders Vol. 12 pp. 45-57.

Sabornie, E. J., Kauffman, J. M., Ellis, E. S., Marshall, K. J. & Elksnin, L. K. (1987) 'Bi-directional and Cross-categorical Social Status of Learning Disabled, Behaviorally Disordered and Non-handicapped Adolescents' Journal of Special Education Vol. 21 pp. 39-56.

Sale, P. & Carey, D. M. (1995) 'The Socio-metric Status of Students with Disabilities in a Full-inclusion School' Exceptional Children Vol. 62 pp. 6-19

Salend, J. & Duhaney, L. M. G. (1999) 'The Impact of Inclusion on Students with and without Disabilities and their Educators' Remedial and Special Education Vol. 20 pp. 114-26

Scruggs, T. E. & Mastropieri, M. A. (1996) 'Teacher Perceptions of Mainstreaming/Inclusion 1958-95' Exceptional Children Vol. 63 pp. 59-74

Sebba, J. & Sachdev, D. (1997) What Works in Inclusive Education? Ilford: Barnardo's.

Semmel, M. I., Gottlieb, J. and Robinson, N. M. (1979) 'Mainstreaming: Perspectives on Educating Handicapped Children in the Public Schools' in D. Berliner (ed.) Review of Research in Education Vol. 7. Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association

Shakespeare, T. & Watson, N. (1997) 'Defending the Social Model' Disability & Society Vol. 12 No. 2 pp. 293-300.

Sinclair-Taylor, A. (1994) Schooling in a Special Needs Unit M. A. Thesis: Warwick University.

Sinclair-Taylor, A. (2000) 'The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child: giving children a voice', in A. Lewis & G. Lindsay (eds.) Researching Children's Perspectives. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Siperstein, G. N. & Back, J. J. (1985) 'Effects of Social Behaviour on Children's Attitudes Towards their Mildly and Moderately Mentally Retarded Peers' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 90 pp. 319-27.

Siperstein, G. N., Budoff, M. & Bak, J. J. (1980) 'Effects of the Labels 'Mentally Retarded' and 'Retard' on the Social Acceptability of Mentally Retarded Children' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 84 pp. 596-601.

Siperstein, G. N. & Chatillon, A. C. (1982) 'Importance of Perceived Similarity in Improving Children's Attitudes Towards Mentally Retarded Peers' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 86 No. 5 pp. 453-58.

Siperstein, G. N. & Leffert, J. S. (1997) 'Comparison of Socially Accepted and Rejected Children with Mental Retardation' American Journal on Mental Retardation Vol. 101 pp. 339-51.

Somogyvary, R. (1986) 'It's Our World Too' New Zealand Listener 24th May p.30.

Spencer, J. R. & Flin, R. (1990) The Evidence of Children: the Law and Psychology. London: Blackstone.

Spradley, J. P. (1980) Participant Observation New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Staub, D. (1995) 'Qualitative Research on Social Inclusion: What Do We Know? What Do we Need to Find Out?' Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps San Francisco

Stephenson, J. B. & Greer, S. (1981) 'Ethnographers in their Own Cultures: Two Appalachian Cases' Human Organization Vol. 40 No.2 pp. 123-30.

Strohmer, D. C., Grand, S. A. & Purcell, M. J. (1984) 'Attitudes Towards Persons with a Disability: An Examination of Demographic Factors, Social Context and Specific Disability' Rehabilitation Psychology Vol. 29 No. 3 pp. 131-45.

Stromstad, M. (1999) 'Tordis? She is Just Tordis' in K. Ballard (ed.) Inclusive Education: International Voices on Disability and Justice. London: Falmer Press.

Swain, J. (2003) 'Needing to be in the know: strategies of subordination used by 10-11 year old schoolboys' International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 7 No. 4 pp. 305-24

Swain, J., Heyman, B. & Gillman, M. (1998) 'Public Research, Private Concerns: Ethical Issues in the Use of Open-ended Interviews with People who have Learning Difficulties' Disability and Society Vol. 13 No.1 pp. 21-36.

Swanson, H. L. & Malone, S. (1992) 'Social Skills and Learning Disabilities: A Meta-analysis of the Literature' School Psychology Review Vol. 21 pp. 427-43

Taylor, A. R. Asher, S. R. & Williams, G. A. (1987) 'The Social Adaptation of Mainstreamed Mildly Retarded Children' Child Development Vol. 58 pp. 1321-1344.

Thacker, J. (1990) 'Working through Groups in the Classroom' in N. Jones & N. Frederickson, N. (eds.) Refocusing Educational Psychology. Lewes: Falmer.

Thomas, G. (1997) 'Inclusive Schools for an Inclusive Society' British Journal of Special Education Vol. 24 pp. 103-107

Tisdall, G. and Dawson, R. (1994) Listening to the Children: Interviews with Children Attending a Mainstream Support Facility, Support for Learning Vol. 9 No.4 pp. 179-183

- Troyna, B. & Hatcher, R. (1991) 'Racist Incidents in Schools: A Framework for Analysis' Journal of Education Policy Vol. 6 No. 1 pp. 17-31.
- Tur-Kaspa, H., Margalit, M. & Most, T. (1999) 'Reciprocal Friendships, Reciprocal Rejection and Socio-emotional Adjustment: The Social Experiences of Children with Learning Disorders over a One Year Period' European Journal of Special Needs Education Vol. 14 No.1 pp.37-47
- UNESCO (1994) Final Report: World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality Paris: UNESCO
- Van Bourgondien, M. E. (1987) 'Children's' Responses to Retarded Peers as a Function of Social Behavior, Labeling and Age' Exceptional Children Vol. 53 No. 5 pp. 432-439.
- Vaughn, S., Elbaum, B. E. & Schumm, J. S. (1996) 'The Effects of Inclusion on the Social Functioning of Students with Learning Disabilities' Journal of Learning Disabilities Vol. 29 pp 598-608
- Vaughn, S., Elbaum, B. E., Schumm, J. S. & Hughes, M. (1998) 'Social Outcomes for Students with and without Learning Disabilities in Inclusive Classrooms' Journal of Learning Disabilities Vol. 31 No. 5 pp. 428-36
- Vaughn, S. & Klingner, J. K. (1998) 'Students' Perceptions of Inclusion and Resource Room Settings' Journal of Special Education Vol. 32 No. 2 pp. 79-88
- Vaughn, S. & Schumm, J. S. (1995) 'Responsible Inclusion for Students with Learning Disabilities; Journal of Learning Disabilities Vol. 28 pp. 264-270, 290
- Voeltz, L.M. (1982) 'Effects of Structured Interactions with Severely Handicapped Peers on Children's Attitudes' American Journal of Mental Deficiency Vol. 86 pp. 380-90.

- Yell, M. L. (1998) 'The Legal Basis for Inclusion' Educational Leadership Vol. 50 pp. 70-73
- Wade, B. (1978a) 'Responses to Written work: The Possibilities of Utilizing Pupils' Perceptions' Educational Review Vol. 30 No.2 pp. 149-58.
- Wade, B. (1978b) 'Assessing Oral Abilities at 16+' English in Education Vol. 12 No. 2 pp. 52-61.
- Wade, B. and Moore, M. (1992) Patterns of Educational Integration: International Perspectives on Mainstreaming Children with Special Needs. Wallingford: Triangle
- Wade, B. and Moore, M. (1993) Experiencing Special Education. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Waterhouse, P. (1983) Managing the Learning Process. London: McGraw Hill.
- Watts, M. & Ebbutt, G. (1987) 'More Than the Sum of the Parts: Research Methods in Group Interviewing' British Educational Research Journal Vol. 13 No.1 pp. 25-34
- Watts, J. (1997) 'A Future in the Balance' The Guardian 25 June.
- Weiss, R. S. (1974) Loneliness: The Experience of Emotional and Social Isolation Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press
- Wentzel, K. R. & Caldwell, K. (1997) 'Friendships, Peer Acceptance and Group Membership: Relations to Academic Achievement in Middle School' Child Development Vol. 68 pp. 1198-1209
- Whittaker, P. (1994) 'Mainstream Students Talk about Integration' British Journal of Special Education Vol. 21 No. 1 pp. 13-16.

Whyte, W. F. (1981) Street Corner Society: the social structure of an Italian slum,
3rd edition Chicago: University of Chicago Press pp 147, 197

Williams, P. (1993) 'Integration of Students with Moderate Learning Difficulties'
European Journal of Special Needs Education Vol.8 No.3 pp. 303-319

Wisely, D. W. & Morgan, S. B. (1981) 'Children's Ratings of Peers Presented as Mentally
Retarded and Physically Handicapped' American Journal of Mental Deficiency
Vol. 86 pp. 281-6

Zic, A. & Igric, L. (2001) 'Self-assessment of Relationships with Peers in Children with
Intellectual Disability' Journal of Intellectual Disability Vol. 45 No. 3 pp. 202-211

Zigler, E and Hodapp, R 1986 -Understanding Mental Retardation London:
Cambridge University Press

Appendix A

Research Contract- Issues of Confidentiality and Consent

The purpose of the research is to identify common experiences of pupils being educated in 'Units attached to mainstream schools'. By ensuring strict confidentiality and anonymity to all willing participants the researcher promises to ensure that individual schools and participants will not be identifiable.

Evidence gathered in terms of interview data and observation schedules will be made available only to the University research team and to individual participants for confirmation of accuracy and understanding. Data extracted from the interviews and observations will be used to illustrate 'main points' in the final report. Where direct quotes are used, no individual will be named or otherwise identified.

Individual staff in the school will be in agreement to participate in the project. In the case of any pupils to be studied intensively or over a long period, Head Teacher, pupil and parental consent will be sought.

Parental Consent Form

Manse School

Dear Parents / Carers

The Head Teachers of Manse School and Blanchland Primary School have given me permission to do some research at the University of Newcastle which involves talking to children about their experiences of attending a unit at a mainstream school. As a unit teacher I am interested to know what benefits there have been for pupils or what problems, if any, they have faced. I am hoping that the findings will help the teachers at the unit and the LEA plan and make improvements for the future. I am therefore writing to ask for your permission for your child to take part. Individual children will not be identified and only those who express a willingness to take part will be interviewed.

Would you please complete the slip below and return it to school or contact me at home on telephone number :

Barbara Roberts

Please tear off and return:

I do/not wish my child to take part in the above research project.

I have some questions I would like answered

Appendix B

Interview Schedules: Areas of Focus

Unit Teachers' Interview Schedule

The purpose of the interview is to ascertain the following :

1. Perceptions of the role of the unit
2. Success criteria
3. The experience of the role as unit teacher
4. The teachers' perceptions of the unit pupils' experience
5. The unit teachers' perception of how their role is viewed by mainstream staff
6. Their perceptions of the LEA's aims, support and guidance in setting up such units.

Mainstream Teachers' Interview Schedule

The purpose of the interview is to ascertain the following :

1. Perceptions of the role of the unit
2. Success criteria
3. Their perceptions of the experience of unit pupils
4. Their perceptions of the role and experience of unit teachers
5. Their perceptions of the LEA's aims, support and guidance in setting up such units.

Unit Pupils' Interview Schedule

The purpose of the interview is to ascertain the following :

1. Their perceptions of why they attend the unit
2. Their social network (friends and experiences)
3. Their understanding of why they are segregated/integrated for some lessons
4. Their preferences for segregated / integrated educational experiences

Mainstream Pupils' Interview Schedule

The purpose of the interview is to ascertain the following :

1. Their perceptions of the role of the unit and why certain children receive their lessons there
2. Their perceptions of the pupils in the unit
3. Their perceptions of how 'other mainstream children' (those not nominated by the unit pupils' as friends) see the unit children
4. Their perceptions of the unit pupils' experiences
5. Their perceptions of the role of the unit teachers

Mainstream Head Teacher Interview Schedule

Location : _____ **Date :** _____

Please comment on :

1. The role of the base within your school.
2. Your role in the organisation and management of the base.
3. Your role in the organisation and management of discipline of base pupils.
4. The level of participation of the base staff in :
 - the daily running of the school
 - school development
 - school management
5. The level of participation of base pupils in mainstream school activities
 - daily activities
 - after-school activities
 - trips
6. The level of participation of parents of base pupils in mainstream school activities
7. What activities if any do the base pupils engage in separately i.e. organised by Manse?
8. What features, if any, identify Manse pupils as separate or different?
9. How do you view these in terms of future developments?
10. Do you have a view on the future of the unit?

Interview Schedule for the Head Teacher of the Special School and Bases

Location: _____ **Date:** _____

1. Could you describe the provision at the two bases?
2. Could you say how the provision relates to LEA policy on special needs provision?
3. Could you describe the 'base' admissions procedure?
4. What are the admission criteria?
5. When pupils transfer from main base how is this effected?
 - pupil identification
 - consultation with parents
 - preparation
6. What are the intended outcomes for pupils at the Bases?
7. What advice/information would you give to parents who are considering the choice between main base and integration base for their child?
8. What is pupil experience?
9. How is this ascertained?
10. What is the nature of the relationship between the main base and the host school?
11. What happens at transition to secondary phase?

Unit Pupils Interview Schedule

Name: _____ Location: _____ Date: _____

Perceptions of the Base

1. Before you came to _____ Base what school did you go to?
2. Why did you leave?
3. What did you think when you first came? (worried, didn't like it, exciting)
4. What is it like now?
5. Does you mum and or dad think its good that you come here?
6. What do they think is good about it?
7. Do they think there are any bad things about it?
8. What do the other children at _____ think about the Base?
9. What do they think about the children like you that go to the Base?

Teachers and friends

10. Who are your teachers? (Do you have any others?)
11. Do you have any friends in school? Who are your friends? (Any in the m/s class?)
12. Do you enjoy playtimes? (why / not?)
13. Do you have friends that you play with at home?
(Who are they? How do you know them?)

Joint lessons

14. You have some lessons in the Base and some in the m/s class,
Why do you think that is?

15. Do you like having lessons in

a) The Base?

b) The mainstream class? (use teacher's name)

16. Would you like to have more lessons in the m/s class? (use teacher's name)

17. If you could change anything about school what would you change?

Pre special school placement (if appropriate)

18. Before you came to Blanchland School which school did you go to?

19. Why did you leave?

20. Do you still live near that school?

21. Do you still have any friends from that school?

Travel

22. How do you travel to school?

23. Do you like travelling that way?

The Future

24. When you leave the unit what sort of school would you like to go to?

Mainstream Pupils Interview Schedule

Name: _____ Location: _____ Date: _____

1. Why do you think the children in Mr W's class have lessons in what you call 'the Base' classroom?
2. Do you think the children like being in that class?
3. Would you like to be in that class? Why / not?
4. Do you think there are any good or bad things about being in that class?
5. Do you think the children in that class have lots of friends? Who are they?
6. What do other children at Blanchland think about the Base?
7. What do other children at Blanchland think about the children in the Base?
8. Do you think the Base children miss out on anything by being in the Base?
9. What are the teachers in the Base like?
10. Are they any different to your teachers?
11. What do you think your teachers think about the children in the Base?
12. Do they all think that?

Mainstream Teachers Interview Schedule

Name: _____ **Location:** _____ **Date:** _____

1. What do you think is the purpose of the Manse Base?

2. What other roles, if any, does the base have?

3. What do you understand by integration / inclusion?

Is there a difference in your mind between these concepts?

4. How do you think the base should be judged as successful?

What criteria would you use?

5. What impact do you think it has on the mainstream school and pupils?

6. What in your opinion are the pupils' experience of being in the base?

a) What benefits academic or social?

b) What problems do pupils face if any?

7. How do you think pupils fare when they come into mainstream lessons?

i.e. What is that experience like for them?

8. How do you think they fare on the yard?

9. What are the implications for you as a teacher in having the Manse Base at Blanchland?

10. What involvement are you aware of by the LEA in the organisation, running and monitoring the Manse Unit?

Unit Teachers Interview Schedule

Name: _____ **Location:** _____ **Date:** _____

1. What is the purpose of the Unit?
2. What to your mind are the criteria of success?
3. What benefits do you see for pupils?
4. What difficulties, if any do pupils face?
5. What direction/lead/support has been given by the LEA?
6. In setting up the unit what issues had to be faced?
7. What are the on-going organisational / management issues faced?
 - a) access to mainstream curriculum
 - b) appropriate level of curriculum
 - c) in being managed at a distance
8. How do you think pupils feel about
 - a) mainstream lessons?
 - b) mixing socially e.g. playtimes?
9. What would be your advice to the LEA about setting up further units?
10. Do you think units are a positive step towards inclusion? How / not?

LEA Participants Interview Schedule

Name: _____ **Location:** _____ **Date:** _____

After the fire there were discussions about the future of Manse School. As a result of consultation between

1. The special school staff
2. The parents
3. The Lea (officers, advisors and education committee members)

it was decided to set up two 'bases' in selected mainstream schools managed by the special school.

From the LEA perspective :

1. Why did they not rebuild the special school?
2. What were the influences on that decision?
3. What factors affected the choice of mainstream schools ?
4. Why did they choose the model they did?
5. What were the perceived advantages for pupils of that
 - a) decision and
 - b) model?
6. What were the expected successful outcomes for pupils?
7. Were there any anticipated difficulties to be faced by
 - a) pupils (mainstream and unit)
 - b) staff (mainstream and unit)
 - c) parents (mainstream and unit)
8. How were these groups to be supported?
9. How was the initiative to be monitored?

Appendix C

Sample transcript of a one to one interview with a pupil from one of the units

Unit Pupil Questionnaire

Perceptions of the Base

1. Before you came to *Blanchlands* what school did you go to?

DMP: Manse

2. Why did you leave?

DMP: 'Cos I was ahead of the other people

3. What did you think when you first came? (worried, didn't like it, exciting)

DMP: It was good.

Res: Weren't you worried?

DMP: No.

Res: Why not?

DMP: Cos I knew I would have friends here and I wouldn't cry

4. What is it like now?

DMP: Really excellent.

5. Does your mum and or dad think its good that you come here?

DMP: Yes.

6. What do they think is good about it?

DMP: We've got a big playground and small and different classes and we do PE and loads of good things on a Friday.

7. Do they (your parents) think there are any bad things about it?

DMP: People bullying us.

Res: Does that happen very often?

DMP: No. They've changed and they are nice to us now

8. What do the other children at *Blanchlands* think about the Base?

Res: What do they think it's for?

DMP: Learning all the things. Learning and playing.

9. What do they think about the children like you that go to the Base?

DMP: OK

Res: Aren't you sure?

DMP: No. I never ask CN (a mainstream pupil) cos he always picks on us.

Res: Supposed you asked Michaela (a mainstream pupil with SEN, whom she works alongside), what would she say?

DMP: Good

Res: So some people like you and some don't?

DMP: Yes

Teachers and friends

10. Who are your teachers?

DMP: Mr W, Mrs M and Mrs C

Res: Do you have any other teachers?

DMP: Miss R and Mrs Mc

11. Do you have any friends in school? Who are your friends?

DMP: K, S, M, V and K

Res: Any others?

DMP: Another K

12. Do you enjoy playtimes?

DMP: Not much

Res: What do you like and what don't you like?

DMP: Dancing with my friends. I don't like people going off, going away with other people and I'm upset. I wander off with me other friends.

13. Do you have friends that you play with at home?

DMP: No, I only have Claire and I had Drew but Drew has gone

Res: So you don't have any other friends in your street?

DMP: Yea, but Tony and the other friends pick on us cos I play with Andrew.

Joint lessons

14. You have some lessons in the Base and some in the m/s class,

Why do you think that is?

DMP: Mr W does a little wheel thing (Technology) and Miss R does pictures of a French boy (Art). I just stay in Mr W's. Some (mainstream pupils) come in and join us.

Res: Why is that?

DMP: I don't know

15. Do you like having lessons in

a) the Base?

DMP: Yes

b) the mainstream class? (use teacher's name)

DMP: Yes

16. Would you like to have more lessons in the m/s class? (use teacher's name)

DMP: I'd like the same number.

17. If you could change anything about school what would you change?

DMP: I'd change it into a play thing outside, like a park.

Res: Would you change anything about lessons or playtimes?

DMP: I'd like to just draw and paint.

Pre special school placement (if appropriate)

18. Before you came to Blanchland School which school did you go to?

DMP: HP

19. Why did you leave?

DMP: Because I was getting picked on.

20. Do you still live near that school?

DMP: My grandma does.

21. Do you still have any friends from that school?

DMP: Katy and this boy who looks like 12 or 11. He minds us 'cos I'm different. He used to be nice but not now.

Travel

22. How do you travel to school?

DMP: minibus

23. Do you like travelling that way?

DMP: Yes

The Future

24. When you leave this school what sort of school would you like to go to?

DMP: Westlands (Special school)

Sample transcript : Unit 1 Girls Group Interview

The interview was set by the researcher explaining to the children that she was going to ask them again about some of the things they had talked about in the individual interviews on the subject of their experience at school. She explained the rules of taking turns to answer the questions and emphasised the importance of expressing their own views. The children practiced with the tape recorder to see if it was working, to help them feel comfortable with it and to aid the identification of voices.

Res: Could you tell me a bit more about what's it like going into other classes for lessons? Can you tell me about what happens?

DMP: We've been doing times and William... ..

Res: Morris?

DMP: I don't like sticking

Res: Who do you work with?

K: (to DMP) We work together, don't we?

DMP: Yea

Res: Do you work with anyone else?

K & DMP: No.

K: Just us two

Res: (to S) Who do you work with when the children come into your class?

S: I work with EB (mainstream pupil)

Res: Is she a good partner?

S: Yes

Res: Can you explain why you like working with her?

S: (Silence)

Res: Is it hard to say?

S: (nods)

Res: Do you two know why you like working together?

DMP: 'Cos we're best friends. So is S our best friend.

Res: So you don't go in the same lessons but you're all best friends?

K: But in music we do and in maths

Res: How do the other children behave towards you in Miss R's class, when you go into their class?

K: People be naughty sometimes.

DMP: And talk and don't listen

K: And some people don't like wur in that class

Res: Which children would you say don't like you?

K: DR and DL

Res: What makes you think that?

S: They call us 'Mansers'

K: And so does DR and all

Res: Do they say that to you?

All: Yea

K: They say 'spakker' and things to us.

DMP: And they say 'Mansers you are horrible'

S: They don't like us because we're from Manse School

Res: Oh?

DMP: And they call us Ms

K: They call DMP 'skinny' and call me S

Res: Do they do that in the classroom?

DMP: No

K: Sometimes

DMP: They whisper

Res: How do you know what they are saying if they whisper?

K: Because we sit next to them and they whisper to us and they say 'fatty' and 'skinny'

Res: That's not very nice, is it? What about the other children in your class, do they have friends in miss R's class?

K: Yea

Res: Who has friends in Miss R's class?

DMP: Robert

K: So do we.

Res: Oh, you have other friends in Miss R's class?

K: S and MH

DMP: I like G, I like S, D and E

Res: (to S) Is there anybody that you like?

S: MH

Res: Anybody else?

S: Yea, but I have forgotten her name.

K: S? ... G?

S: G

Res: Which one is G?

K: She wears her hair right up

Res: Oh, the new girl.

S & K: Yea

Res: I also asked you last time what you thought the other children thought the Base was for and why you were in Mr W's class. What do they think?

DMP: Learning like Space and when you go to college, hard maths

Res: Why do you think you don't go into Miss R's class?

DMP: Because it's not our real class when we go in.

Res: Is there anything different in the two classes?

DMP: Yea

Res: What's the difference?

DMP: Mr W talks about water wheels and Miss R talks about French or India.

Res: You said before that you thought some of the other children liked you and some didn't.

K: We don't know about Y4 cos we don't see them much.

Res: Who are the ones you do know very well?

DMP: M, S G and er... N.

K: Someone in Y4... My cousin K

DMP: I know N because I used to go to her school

Res: What class is she in?

DMP: Y4

Res: S you know one or two children in Y4. Do you (S) know anyone in Y4?

S: Yes, N

K: So do I know N.

Res: How about Y6? Do you know anyone in Y6?

K: What's her name again?

S: G or V?

K: Yea, V, cos we were playing 'chasia'.

S: How about KT?

K: Yea KT, and D's our friend, in our class.

Res: When you go to Westlands next year do you think you will miss being here?

DMP: Yea.

Res: What will you miss?

DMP: I'll miss all the teachers and friends and K

Res: Oh yes. Cos K won't be going next year. What will you (K) do next year?

K: I'll play with D because he's in Y5 an' all.

There follows some discussion of previous schools that children did not want to go back to and other possible high schools.

Res: One of the things we talked about before was playing out after school and whether you had any friends out of school. What do you do after school? Will you tell me about it?

K: I have me tea. Chips and chicken yesterday.

Res: And after tea?

K: I play with me friends

Res: Is that outside?

K: Yea and we go in my bedroom sometimes.

Res: How about you D? do you play out?

DMP: No.

K: Do you play with your sister?

DMP: I go to me grandmas and go upstairs and phone me friends to come.

Res: Who's that?

DMP: Me cousin and me friend Charlotte.

Res: Where do you know Charlotte from?

DMP: Since I was about 3 and she was a baby. Now she's 7

Res: So you talk to her on the phone?

DMP: Not all the time. Just on Friday.

Res: How about you S?

S: I just go back to the house.... I play outside with friends called K and S.

Res: How do you know these two?

S: Me Dad. They're me Mam and Dad's friends.

Res: Do they live near you?

S: Yea they just live next door.

Res: What school do they go to?

S: I don't know

Res: And you go to some clubs don't you?

S: Yea

Res: Does anyone else go to a club?

DMP: Yea, I go to Irish Dancing

K: I go to Kids Club and we go on trips on Friday.

Res: My! I didn't know about that.

K: On Friday I go to 'Wet and Wild' sometimes with Kids Club

Res: These two go to Kids Club, but you don't. Don't you have Kids Club near you?

S: But do you know that church near here?

Res: Yes

S: Well, I go to that club.

Res: Like a youth club, or a children's club? Is it called 'Crusaders'?

S: Yea. You learn about Jesus.

K: Mrs R, I've got a friend I phone up every Friday and I ask her if she's allowed to tea. I slept at hers before because she's my two bestest friends.

S: My friend K, she phoned me an invitation to her party but it had to be cancelled

Res: That's a shame!

K: Why did it have to be cancelled?

S: Because the party was at ? Hall and it cost a lot of money and there wasn't enough children brought back their letters.

Res: What a shame! Well, it sounds to me as if you have quite a few friends. Do you think you have a lot of friends, or that you don't have very many?

DMP: Just at Kids Club

Res: Do you think that you need more friends?

K: No.

S: I've got millions of friends.

DMP: So have I

Res: How about friends at school? Do you think you have loads of friends?

K: No, not many. I've..

DMP: I just want S and M, S and G

S: I've only got 4 friends...K, D and M

Res: What about the children who don't like you and you don't like them. What do you do?

K: We tell on them

DMP: Sometimes I want to be nice to CN and sometimes he bes nice. The last time, when you left, he's been nice to us, but not now.

Res: Do you have any problems with the children you don't like, S? Does it bother you?

S: When they start to pick on us I just ignore them.

DMP: Mrs R, yesterday I saw S in Miss R's class push S down with the football. So I came and said 'Are you OK?'

Res: Was it an accident, or on purpose, do you think?

S: When the ball came up I kicked it a little bit and he came up and pushed us in the back.

Res: Oh, that wasn't very nice. Was it because he thought you had kicked his ball away?

K: I ignore them an' all if they're being nasty to me

DMP: So do I.

Res: And do you think you have enough friends of your own to play with?

K & DMP: Yea.

Res: How do you think N, B and M (boys in the unit) get on? Do they have a good time?

DMP: I don't like N because sometimes he picks on us

K: We only play funny jokes with N and he chases wur, doesn't he?

DMP: When we talk together he comes and..

K: He says 'Stop talking about me' and we weren't talking about him

Res: Does he have any friends of his own?

D & K: I don't know

S: I think RG is his friend

DMP: Yea, because they live next to each other - just around the block.

Res: Is there anyone in your class who you think doesn't have a very nice playtime?

K: I think B doesn't because every body picks on him sometimes.

They call him B the Spud and things like that.

Res: Do you think that's B's fault or somebody else's?

S: Somebody else's

DMP: And Lead, like on a Dog's lead.

The girls then went on to catalogue a number of incidences involving the unit boys' name calling of themselves and other mainstream pupils. But concluded that they were trying to behave. On that more positive note the researcher terminated the interview and thanked the girls for their help.

Sample transcript: Mainstream Pupils (more able) Group Interview

2 boys and 2 girls

The researcher began the interview by explaining its purpose of finding out what the children thought about the Manse Base at Blanchlands and what the experience of school was like for those children who attended the base. She stressed the importance of expressing their own views, which might be different from their friends.

Res: As I explained, I would like to ask you all some questions about Mr W's Class, the Base. What do you think the Base is for? (to D)

D: To help them a little bit more.

Res: And what do you think they need help with?

D: Like more work and reading a bit better.

Res: You think it's to help?

D: 'Cos some of them can read but some of them need a bit more help with things. Like M and Mi and J (mainstream pupils) go in for maths and English.

Res: So they go in for just the things they need help with? How about the children who are in Mr W's class all the time?

D: They need help with a little bit more

Res: Oh, all right. What do you think C, do you think the same as D?

C: Well, yes, sort of.

Res: Anything different, any other reason?

C: In the yard like, to get them used to playing with other people instead of

Mel: Just the other people out of the class

C: Just other Mansers

Res: Oh, all right....to get to know other children?

C: To get to know each other

Mel: It's like R, 'cos me and S play with him

Res: OK

D: Like at the Manse School, all the other Mansers are there. They take them here for a little bit and Manse teachers come so they can see other people instead of all the other Mansers... and talk to the other friends and make new friends.

Res: Did you think that Mel? Do you have any other ideas?

Mel: Yes, just so they can get into the yard and learn some things what other children do and get to know more.

Res: Like what?

Mel: Mmmmmmm?

Res: Is it hard to explain?

Mel: Yea

Res: Do you mean games or....?

Mel: Just get out and like...um...

C: They might play like different games before they came here, so they learn new games.

Res: Ok. that's a good idea. Do you think the children in the Base like being in the Base?

M: Yea

C: Yea, sometimes, but like, some horrible people tend to pick on them

Res: Oh?

M: Because they say they're like thick and everything.

Mel: They pick on them like.

M: I don't think it's fair

D: I don't.

Mel: They don't like feel they're welcome into this school.

Res: Do you think that's just the older children?

All: Uhu

Res: Has that always happened?

D: Most of the time, yea, but some young people say to the people who think they're weak like.....everybody picks on M and he goes in a huff. He went in a huff at TS School and he went in a huff in the library when we were practising because people said he was being silly

Res: Was he being silly?

D: No. It was the other people.

M: But people wouldn't like it if they were the people in the Base and they were getting picked on.

Res: That's true.

Mel: It doesn't matter what's on the outside, it matters what's on the inside.

Res: That's a good point Mel. So...do you think they like being in the Base otherwise, although you've mentioned some not so nice things

Mel: Yes, 'cos they've got lots of friends

Res: They've got lots of friends where?

M: Like in the other classes

Mel: Yea, when we split and go into the art group I help them when I go in. I'm friends with most of them.

M: So am I.

D: Most of them, when we're doing work like, when me and D were doing our thing and D was just letting me do it but he was helping, he was getting all the things. He was doing quite a few things, but he was mostly getting all the things because I didn't know where it is.

Res: So generally you think they like it but there are some things that are not very nice.

All: Uhu.

Res: Would you like to be in the Base, M?

M: Sort of.

Res: What would you like and what wouldn't you like?

M: Cos Mr W is funny, he plays. It's like when we were in the group....but S took him into the cupboard and pretended to beat him up.(Laughs)

Res: (Laughs) So you think you'd like to be in the Base because you like the teachers.

D: And if you were in the orange group and you were there, say, a bit, after you get a bit dumber and you could go in there for help and it would be good because...

Res: How about you C?

C: Like D said, if you were in the orange group and you needed a bit more help and some people might not like to say 'oh I don't know how to do this' and they're getting really stuck. If they were like in Mr. W's class it might be a bit easier for them and they might be able to do it and they might be more comfortable in it.

Res: Right. Did you have any ideas, Mel? Would you like to be in the Base?

Mel: Yea... 'Cos when you go into the classroom they're all friendly like and as soon as you go in they say 'hiya' and they make you like....

M: Friendly like.

Mel: Not like when you go into our class. They say 'Oh here they come' and everything, but when you go into the Manse classroom it's really quiet and calm

M: And they make you welcome.

Res: So you like going in that classroom. Do you think it's harder for them coming into your classroom?

All: Yea

D: It's hard, yea, because everybody says 'Oh watch out, the Manse Disease'. Everybody says that.

Res: Is it everybody who says that?

D: Yea

Mel: No, not everybody. When L has to sit next to DMP he pulls a face, 'cos he doesn't want to sit next to her. He gets his hands like that.

D: He says 'skinches all over'.

Res: Do you think that's just L?

Mel: Yea.

D: No, not just L, like S, M and Ma

Mel: I would like to help the Manse as much as I can.

Res: I'm sure you do.....So, you think these are the bad things?

Mel: Sometimes they get a bit carried away, like B

All: (laugh)

Res: Can you explain?

C: Getting excited like, 'cos they're with other people.

Mel: Yea, they get a bit excited 'cos they're not used to being with other children

D: Yea, they try and show off.

Res: So apart from this little group here, what do the other children at Blanchlands think about the Base?

C: Well.....I've never really talked to them about it, but....

M: Sometimes the people be nasty.

D: Some people know more about it than others.

C: We've had the people from....since Y3,4 and 5

D: And Y4 haven't got any Manse Base

Res: So they've not been working with that class?

C: So they don't know what it's all about.

M: Mrs P's class will know as well 'cos last year they worked with them

Res: So, do you think they understand about it?

All: Yea.

D: Most of the people, not all of the people

Res: What about Y4?

Mel: I don't think they know what it is for and they're just put in that classroom 'cos they're thick or something and they don't understand why they've gone in.

Res: Do you think the children in the Base miss out on anything?

All: Yea

Res: What do they miss?

D: Well, they don't miss out on much 'cos Mr W's got loads of games but we've got Maths games and they haven't

Mel: And in the yard they don't miss out on anything, 'cos we let them play with us

M: Sometimes they do because, like, the people in Y6 when we were playing tug of war, the Manse normally go over and ask if they can play and sometimes they say 'no', 'cos they're in the Manse or something

Res: So they miss out on that sometimes?

D: C let N play with me ball when I was inside and I didn't mind, 'cos he's nice and....um....so's the other people, like people who are good at football, like B and R.

Mel: When I was playing outside I seen some boys out of Y6 they were being nasty to someone. They were pushing them over and he went and sat on the wall and he came over to me and asked us 'would you play with?', so we got more people and we played 'silver river'.

Res: Yes, I watched you playing that

Mel: And we put him on (laughs)

Res: Do they miss out on anything after school?

D: Yea, dance club and football matches

Mel: 'Cos the bus comes and they have to go straight home

C: R doesn't

Res: Do you think they would like to go to these?

M: Yes, they'd enjoy themselves

D: I think if Miss W let the Manse come to football practice some of them would make it because some of them are good football players

Mel: D and K like PE and dance club is just like PE.

D: I asked R if he would like to be on the football team and he said 'yea, but I couldn't'.

Mel: I feel sorry for them sometimes

Res: Yes.....I have a couple of questions about the teachers in the Base.

What are they like?

Mel: Kind and helpful

M: Like Miss M, when we're hurt she always says 'Do you want to go in your classroom or mine?' She gives you a drink and...

Mel: She gives you a cuddle and.....

D: When I fell over and grazed me knee she asked did I want a biscuit because she said sweets help you.

Res: It cheers you up a bit?

D: Yea.

Res: Do you think they are different to your teachers?

M, Mel and D: Yea.

D: They help you a bit more than our teachers. They say 'I'll be round in a minute' when they are working with someone else or marking books. They come straight away and they leave their books.

M: I like Mr W 'cos he's funny and in art he helps wur to make stuff. In art we were making these water wheels and he taught wur how to do it.

Mel: Mr W's really nice 'cos me and M got stuck and he did half the work for us.

Res: What do you think your teachers think about the children in the Base?

D: They think we should help them but most of wur do, but some naughty people don't, like L.

Res: Do you think they are sympathetic?

All: Yea.

Mel: Miss R says when the art group haven't come in, she says 'Now, help them 'cos they're not as clever as you and you've just got to help them' and we do.

M: Like when we are doing pictures with the pastels and S did a lovely picture and we helped her.

D: S is a good drawer. When I first came I didn't know what they were for and people said, like L, 'Oh, they're just thick people' and C told us they were people who needed help

D: M is good in the play

M: And I'm not good at Maths.

Mel: He says 'bacon beans' instead of 'baked beans'

C: When we're doing pictures and B didn't know what to do 'cos he had just started it. He had load of ideas and hē dīdn't know which one to do. So I said 'Why don't you draw a line down the middle and cut it into 8 and do lots of different ones'. But he said 'No'.

Res: You can't always help, can you?

M: It was like when we were doing assembly and I got stuck on the words, Miss R and Miss W helped wur. It's just like us helping the Mansers when they're stuck

Res: It's been nice to be able to talk to you 'cos it's not often teachers get the chance to hear what children think and it's been a big surprise to me to know just how much you do think.

D: When new people come we have to tell them about the Manse 'cos they say 'what are them?'

Res: Yes, you get a lot of new children in the school.

D: B realised straight away 'cos he was in the top group and he was kind. He used to get picked on quite a lot at his other school

C: People used to call him 'chocolate biscuit'

Mel: He called them 'whitey biscuit'

Appendix D

Analysis of individual pupil interview - Pupil 1 - completed by researcher

	Ex	Good	OK	Neg	DK	Issues
Attitude to transition		x				
Attitude to unit	x					
Parental attitude		x				Some concerns about bullying
Attitude of msps to unit and ups			x	x		Think it's for learning and playing. Individual pupils pick on them others like them
Attitude to m/s teachers						Not primarily considered their teachers
Friendship links		x				
M/s friendship links			x			Mainly and foremost links with fellow ups. Two of the three ms pupils named had SEN and shared unit lessons with
Attitude to playtimes				x		
Friends outside school				x		lack of. Past contacts now negative
Attitude to joint lessons			x			Does not know reason for separate lessons
Suggested changes						Finds this difficult to answer other than physical changes
Reason for leaving m/s school				x		picked on
Attitude to travel arrangements			x			
Future school						chooses special school

Analysis of individual pupil interview - Pupil 1 - completed by independent judge

	Ex	Good	OK	Neg	DK	Issues
Attitude to transition		x				
Attitude to unit	x					
Parental attitude		x				except for bullying
Attitude of msps to unit and ups			x			good for ms pupils with SEN, negative for others
Attitude to m/s teachers						relates mostly to unit teachers
Friendship links						names unit pupils first and then adds SEN msps
M/s friendship links						She only befriends SEN pupils she works with
Attitude to playtimes				x		
Friends outside school				x		'only Claire' seems a grudging acknowledgement Later mentions Katy and 'a boy'
Attitude to joint lessons			x			
Suggested changes			x	x		doesn't seem able to imagine an alternative time table
Reason for leaving m/s school				x		picked on
Attitude to travel arrangements			x			little evidence
Future school						wants a special school

Analysis of group interview with Unit 1 girls - completed by researcher

	+ve	OK	-ve	unclear	issues
Attitude to m/s lessons		x	x		Aspects of lessons not liked e.g. sticking. Two pupils work with fellow ups
Views of behaviour of msps in joint lessons			x		Some msps are badly behaved and call them names associated with their previous special school
Friends in m/s classes		x			Have some m/s friends but these are mostly m/s SEN pupils or those who are new to the school
Attitude of m/s pupils to unit pupils			x	x	Negative social aspects are mentioned but some pupils are positive towards them. M/s pupils think the unit is for learning support. Y4 and Y6 pupils do not know them
Attitude to unit teachers		x			Do not differentiate between unit and m/s teachers- will miss them when leave
Attitude to m/s teachers		x			Do not differentiate between unit and m/s teachers- - will miss them when leave M/s not seen as their 'real' class
Friends outside school			x	x	Not many other than through clubs. Cite names but these links seem tenuous
Enough friends in school		x	x		Not many. Some negative incidents cited. Mainly positive relationships with ups and new/SEN ms pupils
Playtimes			x		Some negative incidents cited as occurring at playtimes
Views of other unit pupils' experience			x		One up named as having a bad time

Analysis of group interview with Unit 1 girls - completed by independent judge

	+ve	OK	-ve	unclear	issues
Attitude to m/s lessons		x	x		Positive answers refer to friendships and partners, negative to aspects of lessons not liked
Views of behaviour of m/s in joint lessons			x		'People be naughty sometimes' talk and don't listen
Friends in m/s classes		x			Only SEN children are friends and one m/s whose name has been forgotten
Attitude of m/s pupils to unit pupils			x	x	Call them 'mangers' and 'spakker' 'skinny and 'fatty' Also whisper about them
Attitude to unit teachers		x			Will miss teachers when they leave
Attitude to m/s teachers					
Friends outside school	x	x	x		2 children go to clubs. One talks on phone to friends - possibly too far away to play with - doesn't play out. Some are parents' friends or neighbours. 'Just' seems to imply not enough friends although agrees she has 'millions'.-
Enough friends in school			x		'just' 'only' 'not many'. But later agree have enough
Playtimes			x		'pushed' 'nasty'
Views of other unit pupils' experience			x		Suggests B is picked on and called names. Can't relate to other children's experiences e.g 'stop talking about me' shows boy is vulnerable.

Mainstream pupils' group interview in School 1- completed by researcher

	Exc	Good	OK	Neg	DK	Issues
Group's understanding of the purpose of the unit		x				It is for educational and social support and development-to widen their experience
Group's attitude to unit pupils		x				Sympathetic, helpful but tolerant 'we let them play with us'
View of UP's experience: general		x		x		Some negative aspects e.g name calling from msps
View of UP's experience: attitude to being in the unit		x				Have lots of friends, get needed help, not as embarrassing as ms class support
View of UP's experience: attitude of other msps to unit pupils				x		Not made to feel welcome. Other year groups have little understanding or knowledge - see them as 'thick'. Have a distinctive different identity e.g 'what are they?'
View of UP's friendship links		x				Have lots of friends (in own class)
Behaviour of other msps to ups in joint lessons		x		x		Some msps, like themselves, are helpful, others are unkind - call names and are rejecting 'skinchees'
MSPs view of unit staff		x				Teachers are funny, kind and attentive to needs of pupils
MSPs attitude to being in the unit themselves		x		x		Some view it as having positive aspects (unit pupils are friendly) but also some negative (helps but is discriminatory)
Ups inclusion/feelings of belonging to the m/s school				x		Not made to feel welcome in the school also 'miss out' on some things
Attitude of M/s staff to Ups			x			They encourage the msps to help ups. See them as in need of help/less clever

Analysis of mainstream pupils' group interview in School 1 - completed by independent judge

	Exc	Good	OK	Neg	DK	Issues
Group's understanding of the purpose of the unit	x					educational and social issues mentioned
Group's attitude to unit pupils		x				empathetic, know they need help or that researcher wants them to be helpful
View of UP's experience: general		x		x		the base is good but the playground hard experience
View of UP's experience: attitude to being in the unit	x					
View of UP's experience: attitude of other msps to unit pupils				x		name calling, missing social after-school events
View of UP's friendship links		x		x		positive with each other (ups) msps see themselves as helpers but not friends. They see the ups as having friends in the base.
Behaviour of other msps to ups in joint lessons		x		x		the group see themselves as helpful but others as mean
MSPs view of unit staff	x					Mr W funny, friendly etc Miss M kind and give examples
MSPs attitude to being in the unit themselves				x		Recognise they'd be picked on Turn away from question to talk about helping.
Ups inclusion/feelings of belonging to the m/s school				x		miss out after school, get called names
Attitude of M/s staff to Ups		x				when questioned closely MSPs think ms staff are helpful to ups. They see the unit staff in a more positive light than ms staff

Tabulation of mainstream pupils' views of unit pupils' experience

Mainstream pupils' responses to the question: Do unit pupils like being in the unit?

Responses	Able pupils		'Friends'		Other pupils	
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2
yes				x	x	x
they like the work					x	
not sure/haven't asked them						x
think so		x				
some might			x			x
it's ok for named pupils			x			
yes but some 'picked on'	x		x			
unwelcome by some MSPs in m/s class	x					
yes get help from MSPs	x					
MSPs valuing of UPs contributions	x				x	
yes 'have lots of friends'	x				x	
yes we help them					x	

Mainstream pupils' responses to the question: Do the children in the unit miss out on anything?

Responses	Able pupils		'Friends'		Other pupils	
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2
Yes	x					
No -have toys but different ones	x					
Have fewer friends on the yard	x					
After school dance club & football	x	x	x		x	x
on m/s lesson content		x				
not really			x	x		x
they are 'part of the school'			x			
no					x	
MSPs miss out on 'trips' that UPs have					x	
walking home with friends/going to the sweet shop					x	

Mainstream pupils' responses to the question: what are the unit teachers like?

Responses	Able pupils		'Friends'		Other pupils	
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2
Teachers are kind and helpful	x	x			x	
Help a bit more than MSTrs	x					
Same as MSTrs			x	x	x	
very nice /like them				x	x	x
funny/amusing		x	x		x	

Mainstream pupils' responses to the question: What do mainstream teachers think about the unit pupils?

Responses	Able pupils		'Friends'		Other pupils	
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2
encourage MSPs to help UPs	x					
encourage positive perceptions of UPs	x					
'not sure about UPs'		x				
treat them the same as everyone			x	x		x
really like the UPs					x	

Mainstream pupils' responses to the question: Do unit pupils have lots of friends?

Responses	Able pupils		'Friends'		Other pupils	
	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 1	Unit 2
yes	x			x	x	
they have friends but not a lot						x
quite a few		x				
mainly other UPs		x				x
individual cited as having lots		x	x			
we are their friends			x	x		
some MSPs don't like 'them' call them names			x			x
individuals cited as not having lots of friends because of their negative social behaviour					x	
they should integrate more					x	
sympathetic/understanding of UP's difficulties re social behaviour	x					

Codes derived from the analysis of transcripts of unit and mainstream teachers' interviews - see example transcripts below

Code	Interpreted meaning
views of the unit	
1	provides opportunities for integration
2	provides opportunities for integration and support
3	provides resources for the mainstream school
5	provides SEN advice and support to staff
6	provides support to mainstream SEN pupils
7a	provides benefits to mainstream pupils
22	the unit has an impact upon you if you work alongside it
7b	provides benefits to mainstream pupils in that they don't see unit pupils as 'different'
9	helps unit pupils to develop relationships with msps
42	it provides extra help for pupils in smaller groups
43	it provides a half-way house between special and m/s school
44	there is a 2 way flow of benefits to ups and msps
12	it enables pupils to cope with the demands of m/s school
45	it provides access to m/s school experience
25	benefits to unit pupils in terms of improvements in their behaviour
27	pupils are challenged to work at a higher level
47	benefits to unit pupils in terms of raised self-esteem from coping with the demands of m/s
views of unit pupils	
24	have special needs
35	find things more difficult
36	it may be necessary to modify strategies when teaching ups
23	teachers have to make allowances when working with ups
32	ups are more likely to get into fights
61	unit pupils are seen as individuals not as a group
37	ups are seen as a group
33	unit pupils can be rough with each other
48	ups are seen as 'different'
8	ups are seen as 'your' pupils mainstream as 'our' pupils by m/s teachers and vice versa by unit teachers
views of unit teachers	
4	they have specialist training and skills
39	working with unit teachers is a positive experience
50	working with unit teachers can be a professionally beneficial experience
views of unit pupils' experience of school	
10	sometimes they seem isolated
11	sometimes they play with msps
13	they play together a lot
14	some mix
18a	they sit with m/s pupils
18b	they sit with m/s pupils by choice
18c	they are seated with m/s pupils by teacher
21	msps are accepting of unit pupils
28	some msps do not accept ups
29	some msps call ups names
30	ups get picked on
31	teacher is not sure how well pupils are integrating
19	ups are coping in m/s lessons
34	playtime experiences are usually positive
46	ups do not play with msps
49	name calling and fighting has lessened

51	there is no name calling in class
52	unit and m/s pupils co-operate in lessons
56a	there is no evidence that unit pupils do not enjoy lessons in m/s classes
56b	ups enjoy lessons in m/s classes
57	friendship links between unit and msps are increasing
roles and responsibilities of unit and mainstream staff	
8	unit and m/s teachers see m/s and ups as 'ours' and 'theirs'
17	m/s teachers are responsible for teaching ups some subjects
26	levels of integration are matched appropriately according to pupils' perceived ability to cope
54	unit teachers are responsible for the discipline and behaviour of unit pupils
55	the unit teacher is responsible for the academic progress and review of unit pupils
teaching and learning strategies adopted	
38	teachers deliberately encourage pupils to mix
53	integration arrangements/access to m/s classes for ups are negotiated on a yearly basis
15	unit teachers work alongside m/s teachers
16	unit teachers plan alongside m/s teachers

Interview with mainstream teacher in School 1 (coded)

Res: What do you see as the purpose of the unit?

N: To give the children from the M a chance to integrate into the mainstream school (1) but be supported as well (2) by people with specialist training (4).

Res: Are there other roles for the unit?

N: It provides a lot of resources in this school (3), I suppose....because we can talk to people like you and D who've got more experience of special needs - it helps us (5). It's given us some support with our special needs kids (6). We've been able to sort of say - 'what shall we do?' - it's given us materials and shown us things you've used in the past and also you take some of our kids as well so I think it's supporting some of our children as well. I don't know if that's a role that it was meant to have but from our point of view it's a positive thing. If you look at someone like RM who's been working in the unit for two years and now he's come back into the main class and I think without that he'd probably be struggling still, whereas now he seems to have fitted back in and he's really made good progress (7). It's helped him a lot. He's excellent now. He's way above some of the others in the class.

Res: Do you see as integration and inclusion as the same thing?

N: I don't know. Maybe integration is what you've done here (1) where you've brought a whole unit in and there's a lot of children who work alongside another class and we work together for some subjects. Whereas inclusion is perhaps more what we've got down in Y3 where the children are actually based permanently in one class.

Res: What criteria would you use to judge the success of the initiative?

N: I thinkhow well the kids...how the children benefit from working in the mainstream. If it's working for them. How much progress you can see with them and how they relate to our children (8) as well. What kind of relationships. Whether they do have friends with children from the mainstream or whether they stick together. Sometimes they seem quite isolated (10) and sometimes you see some of the children from the unit playing with our kids (11) and that's nice and that shows it's working a bit more. And how well they cope I suppose. If they're withdrawn in a special school and then they come back into the mainstream school I suppose some of them will find it difficult to cope.

Res: What sort of demands do you think they'd be coping with?

N: Just whether they can't really handle being with other children and being in a large group situation, problems on the yard. The children we had a few years ago found it quite hard, didn't they? You had quite a lot of problems with some of them. Whereas the children we've got this year seem to cope with it quite well (12). They still tend to play together a lot (13) although some of the girls mix in (14) more with some of ours (8).

Res: It's hard to know but do you think that's down to the children or a better way of running the unit? Or something else?

N: And maybe...I don't know...the way the staff work together. You have to be able to communicate with each other. D and I do work well together (15). We do talk about what we're doing and we do plan together (16) and things. If you don't do that....I think that works quite well. I mean, even this year, especially doing the same things, we've tried to integrate more for subjects than last year. We've tried to stick to doing the same history and geography.

Res: You think that's more successful?

N: I think so. It means you talk to each other a lot more and we've split the children this year into smaller groups for everything. Last year we tried to have them altogether and

this year we've split them but mixed them up (38) and then we've swapped over at half term. So you've actually seen all the kids for all subjects apart from history (17). We've talked about what we've done.

Res: Do you think that mixing the kids up has had an effect?

N: I think, possibly, by mixing them up there's less in one.. each group. When we split them we've got about 17 children altogether and then only 4 or 5 of the M children (37), so it's much easier for them to fit in with the other children, so they do sit with other children from my class (18)

Res: So that's a deliberate step on your part?

N: Yes...I think they do also from choice, you know, sometimes.(18) When they come in now they do sit together. they don't just sit on the same table. I think they do so more than last year. I felt last year that we had so many children in, I know there were less M children but it made so many in the whole class. We were working with 33-34 children and then yours would come in and there was the problem of space and we'd already be sitting down. All that kind of thing.. and we were just slotting them in and it wasn'tand plus the classes are different. The class in my last year didn't get on as well. This class has much more accepting children.(21)

Res: What impact does the unit have on the mainstream school?

N: I think it depends. If you're working with a class that is integrating it has a big impact on you(22), but if you're not...I don't really think it affects you at all.

Res: What effect does it have on the class with no M children in it?

N: It must have some effect because they play on the yard, but....Unless you're actually working with the class...maybe you don't deal with on the yard in the same way as you would if you were working with them, cos you don't know them. Perhaps you have to make more allowances (23) because they do have special needs.(24)

Res: What do you think is the unit pupils' experience of being in the unit?

N: I think they benefit from mixing with other children...I mean, if they were down at the main base they'd only be mixing with children who have special needs. Whereas here they have the opportunity to mix with other children, make other friends (9) andmaybe that helps

Res: What kind of benefits do you see?

N: If they're all together, I mean especially for behaviour it must sort of feed off each other. Perhaps you can control their behaviour a bit more (25), those that have behaviour problems, having sort of the influence of other children, have a more calming influence, possibly.

Res: Are there academic benefits?

N: Yes...there's the opportunity that they can integrate into the mainstream, you know, if you think it's right (26). That gives them the opportunity to maybe work at a higher level than maybe they can when they're in the unit (27), so....

Res: How about any problems?

N: I think they maybe feel quite isolated at times.(10) Some of the children don't really accept them (28) and they have been called names (29). I think it's something less of a problem now because all of the children we have in school are now used to having the M children (37) here and they've gone through school with children so they're probably more accepting than when they came a few years ago, when they first came. But there is still..... I think the children are still aware and they do get picked on (30)and they do get called names (29) I don't know if they really fit in ..they're always slightly...I don't know how well they are integrating even with our kids (31) as well. It's hard to say.

Res: How do the pupils fare in mainstream lessons?

N: I think because we've in the last couple of years only had them in the arts, it's not an academic thing, they're not feeling out of their depth (19) I think before you used to split them for everything.. whereas we've just done it for the arts. I think they've probably found it more easy to cope.. I don't know.

Res: Any other aspects such as socially?

N: I think it has worked especially with the smaller groups. I think you've got less pressure, less children to watch, you can give them more support and your time.

Sometimes Y (NNEB) is in and sometimes not. I've not found it any more of a demand by having them in.

Res: How about on the yard?

N: OK.....You do find perhaps that they're the ones that do get involved in fights more(32) and run on the grass, than the others. And they can be quite rough with each other (33), some of the boys especially. The girls are OK. The boys you have to tell them several times, like B ... (laughs) and N

Res: Do you think generally their experience of playtimes is something positive?

N: Yes, I think so.(34) Yes. They always seem really enthusiastic about what they are doing, whatever it is

Res: What are the implications for you as a teacher of having the unit?

N: Obviously you have to be aware that they find some things more difficult (35). As non-academic subjects there is not quite the same level of differentiation needed. Some find it more difficult to cut out.. or draw. You need to be aware that some need more support, that you need to explain things more carefully (36)and check that they really understand what you want them to do. they're not as quick to follow your instructions. You have to take it more slowly, demonstrate a bit more and make sure you're there to step in as soon as they get a problem

Res: How about in terms of time for planning?

N: No I don't think it affects that. From my own point of view I enjoy working with D.(39) I actually like sitting down and planning with him. It's nice to share ideas. I enjoy that side of things. I think that's actually helped me a lot, especially last year when I first moved up here into Y5 (40).

Res: So it's been a positive rather than an additional time commitment?

N: Yea. I've really like it. I'd rather do it anyway.

Interview with unit teacher School 1 - (coded)

Res: What do you understand by inclusion?

DW: I suppose it's trying to get as many as possible with special needs working alongside mainstream pupils socially and academically to the best of their ability

Res: Is that the same as integration?

DW: I suppose I do see it as the same thing to be honest. I think it's playing with words in a sense.

Res: What is happening here?

DW: Inclusion is probably a better word. It's trying to include the children in mainstream work (41), bearing in mind their abilities (26) - so they're getting...so we're trying to draw them up to a standard, pull them on...to the best of their abilities (27) all the time.

Res: What is the purpose of the unit?

DW: Um...given you've got a different ability range in the main base, it's probably working along the lines of the old special schools in that you've got the kind who require extra help, benefit from smaller groups (42) but can also cope with the hustle and bustle of a large primary (12), can fit in, don't seem different and will benefit from that experience. whereas perhaps their behaviour and academic work might suffer down at the main base. I think the unit is that nice half-way house (43) and can offer the same range of teaching skills, small group work to the whole school, a 2 way flow (44). I'm hoping that increasingly the two main subjects will get more interchange with the mainstream class.

Res: What are the benefits to pupils?

DW: Access to a lot of things, ...socially, even though they may not play together (46) they see better levels of behaviour perhaps, (25) less extreme. They have access to things like taking part in the school production (45) and the standard of that production is very high, so ...um...and the interaction between the children from the mainstream working with them, seeing that they are as good or as capable, which perhaps they don't realise about themselves raises their self-esteem (47). They still have the benefits of being top-dog in a small situation but also if they view themselves within the whole class begin to realise that perhaps that the division isn't so marked...that they have got skills and abilities and who knows what that might do for their confidence.

Res: Are there any benefits to mainstream pupils?

DW: Obviously for the ones directly involved, there are small group benefits (7). Maybe we can offer the school equipment (3), expertise they don't have (5). Perhaps there may be a social effect of children realising special school children aren't different (7b). It's only a thought. That might happen, you never know.

Res: What difficulties, if any, do the children face?

DW: There's still the element of being different (48), in that Jonathan who comes from the mainstream class and joins the unit has already been called 'spakker (29)'. However, that was only once and was reported and perhaps that's an aspect of his personality which lends itself to having that label put upon it. The difficulties we had when we first started e.g name calling, fighting has lessened dramatically (49). I think that's a function of the fact that the children working with ours (8) now have grown up with the unit. There's no children in the main school who haven't known it not here so they're quite willing to accept the staff, quite willing to accept my authority (50), me as a teacher, but it's still a little bit worrying that when I go out on the yard we still see ours (8) playing by themselves (10) and so there's less social integration than I'd like to

think was going on. But in the class there doesn't seem to be any perceived difficulties. I don't get any reports now where I think it's due to the children being in the unit, it's the normal day to day squabbles. So unwillingness to sit with them has gone. (18) You get the odd comment. DM gets some stick from B, but that's in the Base. Admittedly at the beginning of the year I organised it so that the children coming in do sit with M children (38, 37) They co-operate within lessons (52), work together on projects. Any problems are not because of the unit label.

Res: Did you get much direction or support from the LEA when you set up the Base ? Is there any now?

DW: I have honestly got to say I see there being none at all. Support has come through colleagues. We had very few visits when we set up. No one was interested in how it progressed, if we were doing the right thing. There were no comparisons, no criteria given. There's the room, good equipment. Thereafter get on with it and do it.

Res: Were there any issues at the start?

DW: The biggest thing was team working, working with another member of staff from another school. We were vital to their survival from the start.

Res: Who drove the organisation?

DW: It was down to the original staff how to set it up.

Res: What issues if any were there?

DW: Matching the ability of the children to the mainstream classes. How to manage the day to day running. There were different models and amounts of integration that were tried in the two different parts of the school. The willingness of the staff to accept us. How much (integration) pupils could cope with varied from year to year and was necessitated by the needs of the children we got and which staff we were working with. (26)

Res: Are there any on-going management problems?

DW: Incidents of behaviour need to be dealt with by myself. I have to decide what should be reported and which procedures to follow (54). I have some concerns. I have the responsibility for our pupils' behaviour. It's not that of the host school. They are 'your children' (8). You feel you have to support our pupils whilst being fair and follow up with the head teacher of the main base who will support your decision. There are issues around day to day equipment, with borrowing them from the main base. We have less resources than them. I have the responsibility for our resources which we share with the main school (3) and I need to keep an eye on. There has been an issue over the kitchen classroom and the washing machine. Access to mainstream classrooms have to be organised year by year. Working with a parallel class has to be negotiated (53). How much resources should we provide? There is the issue over responsibility for writing reviews. (55) Behaviour problems if serious could cause relationship problems with the main school.

Res: Which peer groups can you access?

DW: It's currently within one year and not a problem but in the future I'm not sure.

Res: What are the pupils' feelings about lessons in mainstream classes?

DW: I've no evidence that they don't enjoy it (56a). There is less, I'd say no name calling or them and us issues in class. Increasingly there are friendships with Blanchlands mainstream pupils, (57) especially for those pupils who live locally. I see no reason why they don't enjoy lessons. They go in for non-academic subjects (17), apart from one pupil who can cope well and is keen to go in for maths. Non-academic subjects are not a problem. They see their ability is equal to the other kids.

There have been no problems this year, certainly. I feel quite positive. Odd kids have problems at playtimes. There is a tendency for some mainstream staff to blame them but perhaps I'm being too sensitive. The problems have lessened every year.

Res: Do you have any advice to the LEA for future units?

DW: You need to identify the population that the unit is defined for and clear criteria for admission. The host school needs to be well-informed about the implications and there needs to be definite guidelines of how the unit should be run and the relationship between staff and pupils so everyone has a clear idea. These need to be reinforced every year. They need to have a model in mind. The mainstream school needs to be selected and the staff must have a positive attitude.

Res: Are there any benefits to being managed by the special school?

DW: Yes. Some independence is important to retain the special school ethos, a flexibility on handling pupils and their problems. It has helped to preserve some special elements e.g. the ethos and flexibility of approach.

You need an understanding of special needs pupils.

Table: frequency of responses indicating unit and mainstream staff's perceptions of unit pupils and their own roles and responsibilities

Perceptions	of head teachers			of mainstream staff		of unit staff	
	special	school 1	school 2	school 1	school 2	school 1	school 2
Unit pupils are special	x	x		xx	x	xx	xx
Unit pupils are selected for unit placement according to their perceived ability to cope and to benefit	x	x		xx	x	xx	xxx
Unit pupils require appropriate levels of access to mainstream classes	x	x		x	x	xx	xxx
Unit pupils require specialist teaching	x	x		x	x	xx	xxx
Unit pupils have their own teachers	x	x		x			
Unit pupils are seen as individuals not as a group		x				x	x
Unit pupils identify with mainstream school		x	x				x
Unit teachers are responsible for unit pupils' learning	x	x		x		xx	xx
Unit teachers are skilled	x	x		x	x		
Unit teachers are responsible for unit pupils' behaviour	x	x		x		xx	xxx
Unit teachers are skilled in dealing with pupils' behaviour	x	x		x	x		
Unit teachers are viewed positively by mainstream staff as colleagues		x		xxx	x		
Unit teachers are part of mainstream staff		x	x		x	x	xx
Unit teachers have authority over all pupils		x				x	
Unit teachers benefit mainstream pupils	x	x	x	x	x	x	xx
Mainstream teachers are not responsible for unit pupils	x	x		x		xx	x
Mainstream teachers provide opportunities for unit pupils	x	x		xx	x	xx	xxx
Mainstream teachers are committed to inclusive principles	x	x	x	xx			
Mainstream teachers have concerns about teaching unit pupils	x			xx		x	xx
Mainstream teachers are sympathetic towards unit pupils				xx		xx	
Mainstream teachers model positive attitudes towards unit pupils				xx			
Mainstream teachers actively oppose discriminatory and negative behaviours				xx			
Mainstream teachers judge pupils as individuals				xx			
Mainstream teachers judge pupils according to their behaviour				x			
Access to mainstream classes is	x	x				x	xxx

negotiated rather than an entitlement							
Access to mainstream classes is conditional upon positive outcome of cost/benefit analysis	x	x		xx		x	xxx
Some aspects of m/s curriculum e.g. literacy and numeracy are not accessible to unit pupils	x	x		xx	x	x	xx

Appendix E

Example of a Completed Playground Observation Schedule and Analysis

Date: 23/9/99

Time: 12:40-1pm

Place: School 1 playground

60 second interval

Key: msp - mainstream near age peer

up: fellow unit pupil

ymsp: younger mainstream peer

m/sSEN: mainstream SEN peer

np: new pupil

Child	Notes
MC	Chase with BH(msp) and RM (m/s SEN) and DR (up)- teasing game
KT	Chat with up and msp - new pupil. Chased BL (up) away who was teasing her
BL	Chase/toyfight with 3 ups
MC	Chase/tag with 3ups
KT	Chat with ymsp (np). Joins with 4 ups who are playing chase/tag
BL	Toy fight with 2 ups . Warning from teacher. Starts jumping over puddle game with 2 ups
MC	Chatting with m/sSEN and 2 ups joined by 2 other ups
KT	Chasing with up. Told by teacher to stop running through football game. Joins 3 ups in a tag game
BL	Joins football game with 3ups and 2 msps. They negotiate teams. There is some dispute 1 up leaves. BL and 1up start to chase one another and abandon the game
MC	A group chasing game involving 4ups and 1 m/s SEN
KT	Sits on top of 1 m/sSEN on grass. Joins 2 ups and 1 msp (np)-talking
BL	Hanging around the edge of a group, listening to 5ups and 1m/s SEN and 1 msp (np) who are talking

Analysis

(i) Activities

MC: of the 4 activities observed

3/4 involved physical contact

1/4 involved chatting

KT: of the 8 activities observed

5/8 involved physical contact

3/8 involved chatting

BL: of the 10 activities observed

6/10 involved physical contact

2/10 involved other physical activity

1/10 involved football

1/10 involved chatting

(ii) Social contact with sub-groups of pupils

MC: of the 16 social contacts observed

12/16 involved fellow unit pupils

3/16 involved mainstream SEN peers

1/16 involved near-aged mainstream peers

KT: of the 16 social contacts observed

12/16 involved fellow unit pupils

1/16 involved mainstream SEN peers

3/16 involved new pupils to the school

BL: of the 20 social contacts observed

16/20 involved fellow unit pupils

1/20 involved mainstream SEN peers

2/20 involved near-age mainstream peers

1/20 involved a new pupil

Analysis of playground observation data

(i) Analysis of pupil contact

Number of contacts of Pupil 4 with other sub-groups of pupils

	Unit pupils	M/s near-age peers	M/s younger peers	M/s SEN peers	Totals	
whilst playing football	3	54	51		108	
at all other times	19	2	0	1	22	
Total number of contacts	22	56	51	1	130	

83% of contact with mainstream pupils

17% contact with fellow unit pupils

44% with near-age mainstream peers

56% contact with other pupils

0.2% contact with near-age mainstream peers at times other than when playing football

(ii) Analysis of activities and their frequency

Activities undertaken by pupils in Unit 1 at playtimes during periods of researcher observation

	Total No. of observations	No. of observations involving football	No. of observations involving physical contact	No. of observations involving other physical activity	No. of observations involving chatting	No. of observations involving isolated play
Pupil 1	25	0	3	5	16	1
Pupil 2	22	0	1	5	16	0
Pupil 3	21	0	8	7	6	0
Pupil 4	22	4	11	1	1	5
Pupil 5	24	0	13	5	5	1
Pupil 6	22	0	14	1	6	1

Pupils 1-3 girls

Pupils 4-6 boys

Example of a Completed Classroom Observation and its Analysis

Location: m/s Classroom, School 1

Lesson: Art

Date: 22/6/2000

Time: 1pm-1:40 p.m.

Individual Pupil Observations: Approximately 1½ minutes

Entry: Unit pupils enter and go to vacant seats. BL is told to pick a seat because he was hawering. He goes to an empty table. ND goes to an empty table. An msp is sent to sit with BL. Another msp is moved from that table to sit with a different msp (seemingly to spread the class out between the tables). Pupils end up 2 at each table.

Class teaching: The teacher gives a very short and simple introduction saying that this week's lesson is a continuation of last week's when they did a still life drawing. Paper, pencils, erasers and still life object are already on each table.

Independent work time

ND: Chats to MM(up) and AT(msp) across on the next table, swings on his chair for a bit. He is then joined by another up. Sits looking at his paper. (*off-task*)

BL: Is handling the still life object and attempting to amuse the other pupils around him. He gets up to get another pencil. His 'off-task' behaviour being ignored by the msp who turns to chat to another msp on an adjacent table. BL returns to seat and gives one of the pencils he has collected to the msp on his table. Silently acknowledged. (*off-task*)

MC: Is chatting to msp on the next table about their object and his. He talks to his m/s partner about drawing his object. He asks the teacher who is passing the table a question. He quietly gets on with his drawing. (*on-task*)

ND: He is once again alone. The UP who was sitting with him has been moved back to his original seat by the teacher. He is now working quietly. He turns to talk to a passing msp and then goes back to work. (*mainly on-task*)

BL: Gets up to help msp who is drawing the object (a radio). Takes over from the msp for a few moments and then goes back to sit in his own seat. He turns the radio on quietly and listens to it. He looks at the object and tries to attract my attention. He turns his page over and starts again to draw. (*off-task*)

MC: He is drawing and looking carefully at the object. He responds to his msp partner's questions. He helps him by sketching on some scrap paper. The msp watches and talks to him about what he is doing. He is showing him how to shade in. He demonstrates with gestures. Goes back to his own work. His partner goes back to his drawing too. (*on-task*)

ND: working quietly. A up who is standing comes over and talks about his object. He then walks off. ND returns to task, working quietly. (*mainly on-task*)

BL: Working quietly, making good progress, looks across at another group. He throws the eraser on to another table which hits the bottle they are drawing. He says 'good throw!' Other children complain to the teacher about him. He says to his msp partner 'B, this is not classical' referring to the music. He chats on to his partner about the music. The teacher touches BL on the head and he goes back to concentrating on his drawing. (*mainly off-task*)

MC: Is quietly working. The msp speaks to him and MC responds with some advice, looking at msp's work. He goes back to concentrating. He adjusts the cup on its hook (the object) (*on-task*)

ND: Is working quietly (*on-task*)

BL: Working. He speaks to the teacher as she stops at his desk to comment. He carries on working. He looks at the msp's work without comment. (*mainly on-task*)

MC: Working. His partner is wandering about the classroom. He is concentrating very hard (*on-task*)

ND: concentrating on task. Turns to sharpen his pencil on the teacher's table. (*on-task*)

BL: working. (Msp turns to talk and flicks things onto an adjacent table) BL still concentrates (*on-task*)

MC: concentrating. Msp asks if he wants the cups putting on the stand. He says 'no'. and goes back to his task. Another msp comes over to look at his work and chats about the object (*on-task*)

ND: (Teacher has now left the classroom. The unit NNEB is still present) He looks around and says he is stuck on his work. He chats to a up. He calls to the teacher as she comes into the classroom. (*off-task*)

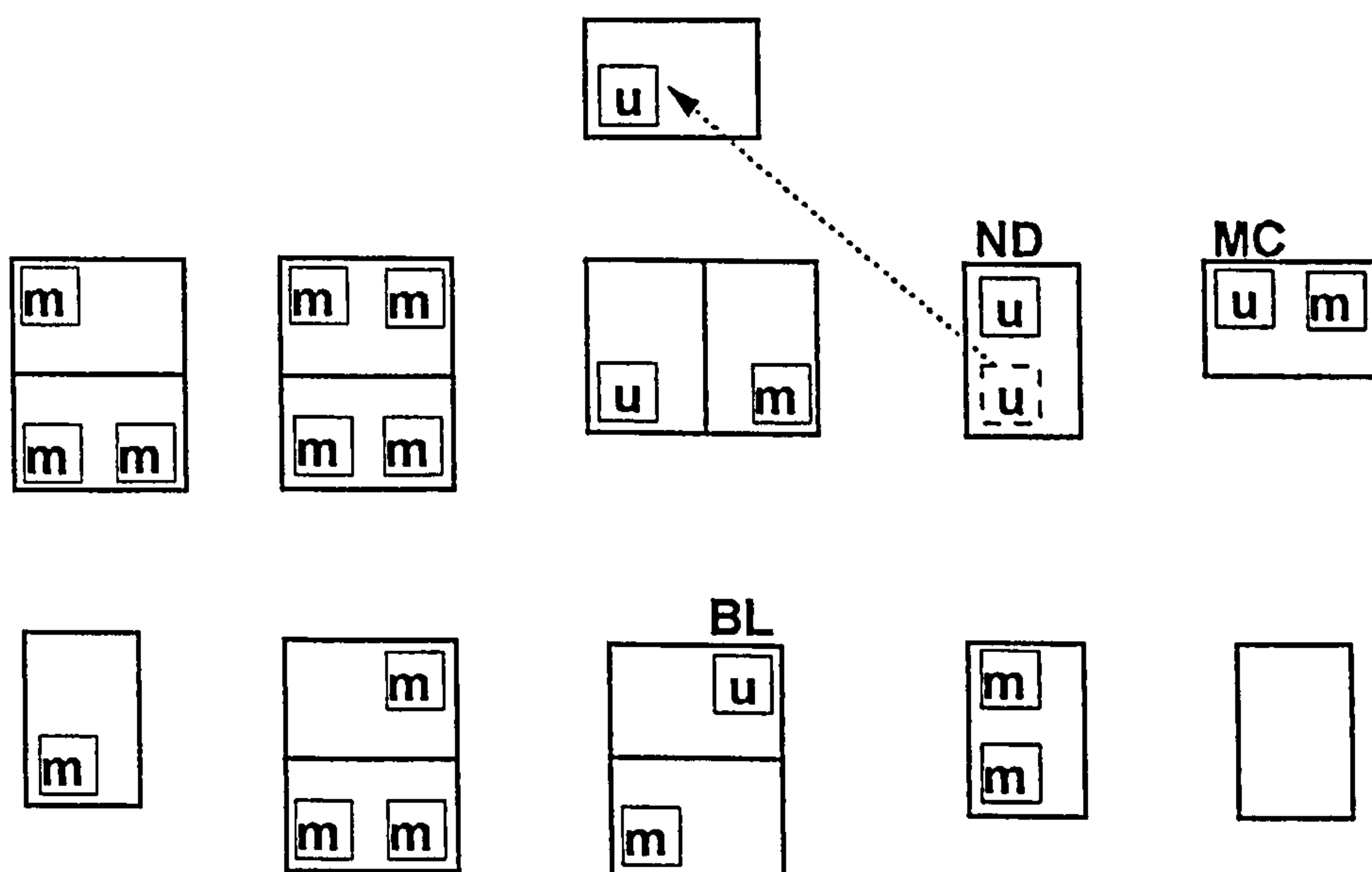
Teacher-pupil interaction

Teacher is moving around the classroom looking at children working and supporting those who need help. Keeping children on task. The NNEB is behaving similarly.

Classroom desks and pupil seating arrangement :

m = Mainstream pupil

u = Unit pupil



Other observations

Other pupils were generally busy with their drawing. Incidental conversation at a low volume was taking place with those who sat close by or when moving about the classroom. There were no major incidents or reprimands. All pupils worked well or very well on the task set. One mainstream pupil had done little other than practice scribbles, obviously lacking confidence. One other mainstream pupil had done very little. There was a deliberate policy (attested to by mainstream teacher) not to sit the unit pupils together to encourage them to work either independently or collaboratively with mainstream pupils.

Analysis

Entry to lessons

Pupils 'chose' where to sit, but interestingly the pupils from the unit chose to sit on empty tables rather than join mainstream peers although there were spare seats at some tables. Some mainstream pupils were moved to sit alongside pupils from the unit (deliberate policy). 2 unit pupils ended up sitting alone. No negative response observed from mainstream pupils on entry of pupils to the classroom or when asked to move to sit alongside pupils from the unit.

Classroom atmosphere

A quiet working atmosphere prevailed even when teacher left classroom. There was a high level of teacher control as demonstrated by her movement of pupils to 'appropriate seats'. The incident of a rubber being thrown was dealt with calmly. Incidental conversation observed was generally of a positive nature and usually related to task. Children were allowed to move around the classroom to carry out necessary activities such as collecting equipment.

Level of pupil engagement (on-task behaviour)

ND: of the 6 observations ND was on task on 2 occasions, mainly on task on 2 and off-task on 2 occasions

BL: of the 5 observations BL was on-task on 1 occasion, mainly on-task on 1 occasion, mainly off-task on 1 occasion and off-task on 2 occasions. However he did complete the allocated task to a high standard, although turned page to restart.

MC: of the 5 observations MC was on-task on all occasions. All conversation was functional and related to task. He completed his task to a high standard.

Pupil interaction

ND: Interacted on 3 occasions with pupils from the unit and with 2 mainstream pupils and once with the teacher, asking for help. All verbal interactions were positive, social and functional. No negative interactions observed. The reason, according to the teacher, for the other pupil from the unit being moved away to sit at another table was to encourage on-task behaviour and prevent negative interaction between them.

BL: This pupil sought interaction and response from peers on 8 occasions. He tried to provoke a response from his seated mainstream partner through conversation or by bringing equipment for him. He tried to make the class laugh on one occasion and succeeded on another in provoking a negative response from a group of pupils who complained about his behaviour to the teacher. He tried to be helpful and was interested in his partner's work. He sought a response from the teacher and the researcher and was touched on the head by the teacher on one occasion, as a sign of her presence and to suggest he resume his work.

MC: He interacted with mainstream peers on 5 occasions and with a fellow pupil from the unit on one occasion. He sought help from the teacher on one occasion when she passed his desk. All interactions were positive. He was helpful and supportive towards his mainstream partner and other pupils. All his conversation was functional and related to task.

Mainstream pupil response

This lesson provided very few opportunities for collaborative work. However pupils do chat incidentally about what they are doing. Mainstream pupils are tolerant and at times interact quite positively with pupils from the unit. One asks for and two accept help from pupils from the unit. Negative/disruptive behaviour from pupils from the unit appears to be ignored unless very provocative. Two observed pupils from the unit only have opportunities for interaction with those mainstream peers with whom they are seated.

Interaction with the one mainstream pupil who is seated near BL is sought but little response given.

Teacher interaction

The teacher interacts with all pupils. She moves about the class answering questions and providing one to one support. There is very limited class teaching. She gives some simple instructions and maintains a quiet control of the classroom situation.

Conclusion

Level of participation in learning activities

Pupils from the unit appear comfortable in their interactions with teaching staff, who provide support and encouragement to stay on task. There is some variation between individual pupils in their level of on-task behaviour. However, they are all on-task during some observations and all complete the task set.

Level of participation in the community of the classroom

There is some evidence that pupils do not feel entirely comfortable when entering the mainstream classroom. They are hesitant about where to sit. This may suggest a fear of rejection, or it may be a recognition that the teacher would not like them to choose certain seats. The fact that pupils do not have their own allocated seats is potentially divisive and a possible indication that the pupils are not part of the mainstream class, but guests or visitors.

There is evidence of the pupils from the unit initiating conversation or other forms of contact with mainstream classmates and responding positively to requests from them for help. There is evidence of mainstream pupils accepting approaches and help from pupils

from the unit. There is no evidence of rejection or negative interaction. The unacceptable behaviour of one pupil is handled sensitively by the teacher. The mainstream pupils also appear to handle his behaviour appropriately and are happy to rely on the teacher to resolve difficulties or potential conflict.